Tully Archive: FDR Papers
Speech Drafts: Miscellaneous Speech Notes and Materials

571

Collection: Grace Tully Archive; Series: Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers
Box 13; Folder= Speech Drafts: Miscellaneous Speech Notes and Materials

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10

~~March 29~~, 1935.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

POSSIBLE MESSAGES:

1. BANKING
2. AGRICULTURAL AMENDMENTS
3. ~~NEUTRALITY~~
4. TRANSPORTATION
5. ~~WAR PROFITS~~
6. ARTICLE 7-A – Wagner – NRA.
7. ~~PURE FOOD AND DRUG~~
8. TAXES
9. FOREIGN EXCHANGE
10. GOLD CLAUSE

Utilities

1. Transportation May 6 =
2. Taxes
3. Entl House
4. Banking ? 8 Barnes
5. Agriculture – (AAA)
6. Utilities ? 7. NRA Wagner 7a

d warden.

Subjects for Speech
Oct 12/42

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Inflation —

Trip —

Manpower —

War —

War Guilt —

s

raid warden.

Lend enough
Big "
to trailer terror to
make
Will be Pres. of all
people.
Man to whom every
church of bitter lem
lems

PRECAUTIONS

streets.
warden.
lights.

ar.

your air raid warden.

, AMERICA

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

1. Keep cool.
2. Keep off the streets.
3. Put out the lights.
4. Lie down.
5. Get under cover.
6. Cooperate with your air raid warden.

Stand firm, America!

PRECAUTIONS

streets.

ghts.

r.

your air raid warden.

, AMERICA!

Statement of Lincoln
on September 30th, 18

ends, if I agree with you,
of mere personal friendship.
who are friendly to my measures,
well aware that by many, by some
t name them - I have been in
charged with 'tyranny and
y own personal will supreme.
events I shall take care that

ncoln... by Ida M. Tarbell.
y & McClure Co., 1900) p. 177.

~~Vol. 2 Page 177~~

in Abraham Lincoln, a history
me Eight ... (New York,

me ...

~~President: This~~
"Correct"
F.D.R.

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

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2. Keep off the streets.
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STAND FIRM, AMERICA!

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

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6. Cooperate with your air raid warden.

Stand firm, America!

Statement of Lincoln to Delegation appearing before him
on September 30th, ~~186xx~~ 1863.

---

(1)"You appear to come before me as my friends, if I agree with you,

(2)and not otherwise. I do not here speak of mere personal friendship.

(3) When I speak of my friends I mean those who are friendly to my measures,

(4) to the policy of the Government. I am well aware that by many, by some

(5) even among this delegation - I shall not name them - I have been in

(6) public speeches and in printed documents charged with'tyranny and

(7) wilfulness,'with a disposition to make my own personal will supreme.

(8) I do not intend to be a tyrant. At all events I shall take care that

(9) in my own eyes I do not become one."

Text from Life of Abraham Lincoln... by Ida M. Tarbell.
Volume two ... (New York, Doubleday & McClure Co., 1900) p. 177.

~~Found in Nicolay and Hay's "Abraham Lincoln"~~
~~also in "Life of Lincoln" by Ida Tarbell, Vol. 2 page 177~~

Variants from Tarbell version in Abraham Lincoln, a history
By John G. Nicolay and John Hay. Volume Eight ... (New York,
The Century Co., 1890), p. 219:-

Line 1: "...Still you appear to come ...
Line 7: willfulness.

The President: This is correct!!
F.D.R.

You come
your trip
and I hope
you
Geo. W.
68 50
find
Lincoln

Statement of Lincoln to Delegation appearing before him
on September 30th, 1864.

"You appear to come before me as my friends, if I agree with you, and not otherwise. I do not here speak of mere personal friendship. When I speak of my friends I mean those who are friendly to my measures, to the policy of the Government. I am well aware that by many, by some even among this delegation - I shall not name them - I have been in public speeches and in printed documents charged with tyranny and wilfulness, with a disposition to make my own personal will supreme. I do not intend to be a tyrant. At all events I shall take care that in my own eyes I do not become one."

Found in Nicoloy and Hay's "Abraham Lincoln"
also in "Life of Lincoln" by Ida Tarbell, Vol. 2 page 177

Statement of Lincoln to Delegation appearing before him on September 30th, 1864

"You appear to come before me as my friends, if I agree with you, and not otherwise. I do not here speak of mere personal friendship. When I speak of my friends I mean those who are friendly to my measures, to the policy of the Government. I am well aware that by many, by some even among this delegation - I shall not name them - I have been in public speeches and in printed documents charged with tyranny and willfulness, with a disposition to make my own personal will supreme. I do not intend to be a tyrant. At all events I shall take care that in my own eyes I do not become one.

