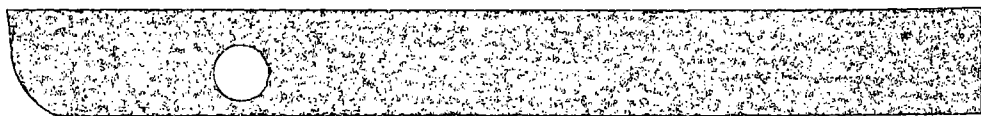


ELEANOR ROOSEVELT



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**FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
AND THE ERA OF THE NEW DEAL**
GENERAL EDITOR: FRANK FREIDEL
Harvard University

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT;

An American Conscience

BY
TAMARA K. HAREVEN
,,

With a New Introduction by the Author

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auxiliary to her husband: "When I went to Washington I felt sure that I would be able to use opportunities which came to me to help Franklin gain the objectives he cared about—but the work would be his work and the pattern his pattern."²⁹ Instead, however, she developed her own framework and institutions. She not only aided her husband but started to work independently, in harmony with



—Clifford K. Berryman, 1934

him and through him, for the causes she deemed important. In the beginning she did not plan her course. She picked up new causes as they came along. "Somebody had asked me to 'come and let us show you what is happening here,' and being interested I went. Then another invitation came and I accepted that. And each thing I saw proved so fascinating I found myself going more and more, farther and farther."³⁰

Through her trips, speeches, and writing, she also developed the unique position of a semi-official link between the administration and the public. The President sent her to all parts of the nation on fact-finding trips, to report on the work of agencies, and to feel the pulse of public sentiment. She went beyond these prescribed functions and used the trips as opportunities to create a lively, warm contact with the people. The hundreds of speeches she made on her travels were almost identical in content, but they varied in emphasis according to local conditions and needs. They revealed her acute sense of observation and ability quickly to detect moods, isolate problems, and articulate them after brief contacts with a community. Upon her return to Washington, she not only submitted detailed reports but made it her business to see certain measures through.

In March 1933 Mrs. Roosevelt created her own press conference. Following the advice of her journalist friend, Lorena Hickok, she restricted the conference to women reporters. During the first few sessions, the discussion centered mainly on social affairs and the First Lady's wardrobe. As she expanded her activities, the conference focused increasingly on her findings around the nation and her comments on current issues. She used the press conference as an instrument to popularize her favorite projects and the activities of various government agencies which she supported. Gradually, one could count on hearing at the conference tips of proposed legislation or the President's policy plans before he actually announced them. News agencies which had previously refused employment to women reporters discovered that it was essential to have them at Mrs. Roosevelt's conferences.

Another vehicle for her opinions was her daily column, which she started on December 30, 1935, as a diary of the First Lady's activities. The column was syndicated by United Feature Syndicate in forty newspapers. By April

1940, when the syndicate renewed Mrs. Roosevelt's contract, the number had grown to 135 papers. She told about her trips, luncheons, shopping, White-Housekeeping, and public receptions. At first the column was loaded with trivia, but it appealed to the average woman who vicariously shared the First Lady's experiences. Gradually "My Day" became a social and political force. In 1939 Arthur Krock of *The New York Times* commented that if one wanted to know the President's plans one had to read the First Lady's column.³¹ By this time she had started to use the column as an instrument for social criticism and daily coverage of important aspects of the New Deal's work. Although Eleanor never admitted it, the President sometimes used her columns to launch trial balloons for new political programs.

Mrs. Roosevelt's new role confronted her and the President with dilemmas. FDR wanted to involve Eleanor when he needed her, on *his* terms, without being subjected to her independent interferences. He was especially apprehensive when people tried to exploit her influence to further their own interests. Thus he tried to set limits for her where political appointments were concerned. Eddie Dowling, an actor and close friend of the Roosevelts, recalls how after the victory of 1932 he had asked Mrs. Roosevelt to intercede with the President on behalf of her own cousin, Forbes Morgan, who had worked with Dowling in the presidential campaign and who expected his political payoff. Eleanor returned from her conversation with Franklin snubbed and angry, and asked Dowling never to send her on such missions again. Later, Roosevelt told Dowling that he had a position for Morgan. Nevertheless, he had told off Eleanor because "I just felt it was good to tell Eleanor to take care of the girl scouts and all these other things and not to bother with all these fellows."³²

Soon, however, Franklin accepted the fact that he could

not confine his wife to the "girl scouts" if he wanted to rely on her as a barometer of public opinion and a humanitarian ambassador of the New Deal to the people. He became accustomed to using her as a sounding-board and to quoting her reports in cabinet meetings: "My Missus says . . ." Often, in their private conversations, he voiced opinions which provoked her protest. The next day she was astonished to hear him publicly express her views as if they were his own.

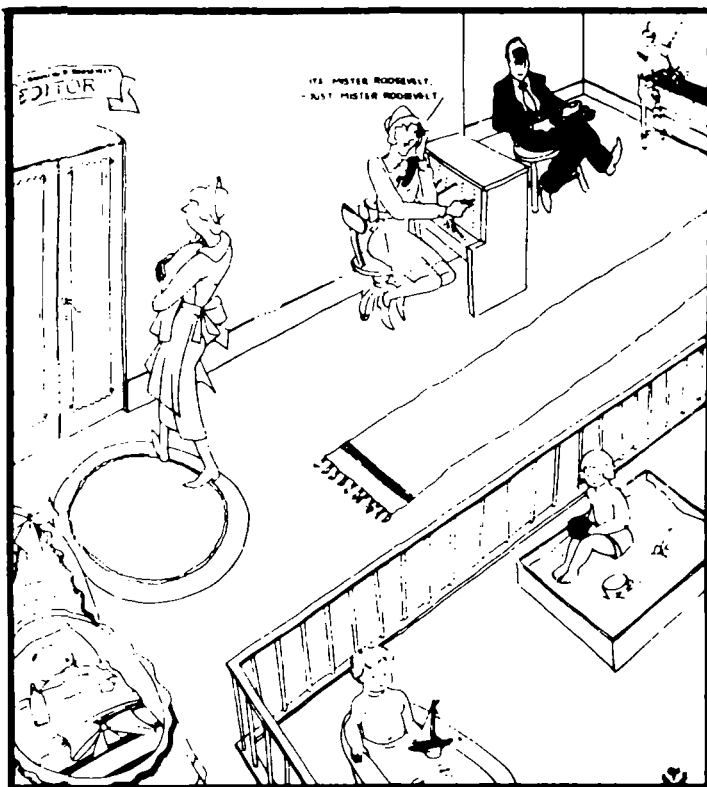
Both Franklin and Eleanor paid a personal penalty for their political partnership. For a man as sensitive to female domination as Franklin Roosevelt, it must have been exceedingly difficult to accept his wife's stubborn interference. Often he found himself dragged into social engagements and pushed to confront people or issues he had tried to avoid. Even the minimal privacy and relaxation a President could expect within his home were lost because his wife personified social emergencies and unfinished tasks. Franklin Roosevelt had the unique talent for temporarily dismissing the problems he preferred to ignore, or staving off unpleasant discussions by unexpected monologues and jest. Eleanor had learned to break through those defenses. Sooner or later, she forced him to face the issues. This put a strain on their relationship. The gentle, shy, submissive Eleanor, who had never dared to face her husband on personal problems, now pursued and confronted him with a profusion of social causes. As Rexford Guy Tugwell, one of the original brain trusters, recalled:

No one who ever saw Eleanor Roosevelt sit down facing her husband, and, holding his eye firmly, say to him, "Franklin, I think you should . . ." or "Franklin, surely you will not . . ." will ever forget the experience.³³

Despite the occasional irritation, Franklin came to accept Eleanor's new role, because he was partly responsible

for it and because basically they shared similar social reform aspirations. Furthermore, he came to depend on the lively contact she maintained between him and the people.

Through the very force of her personality, Eleanor be-



—George T. Eggleston, *Life*, 1932

came an institution herself. She was the person to turn to for help, for support of new plans, for advice, for access to the President, for the settlement of administrative squabbles. Because she held no official government posi-

tion, she could afford a flexibility which she would otherwise have lacked. On the one hand, she exercised influence with the administration. On the other hand, she defended her right to take a public stand on various issues as a private citizen: "I hold no office, I occupy a position because my husband is President. But I have not been elected to any office nor am I responsible as such."³⁴ Mrs. Roosevelt was sufficiently naive to believe that the public would accept this artificial separation of identities. In the fall of 1934 she delivered a series of campaign speeches and raised funds for Mrs. Caroline O'Day, Democratic candidate for Representative at large for New York. The First Lady's interference with a political campaign provoked a wave of criticism. Mrs. Roosevelt's insistence on her right to take her stand as an individual backfired. "She can't enjoy the prerogative and influence of the White House in some matters and claim to be a private citizen in others," said the critics.³⁵ Notwithstanding Mrs. Roosevelt's disclaimers, she became identified with the New Deal, not only as its most popular interpreter but also as its most clearly marked target.

What brought this transformation about? It was both her need to serve and express herself independently and the challenge offered by the traumatic experience of the depression. Eleanor Roosevelt recognized the potential power in her position and used it for the achievement of a more equitable society. She did this at the expense of her private existence: "I think I lived those years [in the White House] very impersonally. It was almost as though I had erected someone a little outside of myself who was the President's wife. I was lost somewhere deep down in myself."³⁶ The only way a shy woman could speak to audiences of thousands was by creating a new image outside her timid self. Yet the public figure soon became second nature to her.

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Committee: Joint Committee on Tax Evasion and Avoidance

Subject descriptors: Tax fraud and evasion; Tax incentives and shelters; Income taxes; Corporations; Holding companies; Revenue Act; State and local taxes; Bureau of Internal Revenue

Witnesses:

Bruton, Paul W., Atty, Office of Chief Counsel, Bur of Internal Revenue, p. 262.

Fortas, Abe, Asst Dir, Protective Committee Study, SEC, p. 198.

Kent, Arthur H., Asst Gen Counsel, Treas Dept, p. 224, 317.

(75) S548-2-C

TAX EVASION AND AVOIDANCE. Part 3

July 9, 13, 1937. 75-1. iii+329-423+iv p. Index.

Y4.T19:H35/pt.3.

Microfiche note: Part 3 begins on microfiche No. 9 of 14.

Committee: Joint Committee on Tax Evasion and Avoidance

Subject descriptors: Tax fraud and evasion; Income taxes; Tax incentives and shelters; Holding companies; Revenue Act

Witnesses:

Fish, Hamilton, Rep, NY, p. 329.

Morgenthau, Henry, Jr., Sec, Treas Dept, p. 344.

Harding, Paul A., atty, representing NY Sun, Inc, p. 345.

Rogge, O. John, Spec Counsel, SEC, p. 356.

Roosevelt, James, p. 351.

(75) S548-2-D

TAX EVASION AND AVOIDANCE. Part 4

July 28, 1937. 75-1. iii+425-440 p.

Y4.T19:H35/pt.4.

Microfiche note: Part 4 begins on microfiche No. 10 of 14.

Committee: Joint Committee on Tax Evasion and Avoidance

Subject descriptors: Tax fraud and evasion; Tax incentives and shelters; Income taxes; Gifts and donations; Roosevelt, Eleanor

Witness:

Jackson, Robert H., Asst Atty Gen, p. 425.

(75) S548-3

REORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

Feb. 16-18, 24, Mar. 8, 9, 11, 19, 29, 31, Apr. 1, 27, 29, 1937. 75-1. iii+414 p. Y4.G74/4:R29.

Committee: Joint Committee on Government Organization

Subject descriptors: President's Committee on Administrative Management; Executive Office of the President; Public administration; Government reorganization; Economy Act; Classification Act; Budget and Accounting Act; Government reorganization; Accounting and auditing; Presidential powers; Civil Service Board; Civil service system; Department of Social Welfare; Department of Public Works; Public works; National Resources Committee; Conservation of natural resources; Indian Reorganization Act; Department of Interior; Department of Conservation

Bills: (65) S. 3771; (72) H.R. 11267; (72) H.R. 13520; (73) H.R. 2820; (74) H.R. 12624

Witnesses:

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(75) S549-1

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Aug. 11, 13, 19, 1937. 75-1. iii+67 p.

Y4.Ag8/2:Ag8/10.

Considers legislation to regulate marketing and export activities and establish cost-production mechanisms and producer price levels for agricultural commodities yielding exportable surpluses.

Committee: Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

Subject descriptors: Agricultural Equality Act; Agricultural surpluses; Agricultural price supports; Warehouses; Agriculture in foreign trade

Bills: (75) H.R. 271; (75) H.R. 7475; (75) S. 2732

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McAdoo, William G., Sen, Calif, p. 29.

Black, Albert G., representing USDA, p. 37.

(75) S549-2

SCRAP IRON AND STEEL. [Part 1]

July 29, 1937. 75-1. iii+63 p.

Y4.M59/2:Scr16/pt.1.

Committee: Senate Committee on Military Affairs

Subject descriptors: Joint Committee on Conservation and Preservation of Iron Ore and Steel and Iron Scrap; Iron and steel industry; Scrap metals; Export controls; National defense; Statistical data: foreign trade; Congressional reorganization; Conservation of natural resources

Bills: (75) H.R. 6278; (75) S. 2025; (75) S.J. Res. 180

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Berry, George L., Sen, Tenn, p. 8.

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Schwartz, Benjamin, representing Inst of Scrap Iron & Steel, Inc, p. 31.

Maguite, Jacques C., p. 33.

(75) S549-3

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Apr. 9, 10, 16, June 9, 1937. 75-1. iii+109 p.

Y4.T27/2:G93.

Committee: Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs

Subject descriptors: Army; Citizenship; Guam; Spanish-American War; Treaty of Paris

Bill: (75) S. 1450

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(76) H920-0-B

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INTERSTATE MIGRATION. Part 8:

Washington, D.C., Hearings

Nov. 29, Dec. 2, 3, 1940. 76-3. vi+3085-3463 p.
Y4.In8/12:M58/pt.8.

Microfiche note: Part 8 begins on microfiche No. 4 of 16.

Committee: House Select Committee To Investigate Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens

Subject descriptors: Migration; Resettlement; Migrant and seasonal workers; D.C.; Federal aid to states; Unemployment; Public health; Virginia; Farms and farmers; Maryland; Pennsylvania; West Virginia; California; Statistical data: agriculture; Wages and salaries; Hours of labor; Statistical data: labor and employment; Manpower; Congressional investigations

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Casaday, L. W., Labor Economist, Maritime Labor Bd, p. 3400.

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Young, John R., Commr, DC, p. 3085.

(76) H920-0-C

INTERSTATE MIGRATION. Part 9: Washington Hearings

Dec. 5, 6, 9, 10, 1940. 76-3. vi+3465-3853 p.
Y4.In8/12:M58/pt.9.

Reference Bibliography

Microfiche note: Part 9 begins on microfiche No. 8 of 16.

Committee: House Select Committee To Investigate Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens

Subject descriptors: Migration; Resettlement; Migrant and seasonal workers; Federal aid to states; Unemployment; Statistical data: labor and employment; Education; Wages and salaries; Housing; Defense industries; Manpower; Congressional investigations

Witnesses:

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(76) H920-0-D

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Dec. 11, 1940, Feb. 26, 1941. 76-3; 77-1.

iv+3855-4245+xlvi p. Index.

Y4.In8/12:M58/pt.10.

Microfiche note: Part 10 begins on microfiche No. 12 of 16.

Committee: House Select Committee To Investigate Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens

Subject descriptors: Migration; Resettlement; Migrant and seasonal workers; Unemployment; Farms and farmers; Federal aid to states; Children; Education; Statistical data: labor and employment; Housing; Defense industries; Congressional investigations

(77) H946-0-B

**NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION. Part 24:
Testimony on Possibilities of Speedy Conversion
of Automotive Plants of the Nation to War
Production**

Dec. 22, 23, 1941. 77-1.

vii+9411-9638 p. Index. Y4.N21/5:M58/pt.24.

Microfiche note: Part 24 begins on microfiche No. 8 of 17.*Committee:* House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration*Subject descriptors:* Conversion of industry; Automobiles and automobile industry; World War II; Unemployment; Production capacity; Manpower; Michigan*Witnesses:***Anderson, Harry W.**, Gen Motors Corp, p. 9450.**Carlton, C. C.**, Motor Wheel Corp; pres, Automotive Parts and Equipment Mfrs Assn, p. 9451.**Conder, Robert W.**, dir, labor relations, Chrysler Corp, p. 9454.**Frankenstein, Richard T.**, dir, aircraft and Chrysler divs, United Auto Workers, p. 9506.**Harrison, W. H.**, Dir, Div of Production, Office of Production Mgmt, p. 9496.**Knudsen, William S.**, Member, Supplies, Priorities, and Allocations Bd; Dir Gen, Office of Production Mgmt, p. 9490.**Lund, Wendell**, exec dir, Mich Unemployment Compensation Commission, p. 9425.**Patterson, Robert P.**, Under Sec, War Dept, p. 9428.**Reuther, Walter P.**, dir, Gen Motors div, United Auto Workers, p. 9506.**Roberge, R. I.**, Ford Motor Co, p. 9457.**Stanchfield, Paul L.**, chief, research statistics and planning section, Mich Unemployment Compensation Commission, p. 9425.**Steinbaugh, Varnum B.**, spec rep of Gov Murray D Van Wagoner, Mich, p. 9425.**Taub, Alex**, Chief, Production Engineering Group, Office of Production Mgmt, p. 9412.**Thomas, R. J.**, pres, United Auto Workers, p. 9506.**Waldron, Robert G.**, personnel dir, Hudson Motor Car Co, p. 9456.**Wheeler, Walter H., Jr.**, Dep Dir, Div of Contract Distribution, Office of Production Mgmt, p. 9553.**Wishart, James**, research dir, United Auto Workers, p. 9056.

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(77) H946-0-D

**NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION. Part 26:
Constitutional Rights of Destitute Citizens of the
U.S. To Move from State to State—the Edwards
Case**

Jan. 19, 1942. 77-2. vii+9969-10234-E p.

Y4.N21/5:M58/pt.26.

Includes numerous Supreme Court documents relating to case of Edwards v Calif.

Microfiche note: Part 26 begins on microfiche No. 14 of 17.*Committee:* House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration*Subject descriptors:* Edwards, Fred F.; Duncan, Frank; Edwards v California; Migration; Relocation; Constitutional law; California; State governments; Poverty; Unemployment; Interstate relations; Court documents; Supreme Court*Witness:***Thomas, Leonard A.**, Committee Counsel, p. 9969.