Found in Nicoloy and Hay's "Abraham Lincoln"
also in "Life of Lincoln" by Ida Tarbell Vol. 2 page 177

Franklin D. Roosevelt
President of the U.S.

Dear Sir: Thought perhaps you would like to see this. I know you are a great man and I hope you go far.

Your friend
Geo. W. Simmons
68 So. Main St.
Fond du Lac, Wisconsin
Junior Student and Debater.

3

B A N K S

One hears talk about the banking situation. There are complaints that the banks are not making a living, and that they are over-loaded with Government securities which yield little or no profit.

On the fourth of March, 1933 all the banks in the country were closed. Soon after the inauguration of this Administration the banks were reopened with the assurance that only sound banks would be permitted to function. Money began to pour into the banks. Confidence in the banks has been restored. Deflation was arrested and banks' deposits expanded by $7,000,000,000.

Banks choose to buy Government securities because they have faith in them and if they did not have Government securities to purchase, their assets would be smaller by many billions of dollars and their earnings would vanish.

It is curious that in England the proportion of the banks' assets that is in Government securities is even larger than it is here, and yet we hear no outcry about the unsound position of the British banks.

- - - -

4

COMMERCE

Business conditions during the first quarter of the year have shown definite improvement both as compared with the preceding quarter and with the same quarter of 1934.

During the first quarter of the year industrial production was the highest for this period since 1930, exceeding the volume in the corresponding quarter of 1934 by about 9 per cent. While there has been some irregularity in the forward movement, gains have been recorded for a wide variety of industries.

An indication of the improvement is found in the statistics of bank debits outside New York City which are up 13 per cent for the first quarter over a year ago.

Surveys of business conditions now being made on a weekly, monthly, quarterly, semi-annual and annual basis by the Department of Commerce indicate a steady and consistent improvement in economic and social conditions. Statistically, we find that up to the end of 1934 such outstanding gains as the following were recorded: Industrial production, 45 per cent; manufacturing production, 51 per cent; electric-power production, 20 per cent; retail sales in department stores, 33 per cent; variety stores, 18 per cent; rural general stores, 98 per cent; sale of new passenger automobiles, 57 per cent; freight-car loadings, 28 per cent; factory employment, 34 per cent; factory payrolls, 70 per cent; life-insurance payrolls, 30 per cent; ~~stock prices based on 420 issues, 60 per cent; and bond prices based on 60 leading issues, 30 per cent~~.

up to date

Constit. essential as a broad permanent charter of Govt. form of gov. adapted to needs from time to time to meet changing needs & to indefy interpretation & misinterpretation. Money

(1) Practically all one dollar bills in circulation are silver certificates. Anyone can take a silver certificate to a mint, or the United States Treasury, or to any Federal Reserve bank and get a silver dollar for it, but it is freely exchangeable for all other forms of United States lawful money, which are all maintained at equal value and are freely interchanged one for the other.

the needs of changing times

(2) On March 31, 1935, there was in circulation outside of the Treasury and Federal Reserve banks about 5½ billions of all forms of money. There was in the Treasury at the same time 8½ billions in gold and there was a silver stock in the Treasury and in circulation, having a monetary value of approximately $1,400,000,000. Thus for each dollar in actual circulation there was about $1.55 in gold and about 25¢ in silver.

gold

(3) The total paper currency in circulation on March 31, 1935 was about $5,048,000,000. It consisted of:

Silver certificates - about	$623,000,000
Treasury notes of 1890	1,183,000
United States notes	264,436,000
Federal Reserve notes	3,135,000,000
Federal Reserve Bank notes	92,000,000
National Bank notes	809,000,000
Gold certificates	123,000,000

Rebuk. of old school - grandmam - fine fellow & old friend

Keep the truth before each & every one of us & that truth will make us free.

In the Event of a European War

I

(1) It is of the highest importance that public opinion be mobilized in the first week. In 1914 the State Department and the President did absolutely nothing to create public opinion except (a) the statement of Secretary Bryan that the United States proposed to be wholly neutral, and (b) the appeal by President Wilson to the nation asking the country not only to be neutral in act but also neutral in their minds. The result was a conflicting flood of opinions, suggestions, forecasts and general confusion.