(77) H946-0-C

**NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION. Part 25:
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Morale**

Jan. 13-15, 1942. 77-2.

viii+9639-9967+vii p. Index.

Y4.N21/5:M58/pt.25.

Microfiche note: Part 25 begins on microfiche No. 11 of 17.*Committee:* House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration*Subject descriptors:* Migration; Impacted areas; Relocation; World War II; Educational facilities; D.C.; Civil defense; Federal-local relations; Housing; Shortages*Witnesses:***Atwater, Reginald M. (Dr.)**, exec sec, Amer Public Health Assn, p. 9833.**Ballou, Frank W.**, Supt of Schools, DC, p. 9673.**Bolles, Lemuel (Col.)**, DC Dir of Civilian Def, p. 9649.**Dunn, Loula**, commr, public welfare, Ala, p. 9795.**Eliot, Martha M.**, Assoc Chief, Children's Bur, DOL, p. 9833.**Glassberg, Benjamin**, supt, public assistance, Milwaukee, Wis, p. 9795.**Goudy, Elmer R.**, administrator, Oreg Public Welfare

(77) H947-0-A

**NATIONAL DEFENSE MIGRATION. Part 27:
Manpower of the Nation in War
Production—Book One**

Feb. 3, 4, 11, 1942. 77-2.

iv+10235-10696+vii p. Index.

Y4.N21/5:M58/pt.27.

Committee: House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration*Subject descriptors:* Migration; Relocation; Manpower; Shortages; Unemployment; Statistical data; labor and employment; Women's employment; Black Americans; Labor productivity; World War II; Housing; Public service employment; Compulsory military service*Witnesses:***Anderson, Mary**, Dir, Women's Bureau, DOL, p. 10390.**Corson, John J.**, Dir, Employment Service, Fed Security Agency, p. 10286.**Davenport, Donald H.**, BLS, DOL, p. 10256.**Hershey, Lewis B. (Brig. Gen.)**, Dir, Selective Service System, p. 10235.**McDonald, Raymond G.**, migrant def worker, Freeport, Tex,

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(84) H1561-3

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

Feb. 20, 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, Mar. 1, 2, 5, 7-9, 19, June 22, 25, 29, July 2, 1956. 84-2. x+807 p. Y4.F76/1:ln8/26/956.

Committee: House Committee on Foreign Affairs

Subcommittee: House Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements

Subject descriptors: United Nations; Food and Agriculture Organization; World Bank; International Civil Aviation Organization; International Labor Organization; International Monetary Fund; International Telecommunications Union; United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; Universal Postal Union; World Health Organization; World Meteorological Organization; Agriculture in foreign trade; International cooperation in science; International finance; Foreign assistance; Cultural relations; Educational exchanges; Postal service; Airlines; Telecommunication; Manpower; Public health

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(84) H1562-1-A

**MILITARY CONSTRUCTION
 APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1957. Department of
 the Army**

May 14-16, 1956. 84-2. ii+221+v p. Index.
 Y4.Ap6/1:M59/6/957-2.

Committee: House Committee on Appropriations

Subcommittee: House Subcommittee on Department of the Army Appropriations

Subject descriptors: Defense budgets and appropriations; Military bases, posts, and reservations; Military housing; Army; Department of Defense

Witnesses:

King, Robert D., Dep Asst Sec for Financial Mgmt, Army Dept, p. 1.
Shuler, William R. (Col.), Chief, Construction Div, Office of Dir, Installations, Army, p. 1.
Wickersham, Victor, Rep, Okla, p. 210.

(84) H1562-1-B

**MILITARY CONSTRUCTION
 APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1957. Department of
 the Navy**

Mar. 22, 26-30, 1956. 84-2.
 ii+440+viii p. Index. Y4.Ap6/1:M59/6/957.

Microfiche note: Hearing begins on microfiche No. 3 of 19.

Committee: House Committee on Appropriations

Subcommittee: House Subcommittee on Department of the Navy Appropriations

Subject descriptors: Navy; Department of Defense; Coast Guard; Marine Corps; Military bases, posts, and reservations; Military housing; Defense budgets and appropriations

Witnesses:

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Allen, Chester R. (Brig. Gen.), Asst Quartermaster Gen, USMC, p. 285.
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(84) H1562-1-C

**MILITARY CONSTRUCTION
 APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1957. Department of
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May 14-18, 21-24, 1956. 84-2.
 ii+388+vii p. Index. Y4.Ap6/1:M59/6/957-3.

Microfiche note: Hearing begins on microfiche No. 7 of 19.

Committee: House Committee on Appropriations

Subcommittee: House Subcommittee on Department of the Air Force Appropriations

Subject descriptors: Defense budgets and appropriations; Air Force; Military housing; Military bases, posts, and reservations; Department of Defense

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(84) H1562-2-A

**SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL
 APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957. Part 1: Atomic
 Energy Commission—Budget Program,
 Department of the Interior**

June 13-15, 18, 19, 1956. 84-2.
 ii+355+v p. Index. Y4.Ap6/1:Ap6/2/957-2/pt.1.

Committee: House Committee on Appropriations

Subcommittee: House Subcommittee on Public Works Appropriations

Subject descriptors: Atomic Energy Commission; Bureau of Reclamation; Appropriations

Bill: [(84) H.R. 12350]

Witnesses:

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(84) H1562-2-B

**SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL
 APPROPRIATION BILL, 1957. Part 2:
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June 25-29, July 3, 1956. 84-2.
 ii+377+iv p. Index.

Y4.Ap6/1:Ap6/2/957-2/pt.2.

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(84) S1137-1-D

REVIEW OF THE UNITED NATIONS

CHARTER. Part 11

Apr. 11, 1955. 84-1. iv+1445-1615 p.
 Y4.F76/2:Un35/3/pt.11.

Hearing was held in Denver, Colo.

Microfiche note: Part 11 begins on microfiche No. 6 of 20.

Committee: Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on the United Nations Charter

Subject descriptors: United Nations; Treaties and conventions; Conferences; Arms control and disarmament; International law; Foreign relations; Denver, Colo.

Bills: [(84) S. Res. 36; (84) S. Res. 83]

Witnesses:

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Pond, Mrs. Abbott S., Wyo state chm, For Amer, US Flag Committee, and We, The People, p. 1484.

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REVIEW OF THE UNITED NATIONS

CHARTER. Part 12

Apr. 18, 20-22, 25, May 3, 1955. 84-1.
 iv+1617-2032 p. Y4.F76/2:Un35/3/pt.12.

Microfiche note: Part 12 begins on microfiche No. 8 of 20.

Committee: Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on the United Nations Charter

Subject descriptors: United Nations; Conferences; Treaties and conventions; Arms control and disarmament; Foreign relations; International law; League of Nations; Soviet Union

Bills: [(84) S. Res. 36; (84) S. Res. 83]

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 Howard, Mrs. Ernest W., legis chm, Wheel of Progress, p. 1950.
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 Levering, Samuel R., chm, exec council, Friends Committee on Natl Legislation, p. 1783.
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 Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr., US rep, UN, p. 1967.
 McNamara, Francis J., dir, Amer sovereignty campaign, Veterans of Foreign Wars, p. 1683.
 Millard, Everett L., exec dir, Conf Upon Research and Educ in World Govt, p. 1952.
 Patton, Mrs. James B., natl chm, natl def committee, Daughters of the Amer Revolution, p. 1923.
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[pub. 1955.]. 84-1. iii+2033-2065 p.
 Y4.F76/2:Un35/3/pt.13.

Microfiche note: Index begins on microfiche No. 12 of 20

Committee: Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on the United Nations Charter

Subject descriptors: Congressional committee publications indexes; United Nations: Conferences; Treaties and conventions; Foreign relations

(84) S1137-2

HEADWATER BENEFITS

May 27, June 29, July 13, 1955. 84-1. iii+73 p.
 Y4.In8/13:H34.

Considers legislation to require Federal downstream power facilities to pay private power companies for hydroelectric power benefits realized by U.S.

Committee: Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on Irrigation and Reclamation

Subject descriptors: Electric power plants; Federal Power Commission; Water resources development; Government and business; Statistical data: energy

Bill: (84) S. 1574

Witnesses:

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 Fain, Charles J., asst gen mgr, Natl Rural Electric Coop Assn, p. 53.
 Gatchell, Willard W., Gen Counsel, FPC, p. 4. 12.
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 Gore, Albert, Sen, Tenn, p. 71.
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(84) S1137-3

**BENEFICIATION AND UTILIZATION OF
 MANGANESE DEPOSITS IN THE U.S.**

Apr. 12-14, 1955. 84-1. vi+264 p. foldouts.
 Y4.In8/13:M31.

Committee: Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials, and Fuels

Subject descriptors: Manganese; Stockpiling; Research; Bureau of Mines; Iron and steel industry; Foreign trade

Witnesses:

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1959-1964*

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Washington, D.C.

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 Masaoka, Mike M., DC rep, Japanese-Amer Citizens League, p. 66.
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(86) S1330-1

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, PREVENTION AND CONTROL

Apr. 27, 28, May 4, 26, June 4, 1959. 86-1.
 vii+405 p. Y4.L11/2:J98/3.

Considers S. 694 and 4 related bills, to provide Federal funds to states, colleges, and nonprofit organizations to train personnel, develop techniques, and improve facilities associated with treatment, prevention, and control of juvenile delinquency.

Committee: Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency

Subject descriptors: Federal Advisory Council on Juvenile Delinquency; Juvenile delinquency; Federal aid to states; Delinquent Children's Act; National Advisory Council on Juvenile Delinquency; State-local relations; Juvenile Delinquency Control Projects Act; Government reorganization; Federal advisory bodies

Bills: (86) S. 694; (86) S. 765; (86) S. 766; (86) S. 1090; (86) S. 1341

Witnesses:

Beck, Bertram, assoc dir, Natl Assn of Social Workers, p. 17.
 Davenport, John C., commanding officer, juvenile bur, Cincinnati Police Div, p. 24.
 Noyes, Alfred D., judge, juvenile court, Montgomery Cty, Md, p. 32.
 Sharp, E. Preston, exec dir, Youth Study Center, Philadelphia, Pa, p. 36.
 Lourie, Norman V., dep sec, Pa Dept of Public Welfare, p. 45.
 Whelan, Ralph W., exec vice chm, NYC Youth Bd; bd member, Natl Conf of Catholic Charities, p. 51.
 Kvaraceus, William C., dir, juvenile delinquency project, Natl Educ Assn, p. 60.
 Eliot, Martha M., prof, maternal and child health, Harvard School of Public Health, p. 66.
 Waxter, Thomas J., bd member, Amer Public Welfare Assn, p. 83.
 Campbell, Clifford J., dep commr, Chicago, Ill, Dept of City Planning; representing Amer Municipal Assn, p. 100.
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 Hecht, George J., chm, Amer Parents Committee, p. 115.
 Colborn, Fern M., Natl Fedn of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, p. 124.
 Richardson, Elliot L., Asst Sec, HEW, p. 142.
 Royfe, E. H., dir, programs service, Big Brothers of Amer, p. 165.
 Tucker, Sterling, DC rep, Natl Urban League, p. 180.
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 Long, Donald E., judge, Multnomah Cty, Oreg, p. 212.
 Ellington, John R., legis interim commission on juvenile delinquency, adult crime, and corrections, Minn, p. 228.

(86) S1330-2

TO AMEND THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

May 7, 8, 11-15, 19, 26, June 4, 1959. 86-1.
 xxi+1262 p. Y4.L11/2:F15/959.

Considers S. 1046 and miscellaneous related bills, to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to increase hourly minimum wage, extend coverage to certain categories of workers, and exclude certain other worker categories.

Committee: Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on Labor

Subject descriptors: Fair Labor Standards Act; Agricultural labor; Hours of labor; Statistical data: public welfare and social security; Minimum wage

Bills: (86) S. 25; (86) S. 141; (86) S. 1046; (86) S. 1116; (86) S. 1470; (86) S. 1874; (86) S. 1967

Witnesses:

Meany, George, pres, AFL-CIO, p. 20.
 Ruttenberg, Stanley H., dir research, AFL-CIO, p. 73.
 Greenberg, Max, pres, Retail, Wholesale & Dept Store Union, p. 85.
 Lovejoy, Mary, resident, Bessemer, Ala, p. 108.
 Gregory, Martha, Alexandria, Ind, p. 110.
 Teper, Lazare, dir, research, Intl Ladies Garment Workers Union, p. 113.
 Higgins, George G. (Rev.), social action dept, Natl Catholic Welfare Conf, p. 139.
 Mueller, Russell R., managing dir, Natl Retail Hardware Assn; representing Amer Retail Fedn, p. 150.
 Walker, W. E., Jr., Columbia, Miss, p. 172.
 Frederick, Charles R., managing dir, Natl Retail Farm Equipment Assn, p. 177.
 Kimball, George H., representing Natl Retail Merchants Assn, p. 198.
 Cleveland, William J., Natl Automobile Dealers Assn, p. 205.
 Carter, Robert E., representing Natl Retail Furniture Assn, p. 214.
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Sayre, Francis B., Jr. (Rev.), Natl Council of Churches of Christ, p. 417.
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 Kuhfuss, William, pres, Ill Agric Assn; representing Amer Farm Bur Fedn, p. 429.
 Burrows, Fred W., exec vp, Intl Apple Assn, p. 438.
 Potofsky, Jacob S., pres, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Amer, p. 445.
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 Suffridge, James A., pres, Intl Assn of Retail Clerks, p. 472.
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 Weiss, Abraham, dir, research, Intl Brotherhood of Teamsters, p. 561.
 Johnson, Benjamin O., pres, Sepak Corp, p. 569.
 Schachter, Leon B., vp and dir, DC office, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North Amer, p. 664.
 Carr, Braxton B., pres, Amer Waterway Operators, Inc, p. 691.
 Haddock, Hoyt S., exec sec, United Maritime Union Legis Committee, p. 700.
 Burger, George J., vp, Natl Fedn of Independent Business, p. 709.
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, representing Natl Consumers League, p. 713.
 McFarlin, Clyde, chm employment relations committee, US Independent Telephone Assn, p. 720.
 Beirne, Joseph A., pres, Communications Workers of Amer, p. 756.
 Riggle, John J., sec, Natl Council of Farmer Coops, p. 773.
 Dunn, William E., asst exec dir, Associated Gen Contractors of Amer, p. 777.
 Greene, Shirley E. (Rev.), sec, Town and Country Church; representing council for Christian social action, United Church of Christ, p. 787.
 Brylawski, A. Julian, pres, Motion Picture Theater Owners of the Metropolitan Dist of Wash, DC, p. 792.
 Stellings, Ernest G., representing Amer Congress of Exhibitors, p. 795.
 Lydon, Frank C., exec sec, Allied Theaters of New England, p. 799.
 Packard, Arthur J., pres, Packard Hotels Co; representing Amer Hotel Assn, = p. 806.
 Esters, Bernard E., chm, legis committee, Natl Editorial Assn, p. 813.
 Sweet, Frederick B., dir, public relations, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Intl Union, p. 818.
 Mitchell, James P., Sec, DOL, p. 842.
 Long, Russell B., Sen, La, p. 893.
 Batt, William L., Jr., sec, labor, Pa, p. 894.
 Pfau, George S., act commr, NJ Dept of Labor and Industry, p. 935.
 LeSavage, George R., chm, govt aff committee, Natl Restaurant Assn, p. 942.
 Batt, Harry J., Sr., Natl Assn of Amusement Parks, Pools, and Beaches, p. 962.
 Bowman, W. I., Capital Stockyards, Montgomery, Ala; member, Livestock Market Council, p. 967.
 Schulder, Daniel, sec-treas, Assn of Catholic Trade Unionists, p. 973.
 Broadus, Andrew, pres, Capital Laundry & Dry Cleaning Co, p. 986.
 Saunders, Burton W., pres, Gen Telephone Co, p. 1009.
 Raber, John C., pres, Ind Farmers Union; representing Natl Farmers Union, p. 1023.
 Scott, Harry E., United Papermakers & Paperworkers, p.

1027.

Scott, Harry E., United Paper Makers & Paper Workers, p. 1027.

Biemiller, Andrew J., legis dir, AFL-CIO, p. 1047.

(86) S1331-1

D.C. CHARTER ACT

Apr. 15-17, 20, 30, May 1, 15, 1959. 86-1.
 v+345 p. Y4.D63/2:C38/959.

Considers:

S.J. Res. 10, to establish D.C. Charter Commission.

S. 659, to establish D.C. appointed governor and secretary, a 15 member legislative assembly, and a nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives for D.C.

S. 1681, to establish a D.C. elected mayor, city council, school board, and nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives.

Committee: Senate Committee on District of Columbia

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on the Judiciary

Subject descriptors: D.C. self-government; D.C. Charter Commission; Federal-local relations; Government reorganization

Bills: (86) S.J. Res. 10; (86) S. 659; (86) S. 1681

Witnesses:

Allott, Gordon, Sen, Colo, p. 69.

Bartlett, E. L., Sen, Alaska, p. 155.

Beall, J. Glenn, Sen, Md, p. 209.

Bowen, Theodore (Rev.), pastor, Waugh Methodist Church, DC; on behalf of,

Reissig, Frederick, exec sec, Council of Churches Natl Capital Area, p. 193.

Brant, Irving, resident, DC, p. 238.

Brown, Bernard, member, home rule committee, DC chapter, Amers for Democratic Action, p. 177.

Brown, Philip B., legis chm, Washington Home Rule Committee, DC, p. 144.

Chamberlain, Culver, chm, suffrage committee, Democratic Central Committee, DC, p. 189.

Dunn, Mrs. Milton, pres, DC League of Women Voters, p. 170.

Dwyer, Florence P., Rep, NJ, p. 60.

Easter, Andrew J., citizen, Baltimore, Md, p. 198.

Elliot, Mrs. William G., representing Women's Alliance of All Souls Unitarian Church, p. 183.

Foley, John R., Rep, Md, p. 64.

Frazier, Hildur M., sec, Crestwood Citizens Assn, p. 186.

Goldman, Aaron, pres, Macke Corp, p. 165.

Hall, Woolsey W., representing DC Fedn of Civic Assns, p. 166.

Hansen, Royce, prof, School of Govt and Public Admin, Amer Univ, p. 130.

Howard, Mrs. Ernest W., legis chm, Dist Fedn of Women's Clubs, p. 234.

Hudgins, Herbert V., resident, DC, p. 245.

Johnson, Byron L., Rep, Colo, p. 77.

Latimer, Mrs. John F., first vp, League of Women Voters, p. 174.

Leeman, Herbert P., pres, Central Suffrage Conf, p. 157.

Lindsay, John V., Rep, NY, p. 68.

McLaughlin, Robert E., Pres, DC Bd of Commrs, p. 72.

Morris, Mrs. Edward B., representing Glover Park Citizens Assn and Randle Highlands Citizens Assn, p. 225.

Morse, Wayne, Sen, Oreg, p. 248.

Newman, Sara, pres, Potomac Coop Fedn, p. 196.

Prahinski, Theodore, representing Young Democratic Club of DC, p. 152.

Rivers, Ralph J., Rep, Alaska, p. 63.

Schwengel, Fred, Rep, Iowa, p. 229.

Shipley, Carl L., chm, Republican State Committee for DC, p. 151.

Shore, Chester C., Amer Veterans Committee, p. 175.

Committee: Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on Surface Transportation

Subject descriptors: Monopolies; Labor unions; Interstate commerce; Administrative law and procedure; Interstate Commerce Act; Civil Aeronautics Act; Federal Aviation Act; Merchant Marine Act; Statistical data: communications and transportation

Bills: (86) S. 452; (86) S. 1353; (86) S. 1354; (86) S. 1355; (86) S. 2189

Witnesses:

Allen, John J., Jr., Under Sec, Transportation, Commerce Dept, p. 16.

Carr, Braxton B., pres, Amer Waterways Operators, p. 25.

Compton, Wilson M., former pres, Amer Forest Products Industries, p. 14.

Miller, Raymond W., pres, Public Relations Assocs, p. 7.

Peterkin, George A., Jr., pres, Dixie Carriers; representing Inland Waterways Common Carriers Assn, p. 51.

Tuggle, Kenneth H., Chm, ICC, p. 36.

() S1433-8

STEWARDSHIP OF THE ICC

May 21, 1959. 86-1. iii+51 p. Y4.In8/3:In8/35.

Considers ICC accomplishments due to laws revising ICC administrative powers and functions during 1957-58.

Committee: Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on Surface Transportation

Subject descriptors: Interstate Commerce Commission; Interstate commerce; Transportation; Statistical data: communications and transportation; Administrative law and procedure; Transportation Act

Witness:

Tuggle, Kenneth H., Chm, ICC, p. 3.

(5) S1434-0-A

MIGRATORY LABOR. Part 1

Aug. 7, 26, Sept. 28, 30, Oct. 1, Nov. 30, Dec. 7, 8, 1959. 86-1. xi+762 p. Y4.L11/2:L11/6/959/pt.1.

Considers:

S. 1085, to establish minimum wages for migrant workers.

S. 1778 and S. 2498, to register and regulate migrant labor contractors engaged in interstate commerce.

S. 2141, to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to repeal child labor law exemptions for agricultural labor. Sept. 28 hearing was held in Lansing, Mich.; Sept. 30 hearing was held in Madison, Wis.; Oct. 1 hearing was held in St. Paul, Minn.; Nov. 30 hearing was held in Trenton, N.J.; Dec. 7 hearing was held in NYC; and Dec. 8 hearing was held in Philadelphia, Pa.

Committee: Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor

Subject descriptors: Lansing, Mich.; Madison, Wis.; St. Paul, Minn.; Trenton, N.J.; New York City; Philadelphia, Pa.; Fair Labor Standards Act; Migrant and Seasonal Workers; Low income housing; Minimum wage; Child labor; Fair Farm Labor Standards Act; Crew Leader Registration Act; Migrant Agricultural Labor Contractor Registration Act

Bills: (86) S. 1085; (86) S. 1778; (86) S. 2141; (86) S. 2498

Witnesses:

O'Connell, James T., Under Sec, DOL, p. 13.

Koenig, Nathan, Spec Asst to Administrator, Agric Mktg

Service, USDA, p. 39.

Clark, Joseph S., Sen, Pa, p. 53.

McNamara, Pat, Sen, Mich, p. 58.

Keating, Kenneth B., Sen, NY, p. 63.

Javits, Jacob K., Sen, NY, p. 65.

Fleming, John R., administrator, local health service, Van Buren Cty, Mich, Health Dept, p. 117.

Mitchell, Frederick M., chm, Mich Gov's Interagency Committee on Migratory Labor, p. 132.

Kramarz, Andrew, farm placement supvr, Mich Employment Security Commission, p. 135.

Wightman, Walter W., pres, Mich Farm Bur, p. 146.

Reed, Daniel E., assoc legislative counsel, Mich Farm Bur, p. 147.

O'Brien, Wash, farmer, Fennville, Mich, p. 154.

Sawyer, Ernest H., pres, Mich Farmers Union, p. 158.

Davenport, Carl D., exec sec, Mich Coop Growers Assn, p. 161.

Houghton, Bernard S., representing Consumers League of Ohio, p. 166.

Nelson, Carl, representing Great Lakes Cherry Producers Assn, p. 169.

Thaden, John F., prof emeritus, dept of sociology and anthropology, Mich State Univ, p. 187.

Kern, Clement H. (Rev.), representing Migratory Workers Def League, Holy Trinity Church, Detroit, Mich, p. 191.

Morales, Pedro G., representing Migratory Workers Def League, p. 191.

Herrera, Julian D., representing Migratory Workers Def League, p. 192.

Graham, Mrs. John, Jr., representing Mich migrant ministry, Mich Council of Churches and div of home missions, Natl Council of Churches of Christ, p. 196.

Hunter, Amy L. (Dr.), Chief, maternal and child health, Wis Bd of Health, p. 223.

Guy, Charles, Sanitary Engr, Wis Bd of Health, p. 227.

Baldwin, Robert, Wis Dept of Pub Aff, p. 241.

Kasper, Joseph, asst supvr, rural industries div, Wis Employment Service, p. 244.

Kurtz, A. R., personnel and administrative officer, Wis Dept of Agric, p. 255.

Barton, Rebecca, dir, Wis Gov's Commission on Human Rights, p. 256.

Hardiman, Percy, pres, Wis Farm Bur Fedn, p. 267.

Verhulst, Marvin P., exec sec, Wis Cannery Assn, p. 271.

Cruezigier, Charles, pres, Potato Growers Assn; also representing Wis Muck Farmers Assn, p. 276.

Jordan, I. Dean (Rev.), chm and dir, Door Cty, Wis, Christian Soc for Migrant Work; chm, Committee on Christian Ministry to Migrants, Wis Council of Churches, p. 280.

Ajer, Douglas, dir, woman and child labor div, Wis Industrial Commission, p. 293.

Haberman, George A., pres, Wis AFL-CIO, p. 298.

Reicher, Robert A. (Rev.), representing Catholic Council on Working Life, Natl Conf on Migrant Labor, Archdiocese of Chicago, p. 300.

Gundlach, Anita, asst state leader, home economics extension, Univ of Wis, p. 304.

Thomas, Donald R., asst prof, educ, Univ of Wis, p. 313.

Rauschenbush, Elizabeth Brandeis, prof, economics, Univ of Wis, p. 335.

Gillsdorf, Richard W. (Rev.), representing Wis Catholic bishops in matters concerning migrant workers, p. 341.

Mote, Mrs. F. A., member, League of Women Voters of Wis, p. 344.

Magnuson, Cyrus E., Minn Comm of Insurance, p. 352.

Allen, Byron G., commr, Minn Dept of Agric, p. 355.

Woodward, Frank L., dir, div of environmental sanitation, Minn Dept of Health, p. 359.

Starkey, Frank T., commr, Minn Dept of Employment Security, p. 367.

Poor, John W., dir, div of public assistance, Minn Dept of Public Welfare, p. 378.

Grzeskowiak, Edward (Rev.), chm, subcom on migrant workers, Minn Gov's Human Rights Commission, p. 380.

Velte, Willis W. (Rev.), chm, migrant committee, Minn

Council of Churches; member, Minn Gov's Committee on Migratory Labor, p. 385.
 Meyer, Eugene, elementary school dir, Minn Dept of Education, p. 387.
 Engbritson, Earl, teacher, school dist No. 241, Albert Lea, Minn, p. 391.
 Nelson, Dale, sec-treas, Minn Farm Bur Fedn, p. 395.
 Hormel, Claude, exec sec, Hollandale, Minn, Asparagus Growers' Assn, p. 401.
 Cardin, Victor (Rev.), chancellor, Diocese of Crookston, Minn, p. 406.
 Meyner, Robert B., Gov, NJ, p. 425.
 Male, Raymond F., commr, NJ Dept of Labor and Industry, p. 430.
 Seabrook, John M., chm, NJ Migrant Labor Bd, p. 436.
 Alampi, Phillip, sec, NJ Dept of Agric, p. 443.
 Jacobson, Joel R., exec vp, NJ State CIO council, p. 447.
 Haines, William, vp, NJ Farm Bur, p. 451.
 Pollock, John, representing NJ Potato Growers Assn, p. 457.
 Marson, Simon, assoc prof, sociology, Rutgers Univ, p. 459.
 Reed, Marion C., pres, Consumers League of NJ, p. 462.
 Webster, Gladys, representing NJ State Colored Women's Fedn of Clubs, p. 468.
 Van Dyke, Reinhardt (Rev.), rep, NJ Council of Churches, p. 472.
 Gatlin, Curtis, rep, Natl Child Labor Committee, p. 473.
 Dibuono, Pasquale (Rev.), chaplain, Glassboro, NJ, migrant laborers camp, p. 477.
 Lopez, Juan M. (Rev.), chm, committee on migrant work, Christian social relations dept, Episcopal Diocese of NJ, p. 479.
 Bennett, Kenneth A., rep, Amalgamated Food & Allied Workers of NJ, local No 56; representing NJ State Fedn of Labor, p. 480.
 Liss, Mrs. Saul, chm, NJ State legislation committee, Natl Council of Jewish Women, p. 487.
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, member, Natl Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, p. 495.
 Putnam, Horace M., exec asst to NY Commr of Agric and Markets, p. 500.
 Catherwood, Martin P., commr, NY State Dept of Labor, p. 504.
 Thomas, Norman, honorary chm, Workers Def League, p. 523.
 Neylon, John J. (Rev.), dir, Missionary Apostolate, Catholic Diocese of Buffalo, NY, p. 530.
 Senior, Clarence, chief, migration div, PR Dept of Labor, p. 532.
 Lipman, Eugene J., dir, social action, Union of Amer Hebrew Congregations, p. 539.
 Barry, John L., commr of Public Welfare, Suffolk Cty, NY; Chm, Suffolk Cty Migrant Labor Committee, p. 541.
 Herman, Henry B., pres, NY State Consumers League for Fair Labor Standards, p. 543.
 Cohen, Eli E., exec sec, Natl Child Labor Committee, p. 547.
 Bennett, Fay, exec sec, Natl Share Croppers Fund, p. 553.
 Greig, Robert, bd member, NY State Farm Bur, p. 562.
 Corey, Fred P., exec sec, Western NY State Applegrowers Assn, p. 573.
 Hill, Herbert, labor sec, NAACP, p. 581.
 Roadarmel, Kenneth A. (Rev.), gen sec, NY State Council of Churches; representing Natl Council of Churches, p. 591.
 Blumberg, Norman, business mgr, Philadelphia br, AFL, p. 597.
 Walsh, Joseph M., staff rep, Pa CIO council, p. 599.
 Moffett, Barbara, sec, community relations program, Amer Friends Service Committee, p. 604.
 Alcock, Mariana C., rep, Chester Cty, Pa, Migrant Committee, p. 610.
 Reber, Rev., representing Pa Council of Churches, p. 611.
 Kane, Anthony F. (Rev.), dir, Catholic Apostolate for Migrants, Diocese of Harrisburg, Pa, p. 613.
 Williams, Mrs. Robert, rep, Pa Citizens Assn for Health and Welfare, p. 615.
 Smaltz, Rebecca, rep, Natl Consumers League, p. 616.
 Pennington, Connie, Amer Friends Service Committee, p. 624.

Batt, William L., Jr., sec, Pa Dept of Labor and Industry, p. 629.
 Runk, Lorenzo G., Jr. (Dr.), representing Pa Dept of Health, p. 658.
 Mann, Frank A., coord, Pa State Univ School for Migrant Children, p. 659.
 Moore, Marianne, crew leader helper, p. 665.
 Madison, Grant, crew leader, p. 665.
 Boone, Rufus, crew leader, p. 665.
 Wilson, Clarence M., sec-treas, Pa Farmers Assn, p. 676.
 Torres, Eulalio, chief, field ops, migration div, PR Dept of Labor, p. 688.

(86) S1434-0-B

MIGRATORY LABOR. Part 2

May 12, 16, 18, July 8, 11, 1960. 86-2.

vii+763-1853 p. Y4.L11/2:L11/6/959/pt.2.

May 16 hearing was held in Homestead, Fla.; May 18 hearing was held in Clewiston, Fla.; July 8 hearing was held in Fresno, Calif.; and July 11 hearing was held in Sacramento, Calif.

Microfiche note: Part 2 begins on microfiche No. 8 of 20.

Committee: Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor

Subject descriptors: Homestead, Fla.; Clewiston, Fla.; Fresno, Calif.; Sacramento, Calif.; Fair Labor Standards Act; Migrant and seasonal workers; Child labor; Fair Farm Labor Standards Act; Crew Leader Registration Act; Migrant Agricultural Labor Contractor Registration Act; Low income housing; Statistical data: agriculture; Minimum wage

Bills: (86) S. 1085; (86) S. 1778; (86) S. 2141; (86) S. 2498

Witnesses:

Arywitz, Sigmund, Chief, div of labor law enforcement, Calif Dept of Industrial Relations, p. 1074.

Barrera, Pablo, migratory worker, McCullen, Tex, p. 1344.

Barrera, Mrs. Pablo, migratory worker, McCullen, Tex, p. 1344.

Biemiller, Andrew J., dir, dept of legislation, AFL-CIO, p. 776.

Braatz, William H., sanitarian, migrant project, Palm Beach Cty, Fla, Health Dept, p. 911.

Brumback, C. L., dir, Palm Beach Cty, Fla, Health Dept, p. 909.

Bunje, Ralph B., mgr, Calif Canning Peach Assn, p. 1356.

Cassen, Paul M. (Rev.), dir, Fla Christian Ministry to Migrants, Fla Council of Churches, p. 935.

Clifton, Florence, chief, div of industrial welfare, Calif Dept of Industrial Relations, p. 1460.

Cox, Abney, vegetable grower, Princeton, Fla, p. 915.

Davis, Phillip, Northern Calif coord, Calif Farm Research and Legis Committee, p. 1452.

Finan, J. A., owner of rental housing for migrant families, Belle Glade, Fla, p. 1000.

Frederick, John, Dade Cty, Fla, Farm Bur, p. 915.

Frederick, Robert M., exc sec, Vegetable Growers Assn of Amer, p. 834.

Gibbs, Charles E., exc sec, Associated Farmers of Calif, p. 1400.

Goble, Dorothy, coord, Educ for Seasonal Farm Families, Santa Clara Cty, Calif, p. 1206.

Grant, Allan, first vp, Calif Farm Bur Fedn, p. 1058.

Griggs, Julian, Osceola Center, Fla, p. 961.

Hadley, Eleanor M., assoc prof of economics, Smith Coll; representing bd of dirs, Natl Consumers League, p. 815.

Hamilton, James A., assoc dir, DC office, Natl Council of Churches of Christ, p. 822.

Hand, Mrs. Homer, owner of rental housing for migrant families, Belle Glade, Fla, p. 1002.

Heffernan, Helen, chief, bur of elementary educ, Calif Dept of Educ, p. 1036.

Henderson, Isaac (Rev.), South Dade Labor Camp, Fla, p. 942.

Committee: House Committee on Education and Labor

Subcommittee: House Select Subcommittee on Labor

Subject descriptors: Equal Pay Act; Wages and salaries; Women's employment; Discrimination in employment; Labor-management relations; Department of Labor

Bills: (87) H.R. 8898; (87) H.R. 10226

Witnesses:

Bosone, Reva B., Judicial Officer, PO Dept, p. 139.

Boyle, Doris D., representing Amer Assn of Univ Women, Natl Council of Catholic Women, and Natl Council of Jewish Women, p. 202.

Carey, James B., sec-treas, AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept; pres, Intl Union of Electrical, Radio, & Machine Workers, p. 169, 181.

Dwyer, Florence P., Rep, NJ, p. 132.

Edelman, John W., DC rep, Textile Workers Union of Amer, p. 124.

Furay, Mort, representing Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, p. 102.

Gierke, Theola, sec-treas, Retail Clerks Union, Local 309, Olympia, Wash, p. 122.

Goldberg, Arthur J., Sec, DOL, p. 9.

Griffiths, Martha W., Rep, Mich, p. 131.

Holt, Leila M., chm, Tax Exemption Committee, Alva Belmont House, p. 142.

Johnson, Elizabeth S., dir, Bur of Women and Children, Pa Dept of Labor and Industry, p. 143.

Kelly, Edna F., Rep, NY, p. 179.

Mayer, Arnold, legis rep, Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen, p. 153.

Miller, Emma G., chm, Natl Woman's Party, p. 141.

Peden, Katherine, pres, Natl Fedn of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, p. 197.

Peterson, Esther, Asst Sec, DOL, p. 24.

Plopper, Murray, vp, Retail Clerks Intl Assn, p. 116.

Rivers, Ralph J., Rep, Alaska, p. 134.

Schnitzler, William F., sec-treas, AFL-CIO, p. 146.

Sullivan, Leonor K., Rep, Mo, p. 129.

Thornbrough, Clarence R., commr, Ark Dept of Labor; pres, Intl Assn of Govtl Labor Officials, p. 190.

Tillett, Gladys A., US Rep, United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, p. 87.

Weis, Jessica McC., Rep, NY, p. 127.

Williams, Ethel J., representing Natl Council of Negro Women, p. 155.

Roosevelt, Eleanor, Chm, Pres Commission on the Status of Women, p. 224.

Sullivan, David, pres, Bldg Service Employees Intl Union, p. 331.

Thomson, Ruth, natl bd YWCA consultant on young adult program, p. 245.