It is my belief based on close association with the 1914 situation that today certain fundamentals of humanity and christianity are more clearly apparent than in 1914. That you are the culmination not of two schools of thought - two fundamentals of government - but rather the culminating between the 43 years (since 1871) of a race for domination between two approximately equal groups of nations - the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Kingdom of Italy. We are after all instructed to hold the same adherence to the rules of international law and of warfare as the Russian Empire and the French Republic. Great Britain fell into the same category of what were then thought of as standards of civilization. Therefore, the triple alliance in July 1914 had many friends in this country just as Russia, France and England did. While actual hostilities proved a surprise, public opinion in the United States condemned the triple alliance not because of a difference in fundamentals of civilization but because they

forced war on the slim pretext of the assassinations of Sarajero and because almost immediately Germany invaded a neutral state - Belgium.

Today, however, the situation is a very different one. For 20 years in Italy and for 5 years in Germany a new form of government nearly been put into operation but always, we must admit, succeeded to a great extent in the international affairs of each nation. This form of government, especially in Germany, is hated by 90 percent of us Americans because it has always denied to the German, and to a less extent the Italian people, the liberties which these peoples had before - liberties which we considered essential to any representative or Democratic form of government. Minorities have been recklessly terrorized or evicted, free elections are abolished, free speech and free press are destroyed, and on top of all of this, the people of both nations have been put to work building up armaments of all kinds to an unimagined extent.

This brings me to the final phase of current facts. The American people would not be so easily disturbed if the German and Italian purposes and actions related solely to international policies. But the American people realize that German and Italian purposes and acts do definitely concern themselves with the affairs of other nations. That's the meat in the nut so far as American opinion is concerned. They realize that if Germany and Italy succeed in imposing the dictator form of government on their European neighbors, or become so powerful that the smaller states of Europe will be bullied into doing their will the next and logical German or Italian movement, separately or

in combination, will be against other parts of the world - French Colonies, Belgian (?) Colony, British Colonies - or with equal likelihood one or more of the American Republics.

Summing it up, therefore, I am convinced that the American people realize exactly where we should stand - not as a possible belligerent, but as the greatest nation whose public opinion and sympathies lie definitely against the aggressions of Germany and Italy and therefore definitely on the side of those other nations which abhor those methods.

It is my thought that the President should inform the American people as a whole either by a formal statement or by a broadcast or both in the simplest possible terms just what the American government thinks of the outbreak of general European war and just where the American people ought to stand in relation to that war.

At the same time it is my thought that the Congress should be advised of the policy of the Secretary of State and of the President, and be asked for the necessary legislation to carry out that policy.

In other words a message to the Congress could cover very simply the following:

(a) A European war has broken out threatening to involve the cradle of Western civilization.

(b) This time there is no doubt in the mind of any person as to the fundamental issues involved in this war. It is a conflict between a form of government which (whatever may be said for it in regard to its international affairs, and as practiced a menace to peace, because it seeks to exert its

influence by conquest to other nations which are differently governed.

(c) The United States proposes to take no military part in this war and intends to send no armies to Europe.

(d) The United States has, however, a definite interest in the outcome of this war. The overwhelming majority of Americans realize that if Germany and Italy and their methods are victorious, it is as certain as anything can be certain that they will seek to exert their methods and their domination all over the world. That means that if they are victorious in Europe we would have to fight them in the American hemisphere. Probably that day would come quickly because Germany and Italy completely victorious in Europe would strike in the Americas while fully mobilized and victorious.

(e) There can be, therefore, no question that the United States must do everything that it can short of fighting in the European scene to prevent Italy and Germany from a victorious assertion of their methods and policies. In this there is, I believe, overwhelming approval on the part of our people.

(f) In order to do what America can, the Neutrality Law should be at once amended as follows:

(1) American citizens should be allowed to go into the war zone only at their own risk.

(2) American ships would go into the war zone only at their own risk.

(3) American citizens would travel on foreign frigate ships only at their own risk.

(4) No munitions or supplies should be allowed to go

directly or indirectly into German or Italian dominated country from the United States except at their own risk.

(5) American supplies of all kinds, including every kind of war material, food stuffs, etc. should be allowed to be sold to any nation at war with Germany and Italy - and to neutral nations if it is clearly established that American exports will not be used in any shape, manner or form by Germany or Italy.

(No #6)

(7) Every effort should be made to line up every other nation especially in this hemisphere in the adoption of this policy in the interest of the maintenance of the democratic form of government.