Tillett, Gladys A., US Rep, United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, p. 227.

Wagner, Robert F., mayor, NYC, p. 256.

(87) H1935-2

EDUCATION OF MIGRANT AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYEES AND THEIR CHILDREN

June 26, 27, 1962. 87-2. iv+144 p.

Y4.Ed8/1:M58/4.

Considers S. 1124, to provide financial assistance to the states to improve educational opportunities for migrant agricultural employees and their children.

Committee: House Committee on Education and Labor

Subcommittee: House Select Subcommittee on Labor

Subject descriptors: Migrant Educational Assistance Act; Migrant and seasonal workers; Adult education; Federal aid to education; Federal aid to states; Federal aid to local governments; Office of Education; Department of Labor

Bills: (87) H.R. 5286; (87) H.R. 5287; (87) S. 1124

Witnesses:

Borchardt, Selma M., vp and DC rep, Amer Fedn of Teachers, p. 85.

Cohelan, Jeffery, Rep, Calif, p. 24.

Fair, Clinton M., legis rep, AFL-CIO, p. 82.

Frye, G. Shubert (Rev.), representing Natl Council of Churches of Christ, p. 72.

Gonzalez, Henry B., Rep, Tex, p. 74.

Green, Edith, Rep, Oreg, p. 58.

Lewis, Robert J. (Rev.), cochm, legis committee, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, p. 80.

Lowry, Edith E., Natl Council on Agric Life and Labor; representing several organizations, p. 15.

McMurrin, Sterling M., Commr, OE, HEW, p. 41.

Merrick, Samuel V., Spec Asst Sec, Legislation, DOL, p. 2.

Newman, Sarah H., gen sec, Natl Consumers League, p. 21.

Potts, Alfred M., Colo Dept of Educ, p. 28.

Ryan, William Fitts, Rep, NY, p. 76.

Shipman, Richard C., asst dir, Natl Farmers Union, p. 39.

Triggs, Matt, representing Amer Farm Bur Fedn, p. 10.

Vizzard, James L. (Rev.), dir, DC office, Catholic Rural Life Conf, p. 61.

Williams, Harrison A., Jr., Sen, NJ, p. 47.

Woodbury, Mildred F., chm, Natl Committee on

Employment of Youth, Natl Child Labor Committee, p. 62.

(87) H1935-1-B

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK. Part 2

Apr. 27, 28, 1962. 87-2. iv+223-343 p.

Y4.Ed8/1:P29/pt.2.

Hearings were held in New York City.

Microfiche note: Part 2 begins on microfiche No. 3 of 18.

Committee: House Committee on Education and Labor

Subcommittee: House Select Subcommittee on Labor

Subject descriptors: Equal Pay Act; Wages and salaries; Women's employment; Labor-management relations; Department of Labor; New York City

Bills: (87) H.R. 8898; (87) H.R. 10226

Witnesses:

Coleman, Gerald R., exec sec, United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers Intl Union, p. 260.

Coughlin, Howard, pres, Office Employees Intl Union, p. 249.

Davis, Bette, actress, p. 238.

Higgins, Lois L., dir, Crime Prevention Bur of Ill; pres, Intl Assn of Women Police, p. 263.

Kenyon, Dorothy, representing ACLU, p. 231.

Kopelow, Connie, assoc educ dir, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Amer, p. 241.

Pollitzer, Anita, past natl chm, Natl Woman's Party, p. 327.

(87) H1935-3-A

ADMINISTRATION OF THE DAVIS-BACON ACT. Part 1

June 6-8, 11, 12, 1962. 87-2. iv+318 p.

Y4.Ed8/1:D29/2/pt.1.

Investigates the administration of the Davis-Bacon Act, relating to the rate of wages for laborers employed by contractors and subcontractors on public buildings and public works.

Committee: House Committee on Education and Labor

Subcommittee: House Special Subcommittee on Labor

Subject descriptors: Davis-Bacon Act; Government contracts and procurement; Public buildings; Public works; Wages and salaries; Labor-management relations; Administrative law and procedure; Department of Labor; Construction industry

Witnesses:

Barrett, Wallace J., dir, industrial relations, Ets-Hokin & Galvan, p. 307.

Blackhall, Louis G., managing dir, NY State chapter,

(87) S1491-7

CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION FOR D.C.

May 23, 25, 1962. 87-2. iv+73 p.
Y4.J89/2:D63/9/1962.

Committee: Senate Committee on Judiciary

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments

Subject descriptors: D.C.; Congress; Constitutional amendments

Bills: (87) S.J. Res. 85; (87) S.J. Res. 181

Witnesses:

Albaugh, William A., sec, Equal Natl Representation Committee, p. 42.

Bush, Prescott, Sen, Conn, p. 4.

Donohue, F. Joseph, member, Democratic Central Committee, DC, p. 24.

Keating, Kenneth B., Sen, NYC, p. 3.

King, Archibald, representing Georgetown Citizens Assn, p. 39.

Martin, Robert E., representing Natl Capital Area Civil Liberties Union, p. 27.

Mathias, Charles McC., Jr., Rep, Md, p. 13.

Miller, Jack, Sen, Iowa, p. 9.

Pendleton, George C., chm, bd of dirs, Washington Home Rule Committee, p. 51.

Press, William H., exec vp, Metropolitan Washington Bd of Trade, DC, p. 49.

Schlaifer, Irving, sightseeing guide, DC, p. 44.

Shipley, Carl L., chm, Republican State Committee, DC, p. 20.

Simonson, Mrs. Richard C., pres, League of Women Voters, DC, p. 53.

Warner, Sturgis, atty, DC, p. 29.

Snyder, Edward F., Friends Committee on Natl Legislation, p. 63.

Swanstrom, Edward E. (Rev.), exec dir, Catholic Relief Services, p. 33.

Vanden Heuvel, William J., pres, Intl Rescue Committee, p. 49.

Waters, Herbert J., Asst Administrator, Office of Material Resources, AID, p. 151.

Yee, Samuel E., Chinese-Amer Citizens Alliance, p. 126.

(87) S1491-9

PRICES OF HEARING AIDS

Apr. 18, 19, 24, 25, May 16, 1962. 87-2.
iv+533 p. Y4.J89/2:H35.

Committee: Senate Committee on Judiciary

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly

Subject descriptors: Hearing aids; Congressional investigations; Prices; Consumer protection; Competition; Antitrust law

Witnesses:

Andrus, Ethel P., pres, Natl Retired Teachers Assn and Amer Assn of Retired Persons, p. 68.

Barnow, David, exec vp, Beltone Hearing Aid Co, p. 116.

Causey, G. Donald, Chief, Acoustical Research Audiology, VA, p. 75.

Hardy, William G., dir, Hearing and Speech Center, Johns Hopkins Hosp, p. 19.

Kinney, Eugene M., vp, Zenith Radio Corp, p. 171.

Moffitt, Peter M., pres, Dictograph Products, p. 91.

Myers, L. M., pres, Radioear Corp, p. 191.

Neuberger, Maurine B., Sen, Ore, p. 10.

Roosevelt, Eleanor, former Delegate to UN; widow of former US Pres, p. 4.

Scitovsky, Tibor, dept of economics, Univ of Calif, p. 202.

Taylor, Samuel S., hearing aid salesman, Salt Lake City, Utah, p. 19.

(87) S1491-8

REFUGEE PROBLEM IN HONG KONG AND MACAO

May 29, June 7, 8, 28, July 10, 1962. 87-2.
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Committee: Senate Committee on Judiciary

Subcommittee: Senate Subcommittee To Investigate Problems Connected With Refugees and Escapees

Subject descriptors: Refugees; Hong Kong; Revolutions; China, People's Republic

Witnesses:

Anderson, Donald E., dir, Lutheran Immigration Service, p. 106.

Bagrati, Teymuraz K., exec sec, Tolstoy Fdn, p. 81.

Brown, Richard R., Dir, Office of Refugee and Migration Aff, State Dept, p. 13.

Channel, William W., Amer Friends Service Committee, p. 63.

Snyder, Edward F., Amer Friends Services Committee and Friends Committee on Natl Legislation, p. 63.

Chennault, Mrs. Claire L., pres, Chinese Refugee Relief, p. 88.

Chin, Irving Sheu Kee, atty, representing Chinese community in Amer, p. 133.

Corcoran, Thomas G., atty, DC, p. 98.

Dixon, Ross L., pres, Shanghai Tiffin Club, p. 143.

Harriman, W. Averell, Asst Sec for Far Eastern Aff, State Dept, p. 6.

Hong, Ngai Ho, representing Chinese-Amer Citizens Alliance, p. 147.

Keating, Kenneth B., Sen, NY, p. 2.

Lee, David, treas, Chinese Refugee Relief, p. 123.

MacCracken, James, dir, immigration service, Church World Services, Natl Council of Churches, p. 27.

Pettiss, Susan T., assoc dir, Intl Social Service, Amer, p. 57.

Renter, Richard, exec dir, CARE, p. 43.

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FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY

Dec. 4-14, 1961. 87-1. v+524 p.
Y4.Ec7:F76/961.

Microfiche note: Hearing is followed by Committee Print "Foreign Economic Policy for the 1960's," (1962. 50 p.). Film quality poor on pages 6-7, 94-95.

Committee: Joint Economic Committee

Subcommittee: Joint Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy

Subject descriptors: Trade Agreements Act; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; Competition; Developing countries; Communism and communist activities; Import restrictions; European Economic Community; Foreign trade; Balance of payments; Foreign assistance; Labor productivity

Witnesses:

Herter, Christian A., co-chm, US Citizens Commission on NATO; former Sec, State Dept, p. 8.

Neal, Alfred C., pres, Committee on Economic Dev, p. 13.

Viner, Jacob, Walker prof of economics and intl finance, Princeton, p. 18.

Clayton, William L., co-chm, US Citizens Commission on NATO, p. 42.

Acheson, Dean, former Sec, State Dept, p. 44.

Wallich, Henry C., prof of economics, Yale, p. 46.

Bowle, Robert R., dir, Center for Intl Aff, Harvard, Dillon prof, intl relations, p. 79.

Geiger, Theodore, chief, intl studies, Natl Planning Assn, p. 82.

Belse, S. Clark, pres, Bank of Amer Natl Trust & Savings Assn, p. 85.

Dewhurst, J. Frederic, economist, 20th Century Fund, p. 88.

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13. Arthur Maass, *Muddy Waters: The Army Engineers and the Nation's Rivers*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951. For a detailed history of the Corps, the Congress, and the Roosevelt Presidency, see pp. 68-133. Walter A. Rosenbaum, *The Politics of Environmental Concern*, 2nd ed. New York: Praeger, 1977, pp. 175-176.
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16. Senator Augustine Lonergan, Representative Karl Mundt, and Kenneth A. Reid, Izaak Walton League, leading proponents of the federal regulatory perspective in *Water Pollution Control*, U.S. Senate, Committee on Commerce, Hearings on S. 1691, 76th Congress, 1st session, March 22, 1939.
17. Statement by President Roosevelt in his veto of a water pollution control bill (H.R. 2711), June 25, 1938. (F.D.R. Library, Official file, Inland Waterways-Water Pollution.)
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21. *Congressional Record*, 76th Congress, 3rd session, 86: 9, pp. 9358-9359.
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Anna Eleanor Roosevelt's White House Legacy: The Public First Lady

BETTY HOUCHIN WINFIELD

Associate Professor of Communications
Washington State University

Abstract

Little connection has been made between Anna Eleanor Roosevelt's journalistic activities and her legacy to the first lady status. This article is an examination of the public Eleanor Roosevelt during the White House years, 1933-1945, within the context of other twentieth century first ladies. How did this unprecedented woman through her newsworthy activities and her journalistic endeavors influence the concept of first lady? Eleanor Roosevelt's legacy has come to include not only following the traditional, gracious and dutiful wife role, but also an independent, "in her own right" status. Most of all, it has come to mean that no longer could the first lady have the option of being private.

When Anna Eleanor Roosevelt died in 1962, *The New York Times* had as headlines, "She Won Acclaim in Her Own Right" and "She Was The Symbol of The New Role Women Were to Play in the World." Eleanor Roosevelt's recognition for winning acclaim in her own right did indeed represent not only a new type of American woman, but a new type of first lady.¹

As the nation's first media first lady, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote and talked about herself as no first lady had ever done. Moreover, her actions were unusual and covered by the press. As a content study of Eleanor Roosevelt's own words and the press reactions, this paper will be an examination of the public Eleanor Roosevelt during the White House years, 1933-1945, within the context of other twentieth century first ladies. Thus, the major question asked here is how did this unprecedented woman through her own newsworthy activities and her journalistic endeavors influence the concept of the first lady? Through her various journalistic endeavors, how did she change the expectations of the position as some scholars and political wives have said?²

By being so public Eleanor Roosevelt changed the status of the first lady. Being a public first lady involved the American press. Eleanor Roosevelt's journalistic endeavors and her press interactions were unprecedented. She had numerous links with journalism. She had family connections: her son-in-law John Boettiger was the editor/publisher of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (1937-1943); her daughter Anna was the *PI* Associate Editor and as was customary for women journalists of her day in charge of the women's pages; and her husband, of course, was the original "great communicator."

Eleanor Roosevelt was a journalist herself. During those twelve White House

years, she wrote hundreds of articles for such women's magazines as *Good Housekeeping*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *Ladies Home Journal* on such diverse topics as "Ten Rules for Success in Marriage" and for general magazines such as *Reader's Digest*, *McCall's*, *Collier's* and *The Nation* on more generalized subjects as the 1940 "Fear is the Enemy." As a syndicated columnist, she submitted features within the first month in the White House, began her advice column, "If You Ask Me," and her diary "My Day" column in 1936, which reached over 4.5 million depression readers with a human image of herself and her family.³

In addition, she wrote books and had a broadcast series. She published some dozen books during her lifetime, completing several during her White House years, such as *This Is My Story* (1937). During seven of her years as first lady she had a radio series. While the programs would cover the White House life, food, entertainment, and decorations, they would also give timely interviews such as with Ida Harris in 1937 on the New York tenement life. She would talk about such diverse topics as the education of a daughter for the 20th century, the political conventions, or the war and post-war ideas, and plug civil rights.⁴

Eleanor Roosevelt had other journalistic endeavors too. More than any previous first lady, she gave access to journalists. She has been the only first lady to have press conferences on a regular basis. Begun only two days after the 1933 inauguration and held weekly whenever she was in town, they were limited to women only. D.C. bureaus such as the United Press had to hire a woman during those depression years to cover her. The topics were of special interest to women and included the administration's New Deal programs to aid women and families. They also publicized the era's activists who would visit and answer questions, such as Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins as well as actress Katherine Cornell, literary critic Alexander Woollcott and Madam Chiang Kai-shek.⁵

A major journalistic connection was that she was indeed a newsworthy figure. As far as what first ladies have done, it is hard to imagine such an active and vigorous first lady as Eleanor Roosevelt. *The New York Times* would refer to her energy as when covering her January 1933 Chicago League of Women Voters speech, "During the dinner she chatted animatedly, as if a trip from New York by plane and train, a dinner, a lecture and two receptions in one day were not much of a strain."⁶

Such tireless vigor continued even five years later. When she came to northern Idaho in 1938, her astonishing energy began the lead story of the *Spokane Spokesman Review*, "Mrs. Roosevelt, first lady of the land, in her visit to Idaho today enjoyed a typical Roosevelt day. She flew 350 miles by plane, motored 180 miles between Spokane and Moscow, talked to 50 reporters, informally, addressed a capacity audience of 5500 in the Memorial Gymnasium and then hopped a sleeper plane at Salt Lake City to fly to Warm Springs, GA where she expects to join President Roosevelt Sunday evening."⁷

As for news emphasis, Ruth Finney, a Washington Correspondent for Scripps-Howard who covered both Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt's press conferences, once said that much of Mrs. Roosevelt's press conference coverage concerned those "girlish sorts of things;" soft feature material for the women's pages. Despite the fact that

both men and women covered the first lady on her trips, that emphasis permeated the stories. In that northwest visit, the newsstory and the press questions emphasized a woman's angle: possible messages to the women on the farm, a reaction to the women's peace petition and the then moral double standard, as well as about her own career and column writing, her trips and near mishaps. The article early on had two other items generally of interest to women. The food she was served at the luncheon was in the story's second paragraph: baked chicken, vegetables, fresh strawberries and there was a lengthy detailed description of clothing:

She was dressed in the black dress with a blue sash which she also wore later on the platform. She wore a flat black straw hat trimmed with colorful flowers. A white and purple corsage was worn and she also wore a double strand of pearl beads. She carried a black purse, wore black oxfords and gold bracelet on her left wrist. She toyed with her glasses, attached to a long chain.