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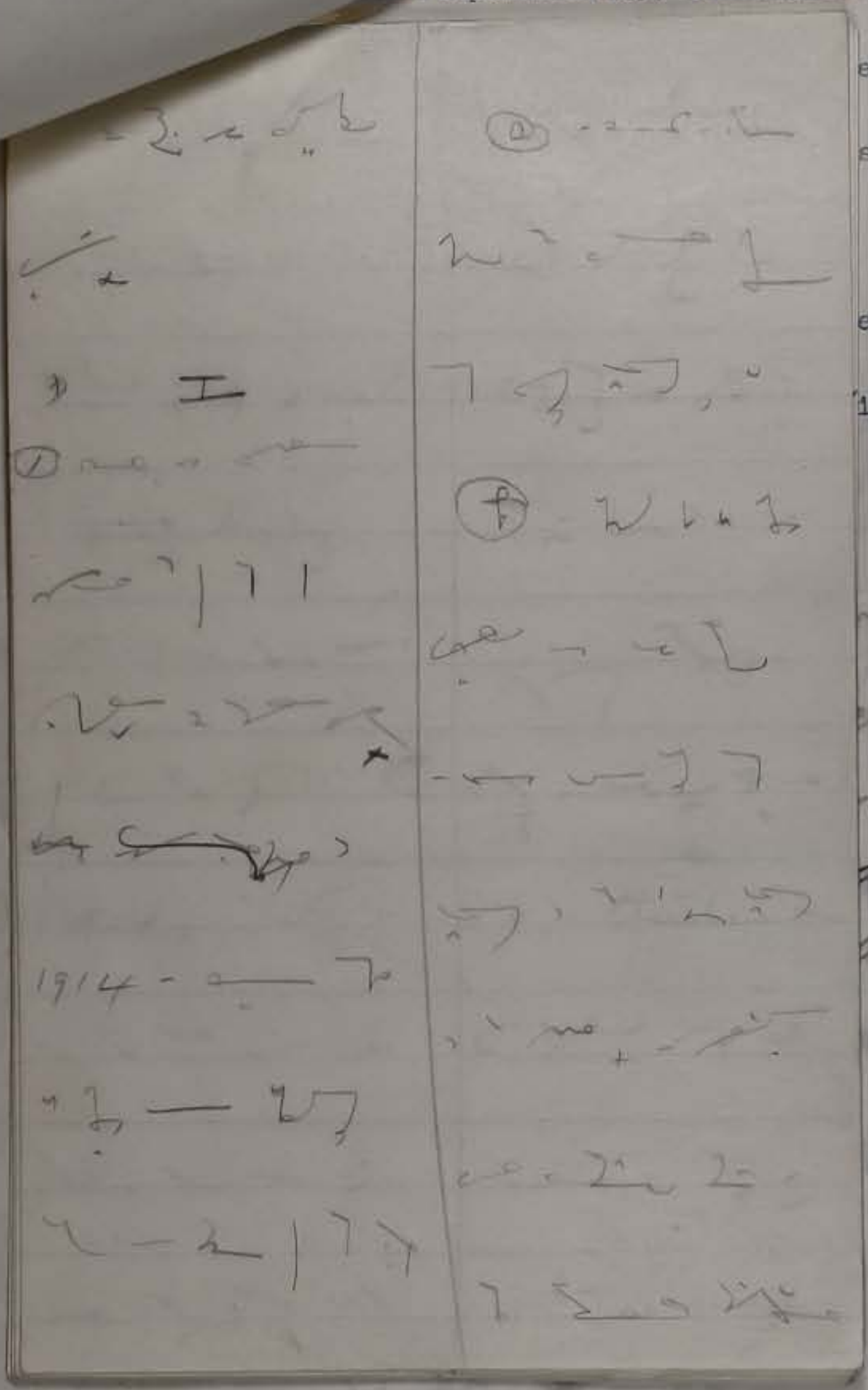