That paragraph summed up Eleanor Roosevelt's personality and abilities, "She immediately took charge of things."⁸

The fact that a first lady took charge was news, too. Eleanor Roosevelt was newsworthy not just because of what she said and did, but also because her actions were unexpected, and thus controversial and made headlines as well as editorials. Unlike previous first ladies, Eleanor Roosevelt expressed her opinions publicly, and those views were not necessarily thought to be the same as her husband's nor the administration. In fact, two months before the March 4, 1933 inauguration, in article after article, *The New York Times* not only noted her many radio and other public speeches, but complained about her outspokenness, especially when she offered to be the White House contact for the nation to write. The *Times* editorialized, "it is not indelicate or impolite to express the hope that she will refrain from such utterances in the future. The very best helpers of a President are those who do all they can for him, but keep still about it."⁹

From the beginning, Eleanor Roosevelt did not keep still about it. She was even candid about the public responses to her activities. As an omen of future controversies, before the inauguration she referred to the complaints about her opinions that married women can have a career, and the numerous letters requesting that she disassociate herself from her various organizations. She was quoted as saying, "The writers mean well I suppose, but it is difficult to sever so many pleasant connections." And, she did not.¹⁰

What then was the result of these many newsworthy activities? By her example, she showed a married woman with independent actions and a career as a journalist, who even joined the labor union, the Guild. Moreover, through her activities she very much showed that she was a woman with opinions of her own on topics other than the home. That she was a first lady was just part of her life. And, the American people noticed, too. In fact, Eleanor Roosevelt was so admired that by 1939 she had even greater popularity in the public opinion polls than did her husband. Some 67 percent of the public approved the way she conducted herself as first lady in contrast to the 58 percent who approved of her husband's performance.¹¹

If the trend-setting newspaper *The New York Times* is any indication of news coverage of first ladies, the results point to more coverage of Eleanor Roosevelt, more *Times* news articles about her than any other twentieth century first lady. Of course, she served longer, twelve years. Only one first lady of this century surpassed her in numbers of articles for the first complete year, another journalist: Jacqueline Kennedy. And *The New York Times* is only one measure. We know that Eleanor Roosevelt had extensive magazine and broadcast coverage, too, through other journalists as well as through her own journalistic endeavors.¹²

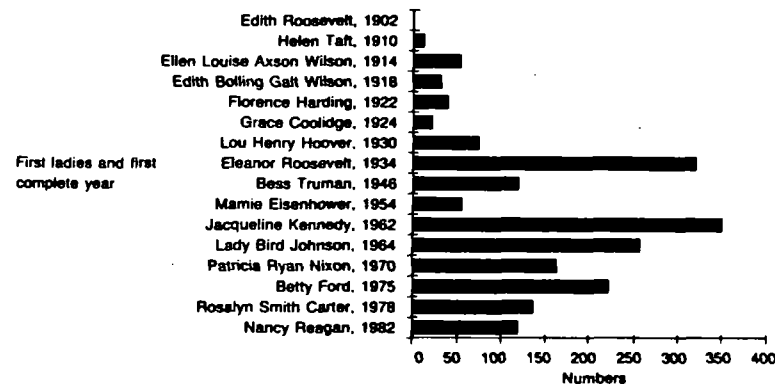
If the press is a reflection—a mirror of society—its values and its acceptances of a public position such as that of the first lady, then the press reiterates what it thinks is a public expectation. This could be noted from Eleanor Roosevelt's own references to the negative responses to her opinions and activities. If, instead, the press initiates an idea of what the public will talk about or think about, then the reporters and editors and decision makers set an agenda of what to anticipate. In 1933 *The New York Times* had editorially asked Eleanor Roosevelt to refrain from such outspoken utterances and expressed an opinion about what should be the proper behavior of a first lady. In either case, there is an expectation of what should be, whether what is, is indeed a reality or not. And in either case there will be an anticipated public image, a public appearance and a public performance.

Just as the presidency grew after WWII to what scholars such as Arthur Schlesinger refer to as *The Imperial Presidency*, the coverage of the White House increased to where the President's press conferences moved from the Oval Office in 1945 to the old state department auditorium to accommodate the increased numbers of correspondents. The public glow also extended to the first family, and most especially to the first lady. Media sociologist Gladys Engel Lang calls this extension "a satellite status," a label for women who are adjuncts or appendages to men of prestige and power. Most first ladies fall in this category. Others, Eleanor Roosevelt included, fit what Lang calls a "sponsored status," a category for a woman who first gains attention through her relationship to a prominent man, but then earns her own way.¹³

Either as a satellite or as a sponsored position, the first lady was and still continues to be a newsworthy figure with an anticipation of what she will be and do. The public demands on the first lady have increased along with the news coverage. In one of the few references to these changes, Abigail W. McCarthy wrote that the office today has a number of public expectations of an intellectual contribution as well as a national wife—the embodiment of American womanhood. McCarthy said that the first lady also functions as a representation of the nation, makes public appearances in person and through the media, attends local and national celebrations, and becomes the patroness of selected charities or some public project. Eleanor Roosevelt did all of these activities, over fifty years ago, and she did them publicly.¹⁴

Her impact becomes especially apparent when examining those same *The New York Times* figures on the press coverage of each of the first ladies during their first complete year. With the exception of Mamie Eisenhower, who was ill much of 1954 and reclusive, not only did the numbers of *The New York Times* articles increase after Eleanor Roosevelt from those prior to her, but even someone as reticent as Bess Truman

The New York Times Articles
for Each Twentieth Century First Lady's Complete Year



who had no special projects, held no press conferences, was not controversial, was covered more during her first year in the White House than those first ladies prior to Eleanor Roosevelt.¹⁵

This is not to say that first ladies prior to Eleanor Roosevelt were not as active nor that they were able to take a position on their own. Rather it is to say that they were not *publicly* as active, nor *publicly* as independent. Here is one example of an unusual first lady action and an indication of the changes that have occurred in newsworthiness. When Florence Harding had a man released from the prison on Blackwell Island and paid his passage to France to see his ailing mother, that article was buried on the last page of *The New York Times*, November 24, 1921. This was an unusual act; it was unheard of for its initiative. It was unexpected by the public and by the paper's decision makers, and it certainly was not prominently displayed.¹⁶

What then did the press mostly write about concerning first ladies prior to Eleanor Roosevelt? Most of the news articles were about the social aspects of the position, the luncheons for the cabinet wives, the flowers for the table, the hostessing of receptions, the receiving of guests, the visiting to hospitals during the holidays, the comings and goings of the first lady with her husband. And those social aspects of the first lady did not change with Eleanor Roosevelt; that supporting wife role remained rather the same, before and after the Roosevelt era.

What was expected was what a *The New York Times* Sunday Magazine article recounted on Lou Henry Hoover right after the 1929 inauguration. This feature story not only gave an anticipated dutiful wife role for the first ladies, such as Mrs. Hoover, but also what Eleanor Roosevelt faced when she came in four years later. Lou Henry Hoover, although she was the first female to major in geology at Stanford, had translated from Latin a book on metals, bicycled through the Boxer Rebellion amid spraying bullets and had single-handedly organized a committee to return 10,000 Americans

in Europe during World War I, was expected to follow the dutiful wife role of a first lady. *The Times* explained that the first lady could not be in the limelight:

The gifted wife of a distinguished husband has a difficult role if she is to keep individuality intact without overshadowing his. This is an achievement we demand of our President's wives, even in this day of universal suffrage and of theoretical equality of the sexes. They must be in the middle foreground but never in the limelight. They must meekly follow their illustrious consorts when going in to dinner and even, it is said, when entering an elevator. They must be faithful helpmates and constant inspiration, yet it must never so much as be suspected that they are running the administration. They have to know the gravest secrets and not whisper one of them to their dearest friends. They have to be paragons of tact, discretion and unfailing charm.

The article then goes on to assure readers that Mrs. Hoover was a helpmate, "Mr. Hoover could not have gone as far as he did without the calm, assured and diplomatic backing of his wife. She made their home serene and hospitable, never stuffy or ostentatious."¹⁷

Eleanor Roosevelt, through all her journalistic endeavors, did not change that dutiful wife role, she went into the limelight with it. This is not to say it was the only role she played; certainly, there were many others. Especially during her early White House years, she publicized those supportive wife functions and even told the other side—the follow-up that Lou Henry Hoover and previous first ladies had not mentioned.

On radio, Eleanor Roosevelt would explain, "You must live up to the standards just as any other first ladies have done and will do. . . . The first lady is a little like the prisoner of history in the White House." For hostessing, she said about shaking hands and standing on her feet, "After the first few days of the season are over, I am accustomed to the physical effort and I have learned that this is not just an idle part-time [sic], but an occupation which means a great deal, particularly to out-of-town visitors."¹⁸

On another occasion, she gave her views about the position of first lady,

"Here she is not herself at all, but the wife of the President of the United States, doing the things which the country expects this woman to do, . . . with the dignity and formality which puts us on an equal footing socially with any foreign representative of any other country or of any group anywhere in the United States."¹⁹

Eleanor Roosevelt told almost *ad nauseam* about her metamorphosis from a shy, awkward woman to what she became. She recounted in radio speeches and in her press conferences that she learned that she must "always be able to manage anything," and that her previous "terrible sense of duty" enabled her to survive the required painful social calls. "They were the only connection I had with the work which my husband was doing."²⁰

She educated the nation on the details about making the White House comfort-

able, and about the receptions, dinners and luncheons. She relayed in one radio speech, "If I know of something that our honored guest would especially want, I have that dish. Or, if I am having foreigners, I try to give them something distinctly American." And she did: hot dogs for the British King and Queen in 1939.²¹

In fact, as early as a month after the 1933 inauguration, she wrote a series of syndicated features, mostly about living in the White House; such articles as "Making the White House Comfortable," and "Opening the White House for Visitors." The White House, which just then opened for regular tours, was, she said a house "paid for by the taxpayers and should as far as possible in its public aspects be open to them."²²

She told the American public of the multitude of White House visitors, from young scouts to Women's Trade Union members. She once wrote that she presided over so many tea and garden parties that for 1934, that 2,500 people "broke bread" in the White House and some 974,376 went through.²³

In detailing a supportive partner role, she mentioned attending the Corcoran Art Gallery's display of her husband's naval pictures and model ships. She announced, at least during the New Deal era, that she would be in the capital in time to greet her husband when he returned from a trip.²⁴

The expectation of a wife's social responsibility, that same responsibility that was in the 1929 *The New York Times* about Lou Henry Hoover, "a paragon of tact, discretion, and unfailing charm"—was evident in a Roosevelt 1935 column, "Many a woman in her drawing room by a judiciously dropped word has made or broken a man's life and there is no question but what the public official has more to gain from the right kind of wife than has a man in almost any other walk of life. She can make friends for him and oh, how she can make enemies for him."²⁵

And the dutiful wife role has not changed, even in the 1980s. *Time Magazine's* (January 15, 1985) cover story on Nancy Reagan asked: "Just what is a First Lady supposed to do?" While admitting that this very question is an anachronism, the writers of this piece wrote before the recent dragon lady furor:

Presidents' wives still face criticism for fiddling with the affairs of state, for doing anything much more than looking well groomed and making bland statements on behalf of unexceptional philanthropies. The day-to-day duties of the job are no snap. Nancy Reagan plans and presides over some 20 big White House dinners each year, and makes an official appearance just about every day of the week.

And food coverage is still important, too. Eleanor Roosevelt's baked chicken luncheon in northern Idaho of some fifty years ago became a dinner with "Chicken Breast Sandeman," along with poached salmon, radicchio salad and glazed pear.²⁶

Nor has the curiosity about the first lady's clothing changed. *Time* referred to Nancy Reagan's designer clothing when mentioning her visit to the Washington Children's Hospital, "The visit provided a particularly emblematic First Lady image: Nancy Reagan in her red-and-black pumps, black knit Adolfo jacket and plaid Adolfo skirt, kneeling on a linoleum ward floor to cuddle an infant. Impeccably turned out, uncomplainingly doing her social duty."²⁷

Part of that public duty involves a public close family image, too. The American press followed the Roosevelts' schooling and occupations, their marriages, children and divorces. At the same time, Eleanor Roosevelt publicized and kept alive the expectation of a close-knit family with her remarks about family birthdays, holidays, weddings, new births, visits and her relationship with her husband. In fact, the public image of the relationship between Franklin and Eleanor was warm and caring. For example, when she was 57 years old, she told journalists about her new bicycle:

My husband was very funny about it. He said, "You know you're getting on, and it wouldn't be a good thing to break your leg at your age." I didn't tell him I was going to try it.

That family expectation hasn't changed either as indicated by the extensive news coverage on a reconciliation between President Reagan's first and second family and the recent birthday celebration of Mr. Reagan's granddaughter at the ranch.²⁸

The dutiful wife role was still in place after the Roosevelt White House years. That there should be a devoted, helpmate wife still remained. When Bess Truman was suddenly thrust in the White House, *The New York Times* relayed that image while trying to discern just who she was: "She was described as 'genuine, with both feet on the ground, devoted to her husband and daughter, and on call twenty-four hours a day as her husband's helper.'" She was also described as a housewife who does her own marketing and cooking. Or eighteen years later when Lady Bird Johnson came in, she referred to her supportive wife role as her husband's leveler, "For the last good many years one finds oneself caught between adulation, which is unhealthy, and the acid bath of venomous criticism. Somewhere in between, there ought to be the level view, and that I try to give him."²⁹

The usual news coverage has been greatly about their entertaining and decorating the White House as well as family activities. Before Eleanor Roosevelt, the few newspaperwomen who covered the first lady were forced to admire her clothing from afar, take note of her flowers, have a glance at her dinner lists and see her as a model of an American national wife. Reporters had great difficulty in gaining information about her in some systematic manner; it was hard to have news to report, even about the official hostessing at White House functions. Eleanor Roosevelt changed all that by giving greater access to hungry women journalists. With her press conferences and her regular columns, she created an expectation of news about the first lady. Moreover, she also reinforced an expectation already there about what a first lady should be and do. She made it more public, even put it in concrete, perhaps to her own detriment when she went beyond those expected first lady functions and thus created controversy.

While publicly Eleanor Roosevelt fulfilled the customary role of first lady, she created controversy when she was not always dutiful. While so many of her activities were done "for him," they were also publicly independent "of him." This wasn't a new role for her. As a product of the older progressive era of influential women reformers, she had worked in social reform before she was married. She was known for her separate endeavors prior to 1933: the Val-Kill partnership, her editorship of the *Barnard*

McFadden publication *Babies, Just Babies*, and her teaching and ownership of the New York private girls' school, Todhunter. Sometimes called "Citizeness Fix-it", Eleanor Roosevelt was often referred to as acting "in her own right." In fact, she entitled her book after the White House years, *On My Own*.³⁰

If Eleanor Roosevelt made other differences in the status of first lady, she added independence. Being publicly a person in "her own right" seems to have been difficult for such capable women as Lou Henry Hoover. To a great extent, she sublimated her individuality. Eleanor Roosevelt, on the other hand, took actions, many well-known ones, traveled and gave opinions which were covered in every kind of media available during those 1930s and 1940s. Most especially, her energetic travels were unusual and were news. They were more acceptable when they were done "for her husband," as his eyes and ears. And, indeed, she had been just that from his early polio-ridden days through his governorship. Her travels—coupled with the speeches and remarks she made on the trips—were news, sometimes humorous, sometimes critical.

First ladies prior to Eleanor Roosevelt ordinarily did not travel alone. When an independent woman such as Lou Henry Hoover drove her own car to Richmond or on the capital streets, *The New York Times* even noted it. With Eleanor Roosevelt's more extensive and more public travels, people began complaining, "Why can't she stay in her place like Grace Coolidge?" or "Why does she have to go sticking her nose into everything." And she was nicknamed among others: "Eleanor Everywhere." She not only openly acknowledged such criticisms but responded on radio with such reports as "If I stayed in Washington all the time, I'd lose touch with the rest of the world. . . . I would begin to think perhaps that my life in Washington was representative of the rest of the country and that is a dangerous point of view." She admitted that she had been accused of being "not dignified" and although she apologized, she added, "But if I didn't do what I think is the right thing to do, I wouldn't be satisfied with myself."³¹

She was satisfied with herself by reacting with candor. In one 1937 radio broadcast she recounted with what became a remembered "Eleanor" story: one lady took her to task by saying "she would not have soiled her white gloves on a White House stairwell if the first lady had stayed home and attended to housekeeping." Eleanor Roosevelt acknowledged that she thought it amusing that she should personally attend to the cleanliness of the White House. In this recount, she quoted another criticism, "You may think you are useful to poke your nose into so many things. You are really America's first nuisance."³²

Subsequent first ladies may not have become a nuisance like Eleanor Roosevelt, but they did not stay home and attend to the White House. They traveled alone and publicly. Sometimes they officially represented the President and the administration, sometimes they did not. Jacqueline Kennedy took an entourage of the press with her to Paris and then went on to Greece. Pat Nixon, as the President's personal representative, made a good will trip to Liberia. Rosalyn Carter went on a special Latin American mission. Nancy Reagan represented the United States at Prince Charles and Lady Diana's wedding. With these trips, there has continued to be the same expectation that the First Lady will be the President's eyes and ears. *Time* quoted Mrs. Reagan's

comments about her trips, "Ronnie always complains that when I go places and come back I never tell him anything—that he has to hear it from other people."³³

Beyond trips, there were other activities which became mostly identified with "her" and not "him." First ladies became involved with the Girl Scouts as honorary presidents, as were Florence Harding, Lou Henry Hoover and Bess Truman, or other charitable interests. Eleanor Roosevelt aided the poor and minorities, especially blacks. Best known as an independent stand was her resignation from the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) when they refused black contralto Marian Anderson a concert in Constitution Hall. Eleanor Roosevelt broke the story in her column. She further called attention to the controversial action by giving her viewpoint in her press conference. Moreover, she made it even more newsworthy when she invited Miss Anderson to sing for the King George VI and Queen Elizabeth when they came to visit the White House that same spring. Also, "in her own right," Eleanor Roosevelt became such an expert on the model community, Arthurdale, that FDR's press secretary asked her to board the President's train to brief the mostly male White House correspondents about the project.³⁴

Eleanor Roosevelt was the first First Lady to take an official government position, Assistant Director of the Office of Civilian Defense in 1941. When asked, "Is this your first public job?", she retorted, "What do you call a public job? The first job in the administration, if that's what you mean?" Following the attack on Pearl Harbor and subsequent issues over America's defense, she came under intense criticism for her office management and her appointments of such people as dancer Mayris Chaney and actor Melvyn Douglas for fitness programs. By February 22, 1942 she resigned.³⁵

The identification of "her" provoked perhaps the greatest criticism toward Eleanor Roosevelt over her economic independence. She was a compensated speaker and a journalist. She defended the right to earn her own monies, and at one time asked pointedly, "What kind of people does this country want in the White House? . . . Women who give up everything? But you don't elect the woman nor the family when you elect a man President?"³⁶

While she turned over the bulk of her earnings to various charities—some \$70,000 to the American Friends Service Committee in 1939, her economic independence became but another issue during FDR's 1940 campaign. This was not just because she earned money but because her first lady status may have helped her do so.³⁷

Hanna Papanek wrote that women who develop their own public image, starting from their base as wives of prominent personalities, usually evoke fierce attacks and loyalties which are partly based on the violation of stereotypical standards of proper behavior. With her travels, her activities, her public stands as well as her economic independence, Eleanor Roosevelt is an example of Papanek's thesis. She evoked vicious criticism in rumored as well as editorial and cartoon form. She certainly violated the expected behavior for first ladies. So, too did Betty Ford, whose candor among post-Roosevelt first ladies was unparalleled. So too did Rosalyn Carter, who was dubbed the "Steel Magnolia." And, more recently, so too did Nancy Reagan, called a White House meddler.³⁸

Being a White House meddler has evoked fierce public outcries since the days of Mary Todd Lincoln. The switch from helpmate to possible political power-broker frightens many people. Americans do not want a domineering first lady who goes beyond being the President's confidante. Helen Taft's advice on cabinet positions and appointments caused her troubles during the early weeks of her husband's administration. Still the topic of study is Edith Bolling Wilson's assumption of presidential responsibilities. For critics, Rosalyn Carter's discussions of substantive issues and testimonies before Congress were controversial aspects of a presidential partner. Nancy Reagan's successful ouster of the White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan caused numerous cartoons, editorials, columns and news coverage, much like those fierce attacks on Eleanor Roosevelt. In the latter case, Mrs. Reagan's actions were thought to be out-of-character because of her previously controlled dutiful wife appearance.³⁹

Eleanor Roosevelt set the pattern for independence and even a zenith for first lady comparison for political wives. Subsequent first ladies had their own identities, combined with their own actions. Lady Bird Johnson can be remembered for the euphemistically entitled "American Beautification Program," really the cutting edge of the ecological movement. The Billboard Law passed with her efforts. Betty Ford spoke out in "her own right," about feminism and her backing of the Equal Rights Amendment. She was irrepressibly honest about her children and her views on premarital sex. She made a painful disclosure about the then unmentionable breast cancer and her dependence on alcohol. Rosalyn Carter lobbied Congress for both the Age Discrimination Act and the Mental Health Systems Act.