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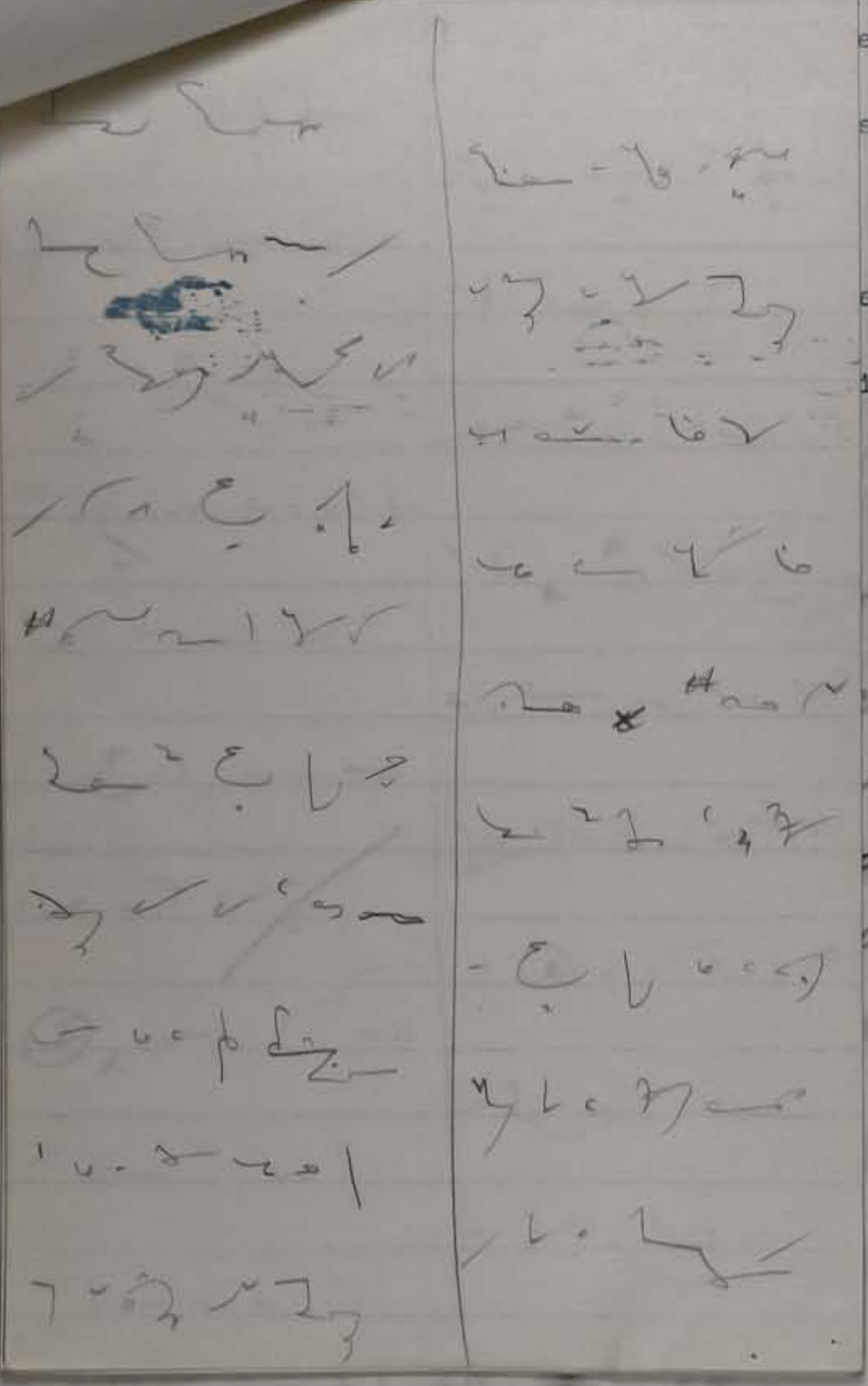