According to scholar Hanniah Papanek, one key expression indicates that the stereotyped limits have been exceeded: "She is a . . . in her own right." This means that an exceptional achievement has occurred to a woman married to a public figure. This would be a movement into the Lang "sponsored status." Papanek notes that this expression is not usually used in the case of husbands of well-known females.⁴⁰

There now appears to be an expectation of first lady independence, a feminist movement into Lang's sponsored status. That image of "in her own right" is important enough now for the White House to emphasize it. In the introductory comment, *Time Magazine* stated, "She has become more of a person in her own right, and no longer just Ronald Reagan's wife." The same type of phrase was used as a sub-heading in a *New York Times* Nancy Reagan article. This is not just to be in her own right, but to publicly be.⁴¹

Florence Harding acted in her own right when she had a prisoner released and sent home. Yet, such independence was not prominently played, nor of public interest. Lou Henry Hoover had a strong previous history of "in her own right" actions, but for the most part her White House actions were traditional and when not so they were not publicly displayed. Today, the expectation is for visible women to DO something and BE something. *Time Magazine* even entitled the article "Nancy Reagan's Growing Role." If the White House publicity efforts and the recent coverage of the current first lady are an indication, then it can be said that it is important for first ladies to show an "in her own right" status.⁴²

Charitable works have been a major way. Eleanor Roosevelt's causes, her con-

cerns about minorities and the poor have come to mean what *Time Magazine* noted, "Since Eleanor Roosevelt, Presidents' wives have been expected to show some interest in good works." Interestingly enough, it is not "DO" but "SHOW." And, there are public approval reasons, especially for non-controversial issues. That 1985 *New York Times* feature recounted that Mrs. Reagan's involvement in drug rehabilitation programs as one of the reasons cited by Richard Wirthin, White House pollster, for a 20-point increase in her approval rating.⁴³

This is not to say that being "in her own right" could not also be supportive. Eleanor Roosevelt was still the supportive wife, even accused of being so even when she exhibited independent actions. Her own journalist endeavors were often thought to be but another voice for the President to the point that she would retort, "He has never called me in and said that he wished I had said this or the other thing." Or, as Bess Furman once wrote in her press conference notes, "they do argue—or as she gayly commented—they don't just sit at meals and look at each other. So it's not surprising what she says in her column may come close to what he says at his press conference."⁴⁴

This is not to say that Eleanor Roosevelt did not advocate New Deal programs despite her statements to the contrary. For example, at her press conferences, she would say, "I hope very much to see a security program launched on its way which will include old age pensions, a permanent ban on child labor, better unemployment insurance, better health care for the country as a whole, better care for mothers and children generally." With her journalistic endeavors, she tested the presidential waters of public opinion. She divulged information he did not wish to give at his press conferences, as Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes once noted over a possible Interior Department resignation. Even *The New York Times* bureau chief Arthur Krock referred to her partnership when he editorialized that her columns should be "required political reading."⁴⁵

In looking at the legacy of Eleanor Roosevelt, it can be said that most of all she gave a new understanding of public women. She created an expectation that first ladies would be public, more public than they had ever been. Helen Jackson, wife of the late Washington Senator and presidential candidate, once said, "Eleanor Roosevelt changed forever the role of political wives in the United States. We hold press conferences, make speeches, appear on television, assist in fundraising and participate in all aspects of campaigning and the official life." An expectation of first lady press conferences, interviews and press releases followed Eleanor Roosevelt. When Bess Truman did not have regularly scheduled press conferences, *The New York Times* had two articles about no press meetings. And when Mamie Eisenhower once met with the press in 1953 with a televised conference, it was a front page *New York Times* story.⁴⁶

The White House public relations offices have grown to handle and feed this expectation of a public first lady. We have come a long way from Eleanor Roosevelt's secretarial staff of two to Nancy Reagan's staff of 24. As part of the White House publicity efforts, the institutionalization of the first lady has been securely in place from the days of Jacqueline Kennedy. Eleanor Roosevelt may have had some additional help from the President's secretary, Steve Early, but she did not have a press secretary.

Bess Truman's White House social secretary held press conferences on her behalf. Mamie Eisenhower even dropped the White House secretary. When Jacqueline Kennedy came into the White House, she had a designated press secretary, Pamela Turnure, who served as a liaison between Mrs. Kennedy, her social secretary and the President's press secretary Pierre Salinger. By the time of Lady Bird Johnson, the press secretary was not a liaison; Liz Carpenter handled the first lady's public relations. The feminist movement only speeded up the process of a visible first lady.⁴⁷

Yet, publicity efforts have to say something. Eleanor Roosevelt went public at first over the traditional, expected wife role and in one sense, she kept it. While there might be the first lady's schedule, an announced visit of the grandchildren, a redecoration of the White House upper floors, a revived Easter Egg rolling, there were also actions planned and expressed. The number of *New York Times* articles and pictures of first ladies reflect the White House publicity efforts, as with a press secretary, and the newsworthiness of first ladies' activities, such as the first ladies' unexpected, independent roles. Those first ladies who fit these categories had more than 200 news articles in that one year: Eleanor Roosevelt, Jacqueline Kennedy, Lady Bird Johnson and Betty Ford.

The first lady will not go back to the 19th century days of the retreats to the upper floors of the White House as an invalid. No longer is there an option of a private first lady. The public relations aspect of this White House position is now all too important. Too much is expected out of this unpaid, satellite or sponsored position. The presidency has grown too much since World War II. And so too has the President's family in importance. The image making is too much a part of the White House, too carefully thought through for emphasizing a carefully sponsored independence. If not in reality, at least, the White House says the first lady has a social conscience. The American first lady is a public national woman. Eleanor Roosevelt told the country about the duties as well as the independence of a first lady. If she left a legacy in the status, she played a large part in making the first lady visible, a modern feminine ideal.

Notes

1. *The New York Times*, November 8, 1962.
2. Other studies include Maurine Beasley, ed., *The White House Conferences of Eleanor Roosevelt* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1983); Joseph Lash, "Life Was Meant to be Lived": A Centenary Portrait of Eleanor Roosevelt (New York: Norton & Co., 1984); Joan Hoff-Wilson and Marjorie Lightman, eds., *Without Precedent, The Life and Career of Eleanor Roosevelt* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); J. William Youngs, *Eleanor Roosevelt, A Personal and Public Life* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1985). See also Maurine Beasley, "Eleanor Roosevelt's Press Conferences: Symbolic Importance of a Pseudo-Event," *Journalism Quarterly* 61:2 (Summer 1984): 274-279, 338 and "Eleanor Roosevelt's Vision of Journalism: A Communications Medium for Women," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* XVI:1 (Winter 1986): 66-75. Two Eleanor Roosevelt centennial conferences which had scholarly papers were October 13-16, Vassar College; October 25-27, University of Nevada, Reno.
3. Eleanor Roosevelt Speeches and Articles, Box 5, Eleanor Roosevelt Papers 3030, (henceforth to be ERP), Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (henceforth to be FDRL); *New York Times*, April 2, 1933; April 30, 1933 for copies of her articles. See also Beasley, "Eleanor Roosevelt's Vision of Journalism," pp. 69-73.

4. Other books were *This I Remember* (1949) and *On My Own* (1958), but also full of opinion and advice such as *It's Up to Women* (1933), *If You Ask Me* (1946), *Seems to Me* (1954) and *Eleanor Roosevelt's Book of Common Sense Etiquette* (1963). The radio series were the Shelby Shoe Series (1935), the Pond's Radio Series (1936-1937), the Sweetheart Soap Series (1940), the Pan American Coffee Bureau Programs (1941-1943) and the Mutual Radio Series (1943). In particular, May 5, 1937, June 23, 1937, ERP3033; June 25, 1940, June 27, 1940, July 11, 1940, ERP3038-3039; February 13, 1943, ERP3048, ERP FDRL.
5. Stephen T. Early memo to Malvina Thompson, March 17, 1937, President's Personal File (henceforth PPF), Press #15, FDRL; William E. Hassett to Mr. Crim, Mr. M.F. Reilly, Mr. Simmons, Miss Thompson and Miss Grace Tully, February 18, 1943, Press Conferences, FDRL; See also Betty H. Winfield, "Mrs. Roosevelt's Press Conference Association: The First Lady Shines A Light," *Journalism History* 8:2 (Summer 1981); Beasley, *The White House Press Conferences*.
6. *The New York Times*, January 22, 1933.
7. *Spokesman Review*, March 27, 1938.
8. Ibid., Interview with Ruth Finney Allen, June 8, 1976 at her home in Washington, D.C.
9. *The New York Times*, January 28, 1933.
10. Ibid., January 27, 1933.
11. Beasley, January 17, 1939, pp. 69-70; *Washington Post*, January 15, 1939.
12. Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America, An Interpretative History of the Mass Media*, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984), pp. 405-406, 653; See Winfield, "Mrs. Roosevelt's Press Conference Association: The First Lady Shines A Light," f.n. 110, p. 69. For the first complete years given, *The New York Times Index* includes both articles and pictures: 1902, Edith Roosevelt: 0; 1910, Helen Taft: 13; 1914, Ellen Louise Axson Wilson: 53; 1918, Edith Bolling Galt Wilson: 32; 1922, Florence Harding: 38; 1924, Grace Coolidge: 21; 1930, Lou Henry Hoover: 74; 1934, Eleanor Roosevelt: 320; 1946, Bess Truman: 118; 1954, Mamie Eisenhower: 55; 1962, Jacqueline Kennedy: 348; 1964, Lady Bird Johnson: 256; 1970, Patricia Ryan Nixon: 162; 1975, Betty Ford: 211; 1978, Rosalyn Smith Carter: 136; 1982, Nancy Reagan: 118.
13. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Imperial Presidency* (New York: Popular Library, 1974); Gladys Engel Lang, "The Most Admired Woman: Image-Making in the News," in *Hearth and Home, Images of Women in the Mass Media*, Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 147-60.
14. ER as First Lady," in *Without Precedent*, p. 215.
15. Winfield, op cit.
16. *The New York Times*, November 24, 1921; See article on first lady celebrity status in Lewis L. Gould, "First Ladies," *American Scholar* 55 (Autumn 1986): 528-535.
17. *The New York Times*, March 3, 1929.
18. NBC, May 2, 1940, pp. 2-3, "Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's Own Radio Program," ERP3038, FDRL.
19. "Official Entertaining in the White House," April 12, 1935, ERP3031, FDRL.
20. *This is My Story*, p. 174, 196, 238; Beasley, January 26, 1937, pp. 45-46.
21. "Official Entertaining in the White House," April 12, 1935, ERP3033, FDRL.
22. *The New York Times*, April 2, 1933; April 30, 1933.
23. "Mrs. Roosevelt's Article for the Digest," May 1936, ERP3033, FDRL.
24. Ibid., "A Typical Day in the White House," Radio Speech, February 15, 1935, ERP3030, FDRL; Beasley, June 15, 1933, p. 11; February 13, 1939, p. 91; February 12, 1940, p. 157.
25. "Part Played by the Wife of an American Office Holder," King Features Syndicate, #4, April 5, 1935, ERP3031, FDRL.
26. *Time Magazine* 125:2 (January 14, 1985):25.
27. Ibid., p. 30.
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29. *The New York Times*, April 14, 1945; August 23, 1964.
30. *Time Magazine* 52 (October 25, 1948): 25.
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32. "Mrs. Roosevelt Interviewed about White House Life," April 21, 1937, Pond Radio Series, ERP3033, FDRL. She also referred to the white gloves incident at a press conference a couple of years later on April 25, 1939, Beasley, pp. 102-103.
33. *Time Magazine*, January 14, 1985, p. 27.
34. Beasley, May 4, 1939, p. 105; May 22, 1939, pp. 108-109; Stephen T. Early to Marwin McIntyre, May 6, 1938, Stephen T. Early Papers, #23, FDRL.
35. Beasley, Sept. 15, 1941, p. 225.
36. Beasley, December 19, 1938, pp. 63-64.
37. To see specifics on her earnings, see Beasley, *Eleanor Roosevelt and the Media* (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), pp. 72, 74, 86, 92, 110, 113, 133.
38. Hannah Papanek, "The Two Person Career," in *Changing Women in Changing Society*, ed. by Joan Huber (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), pp. 100-101.
39. Ibid.; Gould, "First Ladies," pp. 528-532, 534-535.
40. Papanek, op cit.
41. *Time*, January 14, 1985, p. 25; *The New York Times*, March 26, 1985.
42. *Time*, op cit.
43. *The New York Times*, op cit.
44. Beasley, *White House Press Conferences*, September 27, 1939, p. 129.
45. Press Conference, February 27, 1935, Speech and Article File, 1935, Box 30, ERP, FDRL; Harold L. Ickes, January 5, 1935, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1953-1954), p. 261. See follow-up in *The New York Times*, January 2, 1935, January 3, 1935, January 4, 1935. Also *The New York Times*, August 10, 1939.
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Mrs. Bush, Meet Ms. Roosevelt

It's 1933, And A Feminist First Lady Invites The "Press Girls" In

By Maurine H. Beasley

Eleanor Roosevelt set an extraordinary record for meeting the press: news conferences once a week. Nancy Reagan held one in eight years. First ladies in between have set widely varying patterns of contact with the press, leaving Barbara Bush a whole shopping cart of precedents from which to choose her own approach.

While some first ladies have held formal White House press conferences, many have preferred less ceremonious kinds of contact, frequently to promote special causes and often while traveling outside Washington. Nancy Reagan's one and only White House press conference was a get-acquainted session in February 1981. But the press did accompany her on trips to 33 states and eight countries to fight drug abuse, and she gave 134 interviews on the subject.

Her predecessor, Rosalynn Carter, held a single White House press conference to call for improved mental health legislation and participated in 897 "press opportunities" (the vast majority were on her trips to 46 states and 29 countries). Betty Ford held one get-acquainted White House press conference

and often answered reporters' questions after making speeches (100 of them), many of which publicized her support for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Pat Nixon only scheduled conferences on six occasions—all on trips overseas. In the United States she met informally with reporters about 20 times to promote volunteerism. Lady Bird Johnson, who launched a national beautification campaign, held about 30 press conferences on

She established a pattern of close, frequent, easy relationships with reporters that none of her successors has matched. Long before the days of political handlers and high-powered media consultants, Mrs. Roosevelt acted as her own press secretary. Although for several years she declined to be quoted directly, except with special permission, she truly broke with the Victorian convention that first ladies should refrain from making public statements.



Members of the first Eleanor Roosevelt women-only press conference reunite with the former first lady (fifth from left) in March 1946.

her 47 cross-country trips but never had them in Washington. As a journalism graduate, however, she understood how reporters operate and was readily available for interviews. Jacqueline Kennedy, on the other hand, disliked contact with reporters and reluctantly fulfilled a campaign pledge to meet with them by holding a tea.

Eleanor Roosevelt was an exception.

was to ensure that women reporters would have access to news that men could not get. It also helped create a forum for topics that, as Mrs. Roosevelt wrote in her autobiography, "might be of special interest and value to the women of the country and that the women reporters might write up better than the men."

The conferences began innocuously

On March 6, 1933, just two days after Franklin D. Roosevelt's inauguration as president, Mrs. Roosevelt, nervously aware that she was moving into uncharted territory, held her first press conference. Her final one would be scheduled for April 12, 1945, just a few hours before President Roosevelt's fatal heart attack.

In the 12 intervening years, Mrs. Roosevelt held about 350 press conferences in the White House. She limited participants to the "press girls," as the women reporters who covered her were called.

Maurine H. Beasley, a journalism professor at the University of Maryland, is the author of Eleanor Roosevelt and the Media.

An inner circle formed: Black, Furman, Genevieve Forbes Herrick of the

in every other direction.

M.B.

Furman joined Mrs. Roosevelt on a dramatic night flight with Amelia Earhart

At one point, Black of United Press, an active member of the National Women's Party, pressed Mrs. Roosevelt to make a press conference statement opposing an act of the Hoover administration aimed at discharging married women from federal jobs if their husbands were government workers. The theory of the law was to spread jobs around at a time of critical unemployment. But Mrs. Roosevelt saw its

discriminatory effect, and on April 11, 1933, she obliged with a statement protesting dismissals based on marital status.

The peppery May Craig, well-known later for her appearances on "Meet the Press," argued that Mrs. Roosevelt should admit men to the press conferences. Like Black, Craig was among the few women accredited to President Roosevelt's press conferences and thought the first lady's policy unfair. But Mrs. Roosevelt contended that receiving men would "encroach on my husband's side of the news."

Yet it was hard to draw a line between the domains of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt. The first lady's comments often conveyed political messages. In May 1933, for example, she described a visit to a camp set up by unemployed World War I veterans seeking soldiers' bonuses. President Hoover had ordered a previous camp, believed to have been led by communists, burned down, but Mrs. Roosevelt showed the administration's sympathy with the veterans when she called the makeshift encampment "remarkably clean and orderly."

The following year, the conferences' news value soared when Mrs. Roosevelt used them to refute criticism of her involvement in a resettlement project for unemployed miners in Arthurdale, West Virginia. She denied charges that the project was communistic and a waste of millions of tax dollars.