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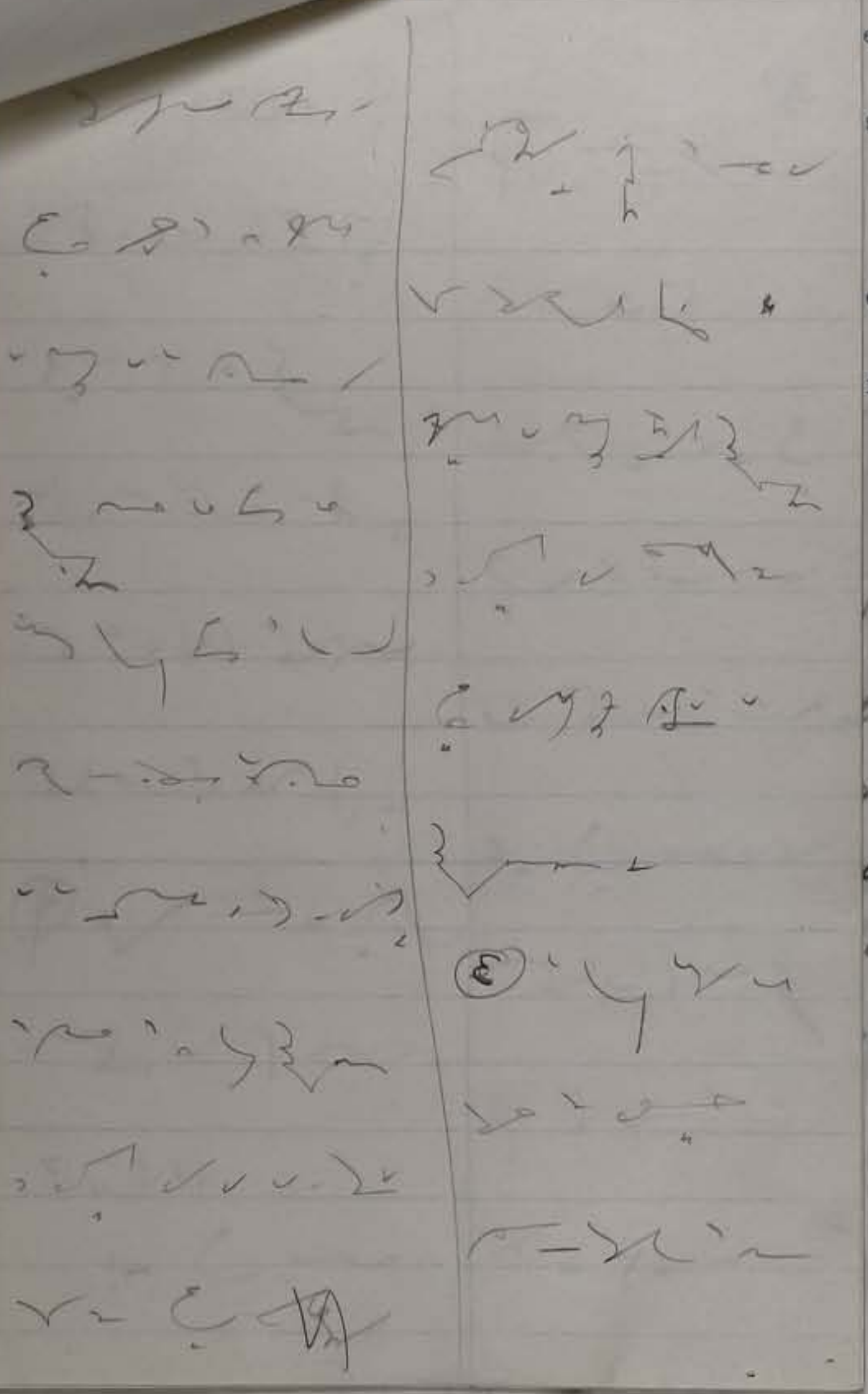

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Our party once before in our memory served the Nation in a great emergency. In that war for a human principle it met its responsibility; it fought the good fight; it kept the faith -- the faith in the precious human value of the common man. Now the issue is the same. We pledge our word to those common men who, in the last analysis, carry the burdens and fight the battles - those people ignored and rebuffed by this administration of forgotten ideals and forgotten duties.

The Commander-in-Chief who went his way in sorrow and suffering kept his faith in democratic government unshaken, even in his last days, when sordid reaction was abroad in the land. That faith, we, his captains, carry on.

but they
achieved

what we
surface —
for many years
people prosperity is here.
That what we see on the
surface never came

never came

~~The~~ In the determination
~~that~~ this new deal
will
You & I ~~have~~ not be
satisfied with communals?
They also have
hands again on
wants

Do we travel the road that we have opened — ~~does this lead~~ or do we turn back at this place, ~~[illegible]~~ satisfied with ourselves & many of well being?

Democracies

It is not easy for us

The satisfaction is for one not

Pattern for man

but the aim

new structure

Defer

To satisfy

did we ~~not~~ dedicate

~~[illegible]~~ the satisfaction

in ~~[illegible]~~

ourselves ~~[illegible]~~

of their fair

Democracies therefore

never was serenity

happiness or peace

Strength of Democracy to strength of humanity

That civilization will not rest upon
"the long, long patience of the
plundered poor"

Not run by super capitalists &
regimented or super-statesmen &
all-controlling totalitarian states

Grand job
Court star
to Du

Not to have run help
but to learn so much —
feeling we can go ahead —
work for better things

A new order
Ages to Begin

A new Series
Ages to Begin

Examples —
"That happened to me"
Humanity example

Look up for speech —

C O P Y

Dear Bill:

This is 5th draft. What do you think? It must be cut 1/5.

F. D. R.

Dear Mr. President

Pages #14 to #25 are just right and factual. Pages #1-#2 a great introduction. For Pages #2-#14 stress should be placed on the fact that the honor of the soldier has been cast to the winds and the war of today has been transferred to the civilian and non-combatant populations who are being driven into holes in the ground in order to glorify a so called holy conquest. In all other wars men have fought and died for the protection of their women and children, in this war it is "Kill women and children first". With all the vaunted efficiency in this war there is still the concentration camp in the background and the servants of God in chains. We do not have this in America and with God's help we are not going to have it. The activities of the Nazis in U. S. I would minimize or rather not acknowledge. The appeasers I would refer to Denmark, Norway, Belgium, France and England before she woke up. There can be no appeasement with ruthlessness. There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb. This is not a contest between the money dollar and the work dollar. This is a contest between earned and requisitioned dollars.-- between craft and whip. Then all help to Britain.

S.
W. KNUDSEN

COPY

Dear Bill:

This is 5th draft. What do you think? It must be cut 1/5.

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W. KNUDSEN

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W. KNUDSEN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMO FOR THE P. S.

I think you will have to find out from the President to whom he gave the first nine copies -- perhaps No. 14 went to a Dutchess County neighbor!

G.

illiam Phillips
illiam C. Bullitt
elix Frankfurter
race Hartley Howe
Miss Mary Wooley
tephen Wise
iss Dorothy Jones
iss Roberta Bowers
udolph Forster
illiam Hassett
Samuel I. Rosenman
om Corcoran

No. 21 Harold L. Ickes
No. 22 Henry A. Wallace
No. 23 Daniel C. Roper
No. 24 Frances Perkins
No. 25 W. W. Howes
No. 26 Harry Woodring
No. 27 R. Walton Moore
No. 28 Sumner Welles
No. 29 Francis Sayre

Courtesy

Pat Lee
Use this catalogue
I don't know
never before
P.

No. 10 - Grace G. Tully

No. 11 Marvin H. McIntyre

No. 12 Stephen T. Early

No. 13 Ross McIntire

No. 14

No. 15 Cordell Hull

No. 16 Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

No. 17 Mrs. Dern

No. 18 Homer Cummings

No. 19 James A. Farley

No. 20 Claude A. Swanson

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No. 30 William Phillips

No. 31 William C. Bullitt

No.32 Felix Frankfurter

No. 33 Grace Hartley Howe

No. 34 Miss Mary Wooley

No. 35 Stephen Wise

No. 36 Miss Dorothy Jones

No. 37 Miss Roberta Bowers

No. 38 Rudolph Forster

No. 39 William Hassett

No. 40 Samuel I. Rosenman

No. 41 Tom Corcoran

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No. 37 Miss Roberta Bowers

No. 38 Rudolph Forster

No. 39 William Hassett

No. 40 Samual I. Rosenman

No. 41 Tom Corcoran

R

Oct 14 unopened

Joe Kennedy ✓
McIntyre ✓
Tom Corcoran
Steve Early

Vin Astor ✓
H. Hooker ✓
Lord Tweedsmuir
Basil O'Connor

Rome ✓ (see dup)
Col Watson ✓
Gregory ✓
Hull ✓
Wallace ✓
Bankhead ✓
Lambert ✓ ✓
Woodring ✓
H. A. G. ✓
Jimmy C. ✓

Joe McIntyre ✓ ✓
Capt Herbert ✓ (one 7 & 2 no x)
Garner ✓ (one Pres)
H. M. Jr. ✓ (x) x
F. M. G. ✓
Swanson ✓
Bastedo ✓
Perkins ✓
Keller
Ickes ✓
Roper ✓

SOUTH AMERICAN SPEECHES -
HE FOLLOWING:

HE VICE PRESIDENT

HE SECRETARY OF STATE

HE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

HE SECRETARY OF WAR

HE ATTORNEY GENERAL

HE POSTMASTER GENERAL

HE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

HE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

HE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

HE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

HE SECRETARY OF LABOR

HE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

ING:

ORD TWEEDSMUIR

HON. MARVIN H. McINTYRE

THOMAS G. CORCORAN

HON. STEPHEN T. EARLY

VINCENT ASTOR

HARRY HOOKER

BASIL O'CONNOR

HARRY HOPKINS

EMIL HURJA

SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

INAUGURAL ADDRESS - JA

THE FOLLO

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MAU

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Harry Hopkins R
Emil Hurja R
Sam Rosenman R

√

30 7 at $30
20 at $2√
210.
√100
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20
√100

If all can go under Contingent fund - P.P bills to
all official will be billed Contingent fund

HON. MARRINER S. ECCLES

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Released For Use Not Earlier Than Wednesday Afternoon, March 20, 1940.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Washington

Speech material

William L. Austin, Director of the Census, has sent the following letter to Senator Charles W. Tobey:

March 19, 1940

My dear Senator Tobey:

Now that the little census blitzkreig which you led so gallantly seems about to have spent its force, and since we are approaching the Easter Season when the spirit of charity and forgiveness should prevail, I am writing to ask you to join with me in binding up the wounds.