Even her remarks on her wardrobe

and entertaining, eagerly sought by writers for women's pages, carried political overtones. Announcing her plan to wear a white fur evening coat to a series of fund-raising balls to fight polio on the president's birthday, she added that the fur coat was "the only one I have, and probably the only one I will have for many years to come."

In 1939 she told her reporters that musicians performing at a state dinner for the king and queen of England would be introduced to the royal couple. Since one of the musicians was the black singer Marian Anderson, the statement symbolized the administration's interest in racial justice.

The era's newspaperwomen grew somewhat disenchanted with Mrs. Roosevelt in 1936, when she started "My Day," a syndicated newspaper column billed as a public diary, because she would release nuggets of news there. It was in "My Day" that she announced her resignation in 1939 from the Daughters of the American Revolution because it refused to permit Anderson to sing in its segregated Constitution Hall. Questioned at a press conference, she answered, "I can say no more than what I said in my column."

On the eve of World War II, more than 100 women had been accredited to the first lady's conferences, although no black reporters were admitted on the grounds that they represented weekly, not

daily, publications.

The press's wartime attacks on Mrs. Roosevelt's alleged incompetence as the unpaid assistant director of the Office of Civil Defense culminated in her resignation. Male journalists largely created the furor, although it was a woman, Christine Sadler of the *Washington Post*, who broke the embarrassing story that Mrs. Roosevelt had put a friend on the payroll to teach dancing to children in bomb shelters.

The nature of the ties between Mrs. Roosevelt and the "press girls" dominated the discussion at the last press conference, on April 12, 1945, shortly before President Roosevelt died. A column by Drew Pearson had cited a "cooling in relationship between Mrs. Roosevelt and the ladies of the press" after a reporter was accused of misquoting the first lady as having said that the United States could not feed Europe. To squelch controversy, Furman suggested the issue be referred to the formal organization of newswomen that managed Mrs. Roosevelt's press conferences.

Bess Truman, the succeeding first lady, declined to hold press conferences. And although first ladies since have used different approaches to the press, none has followed the example of Mrs. Roosevelt. In 1989, certainly, barring male reporters is an outmoded—if not illegal—act. But aside from that aspect, Barbara Bush may want to ponder Mrs. Roosevelt's keen interest in successful press relations. ●

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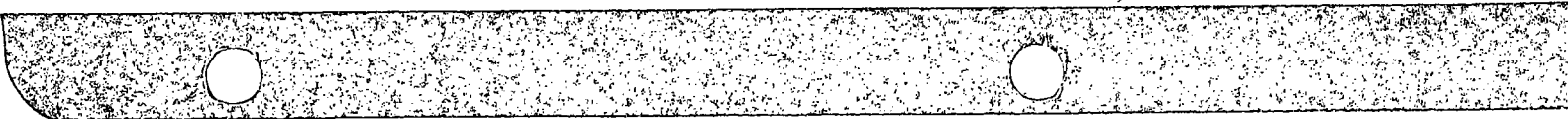
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GENERAL



FIRST LADIES

Betty Boyd Caroli

1987

❧ 10 ❧

Presidential Wives and the Press

By the 1980s most Americans acted as though they were on a first-name basis with the wives of their presidents. The faces of Rosalynn Carter and Nancy Reagan peered out from the nation's newsstands, and stories about Jackie Kennedy and Lady Bird Johnson continued to dot women's magazines long after they had moved away from the capital. Men and women too young to have comprehended much political news during the Great Society and the Vietnam War retained a very clear picture of the First Lady from Texas, although their image of Hubert Humphrey—longtime senator, Lyndon Johnson's vice-president, and later a contender for president himself—was fuzzy. Walter Mondale, for all the publicity he received as a presidential candidate in 1984, slipped quickly into obscurity in comparison with the woman from Georgia whom everyone called Rosalynn. What schoolchild has not seen at least one film on Eleanor Roosevelt, but who recognizes the name of John Nance Garner as the vice-president for eight of the years that Eleanor was First Lady?

To determine how and when attention turned to nonelected figures without power of their own while the men next in line to the presidency were ignored, it is necessary to look at the relationship between presidents' wives and the press. Presidents' use of the media has been explored in many articles and several books, beginning with the groundbreaking *The Presidents and the Press* by James Pollard (1947) and continuing most recently with *The Press and the Presidency* by John Tebbel and Sarah Miles Watts (1985), but what of the distaff side of the White House? Has it always been a "beat" for reporters, and if so, which ones? If not, when did it creep into the national limelight? If the attention was calculated, whose idea was it, and for what purpose? Presi-

dents have been evaluated for their media skills—how they used the press to launch trial balloons, divert attention from more vulnerable aspects of their administrations, camouflage weakness, and tout success. Perhaps the president's wife served as one more weapon in the battle for public approval.

This is not the place to review the history of journalism in the United States, but developments in news reporting obviously enter the story. Since 1789, the gathering, reporting, and distributing of news have all changed so much that it stretches the mind to group all aspects under one single rubric, such as journalism or media. A 1980s network news program, with its instant photographs from all over the world, bears almost no resemblance to the few pages of printed commercial announcements that passed for newspapers in the eighteenth century. Yet Martha Washington's activities appeared in the latter just as surely as Nancy Reagan's are covered on the former.

Although not all newspapers survived from eighteenth-century America, some of those extant point to a general interest in what the president's wife was doing. Martha Washington initiated what became an almost constant complaint among her successors when she indicated that she would have preferred being ignored. On her first journey alone after George's inauguration, the *Pennsylvania Packet* reported on each segment, including how troops had marched outside Philadelphia to meet her and escort her entourage to the party that had been prepared for them at Gray's Ferry on the Schuylkill River. By the time Martha arrived at Robert Morris's Market Street house where she was to spend the night, she felt obliged to acknowledge the crowds, and in her one speech on record, she stood in her carriage and thanked Philadelphians for their hospitality.¹ When she continued her journey the next morning, troops accompanied her out of the city until rain threatened and she insisted they turn back. The *Pennsylvania Packet* concluded its lengthy description of that visit with its own judgment that the president's wife was a "most amiable woman."

Terminology for the chief executive's spouse had not yet been worked out in Martha's time, and with no precedents to guide them, journalists bickered about nomenclature for the wives of public officials. John Fenno, whose *Gazette of the United States* emphatically supported George Washington, suggested either "Marquise" or "Lady,"² but the *New York Daily Advertiser*, which had opened as the first American daily in March 1785,³ scoffed at titles in a country that called itself a democracy.⁴ Such a path would quickly lead to a full-fledged royal court, the *Advertiser* speculated.

One disgruntled reader from Albany, using the pen name "Pro Re-

publica," satirized attaching royal trappings to the presidency. He had as much respect as anyone for the office, he wrote in a letter to the editor, but that did not result in his bestowing titles on people who did not possess them. If Fenno's *Gazette* proceeded on its current path, "Pro Republica" warned, it would soon be describing every trivial detail in the life of the president's wife until something like the following would issue from one newspaper or another: "Her Serenity [the President's wife], who was much indisposed last week by a pain in the third joint of the fourth finger of her left hand, we are happy to announce, is in a fair way of recovery [after catching a cold when she went out in] the Siberian fur lately delivered to her by the Russian Ambassador as a present from the Princess." "Pro Republica's" letter left little doubt about how inappropriate he deemed such reporting.⁵

In the beginning of the first Washington administration (1789-1793), newspapers had not yet taken on the partisan identification that later marked them, but soon the situation changed. John Fenno's *Gazette of the United States* served Washington's interest from the time he took office, and, by 1791, opposition party members had assisted Philip Freneau in disseminating their point of view in his *National Gazette*.⁶ These and other newspapers along the East Coast, not officially connected with either of the political parties, gleefully attacked public figures. Benjamin Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache (nicknamed by his enemies, "Lightning Rod Junior"),⁷ distinguished himself only slightly from the rest by showing less restraint in his attacks. When the first president left office, Bache wrote: "If ever a nation was debauched by a man, the American nation has been debauched by Washington. If ever a nation has suffered from the improper influence of a man, the American nation has suffered from the influence of Washington."⁸ Bache announced that the retirement called for a "jubilee."

Perhaps because Martha Washington refused to involve herself in politics, Bache did not include her in his attacks on George; but Abigail Adams, who was openly partisan, fared less well. Bache ridiculed her shedding of tears at a public event when she was overcome with emotion, and he portrayed her as foolish for loyally supporting her husband's views.⁹ "Bache opened his batterys [sic] of abuse and scurrility [sic] [and] has in every paper continued them," Abigail wrote from Philadelphia to her sister in Massachusetts on May 24, 1797.¹⁰ The Boston Chronicle evidently outdid Bache in attacking the Adamses because Abigail wrote two weeks later that the Chronicle editors," in the true spirit of Satan, . . . collect the Billingsgate of all Jacobin papers but add to it . . . Lies, falshoods [sic], calimny [sic] and bitterness."¹¹

On the matter of money, Abigail was particularly sensitive. When the

Boston Chronicle published the president's salary, implying he earned more than he did, she was furious: "The salary [sic] every one knows the same Nominal sum granted to President Washington without half value." And as for the extra \$14,000 that the *Chronicle* had divulged: "[That was to] Rigg [sic] one of the Frigates building. Every dollar [sic] of it is laid out for the use of the United States and accurate Book accounts kept and vouchers taken, all of which will be regularly rendered in at our quitting the House."¹²

Much of the newspaper criticism focused not on Abigail herself but on other members of her family, but the hurt was just as real as though she had been mentioned by name. When one newspaper reported John Quincy Adams's age as twenty-three when he was almost thirty and greatly exaggerated his salary, thus implying that he had gained preferential treatment from his father,¹³ Abigail wrote to her sister that her son's only fault was in being related to the president. She had expected "to be vilified and abused," she confessed, "with my whole Family when I came into this situation,"¹⁴ but not to the extent that she had experienced. In this respect she foreshadows what later became a regular lament of presidents' wives—that their children were the subject of unfair criticism.

Rather than mounting a counterattack via a press campaign of her own, Abigail favored censorship of the opposition. "Not a paper from Bache's press issues . . . but what might have been prosecuted as libels," she wrote in May 1798,¹⁵ while Congress debated whether or not to punish such comments.

Since most of Abigail's successors confined themselves to their activities as White House hostess and refused to mix openly in politics, they escaped notice in the press. Newspapers carried almost no social news during the early decades of the republic and they printed very little about the president's parties. That this neglect was calculated rather than the result of a lack of information and opinions is evident in the records compiled by people close to publishers. At least two wives of prominent Washington editors left ample evidence that they paid close attention to what went on at the President's House. Margaret Bayard Smith, whose husband edited *The National Intelligencer* for many years, wrote long letters to her friends describing all aspects of capital life, including Dolley Madison's charm and Elizabeth Monroe's exclusiveness.¹⁶ Josephine Seaton, wife of the man who succeeded Samuel Smith at *The National Intelligencer*, also penned her views on the wives of presidents and would-be presidents.¹⁷ In January 1825, when the results of the presidential election were not yet clear, she recorded a visit from Louisa Adams, wife of John Quincy Adams, the eventual victor. "It was

the first visit," Josephine Seaton wrote, "without invitation which has been exchanged since that unlucky stab under the fifth rib. The [Adamses] are all very courteous just now; but should Mrs. Adams be Presidentress, she perhaps will not forget that her husband was foiled in combat with us even with his own weapon—the pen."¹⁸

It should be stressed that these were wives of newspaper editors writing to their friends rather than shaping stories for public consumption. Women were rarely employed to write for newspapers; and Ann Royall, one of the first women reporters in the capital, focused more on presidents than on White House chatelaines. Her most spectacular achievement was an interview she claimed to have conducted with President John Quincy Adams—while he swam nude in the Potomac.¹⁹ Newspapers had not yet discovered the immense interest that the details of their leaders' private lives would hold for readers or even the commercial possibilities of marketing news, and so presidents' wives (the name First Lady had of course not yet come into use) rarely appeared in news accounts before about 1850.

Magazines showed little more interest than did newspapers. *Godey's Lady's Book*, one of the most popular, had firm orders from its publisher to avoid political topics, which may have influenced its editor, Sarah Josepha Hale (more famous as the author of the nursery rhyme "Mary Had a Little Lamb"), to avoid events in the nation's capital. Sarah Hale took her heroines from the past, often from the revolutionary era or ancient history. A woman who overheard plans for an impending attack and went to warn General Washington was featured in one issue in 1845, while matrons from classical Greece were described in others. Royalty on *Godey's* pages came from the past—Isabella of Spain and Mary Queen of Scots.

By choosing distant figures as models for women readers, Hale contributed to the view that her contemporaries should not involve themselves in meaningful political action. For her, women's sphere remained rightly circumscribed, and although it included education and humanitarian efforts, it never intruded on men's monopoly of politics. Hale warned that women who appropriated men's concerns as their own acted from ulterior motives and risked losing their superior moral status. Anyone who advocated "equality with men" and woman's suffrage was "tarnished," Hale wrote, "by the smoke of transcendentalism or defaced by the slime of infidelity." If women wanted to cast a ballot, she suggested in an 1852 editorial, they should do so through their sons.²⁰ *Godey's* ridiculed the holding of an annual women's rights convention and offered a fictional account of a "man's rights convention."²¹ Matters of national importance—such as the extension of slav-

solicit details of the latest heinous crime, then write the story, print it, and peddle it on the streets. Very quickly, however, he could afford a staff. He was never modest about his achievement: "Shakespeare is the great genius of the drama, Scott of the novel, Milton and Byron of the poem and I mean to be the genius of the newspaper press," Bennett wrote in his paper in 1837.²⁵

James Bennett's genius involved the recognition that readers wanted to know about other people—those who were beautiful and rich and those as insignificant and pitiful as themselves. No detail was too personal, not even his own wedding plans. "I am going to be married," Bennett gushed to *Herald* readers, "to one of the most splendid women in intellect, in heart, in soul, in property, in person, in manner that I have yet seen in the course of my interesting pilgrimage through human life."²⁶

His own enthusiasm for his fiancée encouraged him to promise still more details: "Association, night and day, in sickness and in health, in war and in peace, with a woman of this highest order of excellence, must produce some curious results in my heart and feelings and these results the future will develop in due time in the columns of the *Herald*."²⁷ Readers could smack their lips and wait while sales rose. By 1860 the *Herald* boasted a circulation of 77,000, the highest in the country—a lesson not lost on its competitors who would also seek to include material on interesting personages, including presidents' wives.²⁸

Another influence on changing journalism in the United States was that women had finally caught up with men in literacy by the middle of the nineteenth century²⁹ and increased their purchases of newspapers and books accordingly. Editors, always alert for a new audience, changed the focus of their columns to attract this new market. Details of women's lives were very popular, and if the subject happened to live in the White House, so much the better. Part of Mary Todd Lincoln's poor reputation may very well have resulted from the bad luck she had to arrive in the capital just as the public's appetite for information about the White House grew. Her extravagant spending provided reporters with copy they could not pass up, and even the most intimate details of her life became the subject of public rumor. Speculations that she might be pregnant produced a cryptic denial, published in the "Personal" column of a national magazine, *Frank Leslie's*, on October 10, 1863: "The reports that Mrs. Lincoln was in an interesting condition are untrue."³⁰

Partly because of the new market, more women reporters began working the capital, and they slanted their stories to interest women. Mary Clemmer Ames is just one example. In 1866, when she needed a

way to support herself after her marriage ended, she began contributing a "Woman's Letter from Washington" to the *Independent*, a New York religious paper. Rather than confine herself to social events, Ames spent many hours in the Senate and House galleries gathering political news, and the result made her successful. Eventually her articles became so popular that she earned \$5,000 a year from her writing.³¹

About the same time, Emily Edson Briggs, wife of a clerk in the House of Representatives, took advantage of her proximity to important sources of information to start a column for the *Philadelphia Press*. Using the pen name "Olivia," Briggs relayed capital gossip, informing readers who had never seen General Grant's wife that she appeared "fair, fat, and forty, [much like] any other sensible woman would who had been lifted from the ranks of the people to such an exalted position."³² Rather than stoop to real nastiness, Briggs preferred to quote others on Julia Grant's appearance, and she reported on one occasion that a "little upstart woman who sat near me had the impudence to say [Mrs. Grant] looked horrid."³³ When Julia Grant did not take the seat assigned to her at a public ceremony, Emily Briggs's readers learned all about the gaffe.³⁴ Never one to shy away from writing about the less successful members of presidents' families, Briggs described President Johnson's son as having a drinking problem and then confided: "He is now in an asylum."³⁵

Once *Godey's Lady's Book* recognized the general interest in the White House occupants, it introduced a regular monthly column on the subject. Beginning in 1873, a fictional "Aunt Mehitable" (pseudonym for Harriet Hazelton) relayed the social trivia of Washington life to anyone who wanted to read it. "Aunt Mehitable" claimed that she had come to Washington with her congressman son, and she wanted to share what she had seen with those not so fortunate as to have made the trip. She made no pretense of being educated, having spent her life raising a family, and she confessed that she had never had the opportunity to learn "fancy" ways, but she hoped her accounts of Washington would prove interesting just the same.

"Aunt Mehitable" stayed at Willard's, one of the city's best hotels, and she had nothing but praise for its elegant furnishings. Other people might turn up their noses at the excesses of what would later be called the "Gilded Age," but "Aunt Mehitable" liked her room "papered with gold" and the fancy dinner parties for which guests put on their best attire. She objected to the "nude" statues in the "rotunder" of the Capitol and compared the building's dome to a "haystack," but she had enough of a country woman's savvy to know who among the senators'

wives made the best appearance. She described for readers how the Washington women dressed and curled their hair—even the condition of their teeth.

The president's family received considerable attention from "Aunt Mchitable" who judged the president's teenaged daughter, Nellie Grant, as "Just moderately good lookin' . . . [but with fine] manners [and] very nice and pleasant and I believe everybody likes her." On the president's wife, "Aunt Mchitable" let the cat out of the bag by concluding a long description of a White House party: "[Mrs. Grant] ain't a bit handsome. She ain't half as good lookin' as the pictures we see of her." Julia Grant had closed out the sunlight and used gas chandeliers for her afternoon receptions, "Aunt Mchitable" reported, "because she knowed she wasn't very handsome an' [gaslight would make her look better] but I reckon it's another weakness of human natur' to be watchin' her more than any other woman just because she's lady o' the White House."³⁶

"Aunt Mchitable" referred to an eye condition of the president's wife that would have remained little known had she arrived in the capital a few decades earlier. Julia Grant, whose White House tenure coincided with a remarkable increase in the number of Washington cameras, understood that she would not be flattered by the results. Her mildly crossed eyes did not lend themselves to becoming pictures and she had considered having surgery to correct the condition.³⁷ Ulysses vetoed the plan, however, saying that he loved her the way she was. Julia, good-natured and confident about her appearance as about most things, reacted to photographers by cheerfully obliging them, with the result that many pictures of her survive—but most of them show her in profile, concealing the intersection of her gaze.