I am appealing to you to do this in the interest of a good census, and especially in the interest of more than 3,000 progressive cities whose Chambers of Commerce and leading citizens have organized to cooperate locally to see that the coming census is a good one. For, remember, these cities are about to have photographs taken which must be their official likenesses for the next ten years, and it is important to them that the likenesses be sharply in focus.

These are the things which you can generously do now which will demonstrate that Americans, although partisans, can really get together for the common good after they have indulged in their political fun:

1. Write a letter, please, to Mrs. J. Warren Burgess, President of the Federation of Women's Clubs of Tulsa, Oklahoma, telling her that you were in error when you announced over the radio that the census schedule of 1940 contained the question "Have you ever been divorced?" Explain to her that you were in error in needlessly arousing the ire of many women, resulting in many violent protests to Members of Congress over a question which is not even in the schedule. Kindly explain to her that the question touching on this subject in the 1940 Census is the same that has appeared in census schedules since 1890 and requires simply an indication of the "marital condition" of each person--man and woman--as of April 1, 1940. Each person will be listed as "single," "married," "widowed," or "divorced." If a divorced person is remarried, he or she will simply report "married" and there will be no probing into previous marital history. There will be no question on "how many times divorced" as you stated over the radio.

2. Please admit in your next radio address that when you stated that certain questions on occupation were asked only of men, and not of women, you were completely in error, as the fact is that all employed persons, both male and female, will be asked to indicate the occupation and industry in which they were employed during the week preceding the census, and unemployed persons, both male and female, will indicate the occupation and industry in which they were last employed. Please be generous enough to admit, therefore, that this question has no relation to mobilization for war, but is intended simply to get basic statistics on the nation's industrial and occupational skill.

3. Please be generous enough to admit that a large proportion of unemployment involves persons engaged in part-time employment and irregular employment, and that the best measure of the degree of such unemployment is the amount of wage income earned during the year. Be fair enough to explain that the main purpose of this inquiry on wages and salaries is to get a measure of this twilight zone between employment and unemployment; that the question on income involves only persons whose income is $5,000 and less and does not include income from dividends, interest, and other non-wage sources. It would be very helpful, in removing partisanship from the discussion of this question, if you would tell your followers that the Congressional Act directing the Census Bureau to make "inquiries on unemployment" was passed by a Congress controlled by your own party in 1929 and signed by a President of your own party.

4. Please be good enough to admit that the inquiry on home mortgage data is not new in this census; that a Congress and a President (Benjamin Harrison), of your own party, in 1890 directed the Census Bureau to obtain this information and that no survey of housing conditions in the United States could be complete without this essential information.

5. Please be frank enough to state the recognized truth that bath and toilet facilities in any home are, perhaps, the most important characteristics to indicate the kind of abode; that they are vital facts in arriving at or justifying claimed values, and that no housing census would be complete without them. Please explain that municipalities, public utilities, real estate men, bankers, and health authorities need these statistics to govern extensions of facilities in cities, and that these inquiries are for the public good.

6. Won't you please help to make your followers understand that the Census Bureau through 150 years has never violated the law requiring secrecy; that all of its executive staff, except the Director, is Civil Service; that the present Director, although a Democrat, has spent 40 years in the service, rising from a clerkship to the top; that he received most of his promotions during administrations of your own party; that he became Assistant Director during the administration of President Hoover; that even now our Assistant Director is a Massachusetts Republican, and that our Chief Statistician for Population, who entered the service 30 years ago during the Taft Administration and the man who probably has had more to do in framing the income questions than any other man, is a Maine Republican.

7. Please be fair enough to admit that if there is any justified criticism over the manner of selecting local enumerators, such correction would be a responsibility of Congress, and that all censuses except one since 1870 have been conducted by a field force selected by your own party.

I appeal to you in this manner because the quality and completeness of these ten-year surveys are of vital interest to men and women of all parties. They cannot be completely successful without public cooperation and to arouse public resistance through incorrect statements and improper implications is taking a desperate chance with public welfare.

With a sincere desire to have your cooperation rather than your opposition, I appeal to you to join in making the 1940 Census successful. I appeal to you without any resentment for what has happened for I realize that to err is human; to forgive Divine,

Respectfully yours,

(SIGNED)WILLIAM L. AUSTIN
Director.

Hon. Charles W. Tobey
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.