Americans did not have to rely on the humorously folksy columns of "Aunt Mchitable" in *Godey's* for information about life in the capital. They did not even have to read. Pictures in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (started in 1855) carried sixteen pages of pictures and sold for ten cents. Often the sketches had only entertainment value, but frequently they showed a Washington gathering or a lineup of cabinet members' wives. Magazines such as *Harper's Weekly* carried cartoons as well.³⁸

When photography gradually replaced sketches towards the end of the nineteenth century, readers had an even clearer picture of what women in Washington looked like, how they decorated their homes and entertained. The *Ladies' Home Journal* ran a long story in an 1890 issue showing pictures of First Lady Caroline Harrison and sketches of the White House rooms, including the bedrooms. Everybody could read

exactly where each member of the family sat for family dinners and what each one ate. As a result of this kind of publicity, Caroline Harrison received hundreds of requests for dress scraps (a quilt-making craze was then sweeping the country), and she obliged by cutting up garments she had worn in Washington and others from earlier times. Requests for locks of her hair were politely refused.³⁹

Fascination with the private side of famous peoples' lives became so much a part of late-nineteenth-century American journalism that a word was imported from England to cover the phenomenon. Jenkins, the slang name conferred on the staff reporter of court news and social events for an English newspaper, was converted in the United States to "Jenkinsism," meaning a preoccupation with or exaggerated attention to such subjects. The social lives of politicians' families came under "Jenkins's" scrutiny, and after relaying some very personal information about one politician, *Harper's Weekly* admitted: "Jenkins has had what he would call a 'glorious time.'"⁴⁰

"Jenkins" found weddings in the presidential household particularly fascinating. In May 1874, when eighteen-year old Nellie Grant wed the young and wealthy British nephew of the famous actress Fanny Kemble, the event was the center of national attention. The first White House wedding since that of President Tyler's daughter thirty-two years earlier, this one was a bonanza for reporters looking for a big story. *Harper's Bazaar* described the East Room as transformed into "a perfect bower of bloom."⁴¹ The bride's dress was reported to have cost thousands of dollars (one paper gave the figure of \$5,000). While a wedding breakfast for five hundred was served inside the White House, crowds lined the streets outside in hopes of catching a glimpse of the couple or of some of the famous guests.

When the newlyweds left Washington the next day on the first leg of their European honeymoon, the entire Grant family accompanied them to New York, thus extending the festivities. Newspapers could not print copies fast enough, as the *New York Graphic* explained one day after the wedding: "It's of no use. We are utterly unable to meet the demand for today's issue . . . notwithstanding that our presses have been running without cessation since Friday night."⁴² When the *Graphic* published a twelve-page special picture edition the following Sunday, all copies sold immediately. Even Walt Whitman got caught up in the enthusiasm. His poem, entitled "A Kiss to the Bride," ended:

Yield thy red cheeks, thy lips, today
Unto a Nation's Loving kiss.⁴³

When the Grants' son married a few months later, his bride insisted that the ceremony be held in Chicago and thus she avoided some of the attention focused on Nellie Grant. She did not manage to stymie interest, however. When she and her bridegroom arrived for a stay at the White House, "Aunt Mchitable" informed her readers that the president's wife "has given up her room" and shuffled sleeping arrangements to accommodate the newlyweds.⁴⁴

Any wedding featuring a president as principal actor was special fare for "Jenkins," and reporters vied with each other for every tidbit. No adventure seemed too risky or too extravagant in the contest for the "big story." Nellie Bly raced around the world to beat the record of "Phileas Fogg," committed herself to a mental institution, and labored in a sweatshop to obtain her "scoops." Covering the White House family seemed tame, but it carried exceptional rewards.

The marriage of Grover Cleveland on June 2, 1886—the first of a president in the White House—encouraged ingenious attempts to witness the ceremony. The New York baker engaged to produce the bride's cake reportedly received many offers of free assistance, and John Philip Sousa, scheduled to conduct the wedding march, turned down a bribe to plant a reporter among his musicians.⁴⁵ Failure to crack White House security did not deter the press from reporting the event anyway, and magazines carried widely varying descriptions of what happened. *Harper's* and *Leslie's*, two of the most popular periodicals, produced dissimilar sketches of the bride's dress.

After the ceremony, the president and his bride escaped from the White House through a basement door and made off for a private honeymoon at a cottage in nearby Deer Park, Maryland. Only personal servants accompanied them, but reporters camped out in the bushes near the honeymoon cottage. Four days after the ceremony, the *New York Herald* announced in big headlines that the bride and groom were "No Longer Secluded" but had emerged to chat with villagers.

The president fumed that some of the newspeople relied on spy-glasses to gather their material, and he lodged a formal complaint. Reporters "have used the enormous power of the modern newspaper to perpetuate and disseminate a colossal impertinence," Grover Cleveland wrote to the *New York Evening Post*, "and [they] have done it, not as professional gossips and tattlers, but as the guides and instructors of the public in conduct and morals." The president implied that the reputation of the entire country was at stake, because the offensive coverage had "[lifted the matter] into the gaze of the whole world, [making] American journalism contemptible in the estimation of people of good breeding everywhere."⁴⁶

Some newspapers agreed with the president's assessment, while others defended their right to print any information, no matter how trivial. The *Christian Union* criticized the *New York Sun* for devoting nearly half of its first page to the "White House Family" giving details which, "if true, [readers] had no right to know." The *Philadelphia Sun World* described as "the extreme of Jenkinsism" the publication of a bit of writing that Cleveland's bride had done for her fellow passengers on an Atlantic crossing just before her wedding, but the *Albany Press and Knickerbocker* pronounced "Jenkins's coverage of the wedding" entirely justified because of the prominence of the participants.

It should be emphasized that this attention to social events at the White House portrayed presidents' wives as hostesses and style-setters rather than thinkers and doers, but it made them familiar, sometimes popular, national figures. Possibilities for commercialization were not ignored, and unauthorized photographs and sketches of White House wives began to appear in advertisements. Lucy Hayes was shown on a trade card touting a particular brand of iron.⁴⁷ Another of the trade cards, then popular as a way of keeping a company's name before the public, featured a wedding picture with the practical bride explaining to her guests that the "Colby [clothes wringer was the] best gift of all," and the newlyweds showed a remarkable resemblance to the Cleverlands—down to Grover's spectacles and portly figure.⁴⁸ A perfume manufacturer publicized a note of appreciation from Frances Cleveland alongside a photograph of her, giving the impression that she personally endorsed that fragrance.⁴⁹

To put a stop to such practices, a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives in March 1888, making the unauthorized use of the "the likeness or representation of any female living or dead, who is or was the wife, mother, daughter or sister of any citizen of the United States" a crime subject to fines of up to \$5,000.⁵⁰ The bill's sponsor made clear that he was seeking to protect current First Lady Frances Cleveland, one of the few women in America then famous enough to encourage use of her likeness in testimonial advertising. Although the measure never passed, its introduction suggests a whole new phase in press attention to presidents' wives. "Jenkins's" coverage could make them stars.

Most of the press's coverage was harmless—the color of a First Lady's dress or the style of her hair and the number of women who stood beside her to receive guests. The damage lay in ignoring the intellectual pursuits of the women in the White House and their substantive contributions to causes not precisely in line with the "hostess" image. Grover Cleveland's sister, Rose, published books and lectured on fem-

inist topics, but newspapers chose to report the color of her lace dress. Caroline Harrison helped make Johns Hopkins Medical School coeducational, but her obituary praised her domesticity.

Unpleasant topics connected with wives of popular leaders received little space. When Ida McKinley's brother shot and killed his former mistress, the White House ignored (and caused friendly papers to follow suit) the lurid details. Ida's illness, which historians later hypothesized was a form of epilepsy causing her to lose consciousness, received only vague mention and never by name.

Because the public was so curious about children in the presidential family, First Ladies frequently found themselves at odds with camera-owners. In the nineteenth century, few Americans visited their nation's capital, but many of those who did wanted to take home a picture of one of the White House occupants. Children became a prime target in spite of their mothers' objections. Julia Grant ordered the gates of the White House closed, but she admitted she caused a storm of objections to her "exclusivity." Frances Cleveland tried to keep her very young children out of sight—then heard of rumors that they were "sick" and "deformed." Caroline Harrison approached the problem differently, allowing her young grandson, "Baby McKee," to appear in what would later come to be called "photo opportunities," and it was generally agreed in the early 1890s that he was the most photographed child in America.

The public's fascination with White House life had reached such a peak by the turn of the century that it comes as no surprise that Edith Roosevelt (1901–1909) engineered new ways to control what information went out. Julia Tyler (1844–1845) had hired a press agent to "sound [her] praises far and near,"⁵¹ but it was not then the style to print much about presidents' wives. The new century promised to be different, and the Roosevelts showed that they understood. A recent history of *The Press and the Presidency* credits Theodore Roosevelt with initiating presidential manipulation of the press,⁵² but little attention has focused on Edith's parallel steps. Her social secretary, Belle Hagner, reportedly altered details of White House socializing, and in those pre-television days, reporters and readers had little opportunity to check on the accuracy of the material they were given.⁵³ The posed, formal pictures of her children that Edith distributed meant that reporters did not have to camp out on the White House lawn waiting for their chance.

The custom of delegating to a social secretary the task of supplying the press with information continued for the next three decades but did not go beyond society-page material. Although it has been suggested that both Helen Taft (1909–1913) and Florence Harding (1921–1923) played significant roles in some of their husbands' decisions, neither

woman emphasized such participation in her dealings with the press. In fact, both underplayed their power. Florence, who had worked at the *Marion Star* and understood the value of treating reporters well, made a special point of emphasizing her taste and charm, traits that she evidently perceived as more commendable than clout in a First Lady. Grace Coolidge, so naturally vivacious that she might have welcomed conversations with reporters, obeyed her husband's vetoes of such exchanges, and Lou Hoover showed no inclination to break the rule that a First Lady gave no interviews. Woodrow Wilson's first wife, Ellen, had little to do with the press; and stories about his second wife, Edith, originated outside the White House—not with her.

Before 1933, reporting on presidents' wives made them colorless individuals without much personality of their own. Beatrice Fairfax, who wrote about the capital for many years and attended Eleanor Roosevelt's press conferences, suggested that convention required such coverage—the women themselves were considerably more opinionated and interesting than journalists indicated. According to Fairfax, reporters color-coded First Ladies for public consumption, but that was the extent of individuality allowed them: "Mrs. Harding pink, Mrs. Coolidge red. None had the hardihood [for] yellow."⁵⁴

Fairfax and her sister reporters could not fail to note the change in relations between the press and the First Lady after 1933. But why Eleanor Roosevelt should resolve to use the press, rather than let it use her, remains (like so many questions about her) unclear. Just before the 1932 election, Alice Rogers Hagen had written in the *New York Times* of an "unwritten law that the First Lady gives no interviews [and] makes no public utterances," but within hours of taking the job, Eleanor broke that law. Two days before Franklin got around to talking to the press, she took them on a tour of the White House, and then announced that she would meet with them regularly to answer their questions. Just three years had elapsed since Bess Furman had had to disguise herself as a caroling Girl Scout in order to enter the White House and gather material on how the Hoovers spent Christmas, but Eleanor invited Furman to sit down with her colleagues and talk about whatever came to their minds. Such luck seemed too good to believe and one of the journalists pronounced Eleanor "God's gift."⁵⁵

During her slightly more than twelve years as First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt held 348 press conferences, the last on April 12, 1945, just hours before Franklin's death. Except for the summer months when she left the capital, the meeting was part of her weekly schedule. Questions ranged from trivial inquiries about the habits of visiting royalty to Eleanor's views on substantive matters. Very quickly it became appar-

ent that she did not intend to obey her own rule that forbade political topics but she would continue to limit attendance at the press conferences to women only. When she scooped the president in January 1934, by announcing that wine would once again be served in the White House, thus signaling an end to prohibition, news services who employed no women reporters decided to enlarge their staffs to insure that they had a representative present.⁵⁶ United Press (UP) hired its first woman, Ruby Black.⁵⁷

Eleanor Roosevelt employed no press secretary—she fulfilled that job herself, deciding what she could answer and what she could not. Because she had written and published magazine articles herself, she understood both the pressures of a deadline and the extent of the public's curiosity. On personal matters, such as how often she got her hair done, she was both patient and candid, although she occasionally echoed Abigail Adams when she reminded reporters, "You don't elect the woman nor the family when you elect a man President."⁵⁸

The incomplete surviving account of Eleanor Roosevelt's news conferences reveals a candid First Lady who giggled occasionally and admitted easily that she had much to learn. When reporters, incredulous that anyone should take so little interest in clothes as she apparently did, continued to ask what she expected to wear for a particular occasion, they frequently received a noncommittal, "I haven't the remotest idea." Told that her name appeared on the list of "Best Dressed Women," Eleanor replied nonchalantly: "Was I?"⁵⁹ She acted as though she had welcomed a group of friends into her home and had determined to be frank because she considered them her allies.

Eleanor's close personal relationship with several women reporters, including Lorena Hickok, no doubt strengthened her resolve to work with the press and increased her confidence that she would receive fair treatment. Her successors in the White House, Bess Truman (1945–1953) and Mamie Eisenhower (1953–1961), had different plans. Neither went beyond announcements of social schedules, and Bess released even that information reluctantly. Mamie liked attention, but her luncheons and fashions made suitable copy for "women's pages" only. "No male correspondent would want to cover . . . the First Lady," Nan Dickerson, the NBC correspondent, later wrote of the 1950s.⁶⁰

The period of modern management of the First Lady's image began with the Kennedy administration (1961–1963) when, for the first time, a separate press secretary was named for the president's wife. All subsequent administrations followed the Kennedy example, and although the appointees showed little agreement on just what their job involved, no administration abolished it. The privacy-conscious presidents' wives

(especially Kennedy and Nixon) used their press secretaries much as Edith Roosevelt had—to preserve some distance between themselves and the public without being so impolitic as to offend. The more activist First Ladies (especially Johnson, Ford, and Carter) relied on their press secretaries to help shape strong, positive images of themselves.

The job got off to a shaky start in 1961 under Pamela Turnure, a twenty-three-year-old with no journalism experience. She struck one veteran Washington reporter as "about as qualified to hold the job as I am to direct the space program,"⁶¹ but since she enjoyed the confidence of both John and Jackie Kennedy, the appointment stuck. In retrospect, Turnure functioned less as a press secretary than as link between the East Wing of the White House and the president's press secretary, Pierre Salinger, who estimated that he handled 95 percent of all the information about the First Lady.⁶² Questions about her came to him, he insisted, and he decided what went out and when. Salinger, not Turnure, received Jackie's handwritten memos exhorting diligence in shielding her children from publicity. After one magazine published unauthorized photographs of the youngsters at play, Jackie wrote Salinger: "*I mean this*—want no more and if you are firm and will take the time—you can stop it. So please do."⁶³ She concluded with a blunt and, in retrospect, interesting appraisal of Salinger's job: "What is a press secretary for—to help the press, yes—but also to protect *us*."

Jackie's view of Salinger's job differed from the president's view. While she relished privacy and sought ways to shield herself and her children from a curious public, John Kennedy reached out to the media for help in shaping a positive picture of his administration. Much of Camelot resulted from camouflage, as Americans later learned when details of John Kennedy's health and tastes became known; but in the early 1960s few voters knew that behind the vigorous-appearing president was a pair of crutches, temporarily abandoned for the photograph, or that the chief executive who warmly welcomed Pablo Casals really preferred more popular music. To the press secretary fell the task of seeing that the president was portrayed in the most winning way—sporty, but intellectual, witty, yet humane.

The president made clear to his press office that his own wife and children played a part in this campaign for the people's approval. According to Pierre Salinger, John Kennedy recognized, well before Jackie achieved her phenomenal international popularity, how great an asset she could be. Ideas for promoting her glamor and sophistication as part of the administration's glitter originated with the president himself. When she left Washington for extended vacations of her own, the president suggested that Salinger release photographs of the Kennedy

children,⁶⁴ as though to remind Americans that a happy, united family lived in the White House.

Jackie Kennedy had registered her alarm about ubiquitous photographers and reporters early in the campaign when, after she had retired to Hyannisport because of her pregnancy, her beach walks made the nation's newspapers. Following the election, newspeople became even more zealous in their race for scoops. After Jackie gave birth to a son in a Washington hospital, an enterprising photographer stepped up and started flashing pictures as she was being wheeled out of the delivery room at 2:50 a.m. Secret Service men removed the camera and confiscated the film, but the First Lady-elect retained a very clear picture of what the next years would hold.⁶⁵ Just days earlier, she had confessed to reporters that she worried more about the invasion of her privacy than any other aspect of her new job.⁶⁶ "It's very frightening," she later said, "to completely lose one's anonymity at 31."⁶⁷

The popularity of the young First Lady escalated the demand for information about her, and reporters admitted that they engaged in "shameless" tactics to get their stories. Helen Thomas, who was assigned to the White House, recalled that she and her colleagues were insatiable for news about Jackie Kennedy. They queried her hairdresser, her caterer, and her pianist. They even sought information from the White House diaper-supplier and watched carefully how much alcohol the First Lady consumed at receptions.⁶⁸

Not surprisingly, a woman who valued her privacy found such practices abominable, and she reacted by calling reporters "harpies" and other unflattering names. Ironically, she had, herself, shown less concern for the privacy of politicians' families when the camera and microphone were in her hands. During her days as "Inquiring Photographer" for the *Washington Times Herald*, she had even questioned the young daughter of vice president-elect Richard Nixon. Jackie's column, which ran six days a week for more than a year in the early 1950s, posed a different question each day to several randomly selected individuals and then published their responses alongside their photographs. The questions varied from the most mundane ("Have you done your Christmas shopping?")⁶⁹ to the curious ("If you had been declared legally dead and returned to find your spouse remarried, what would you do?").⁷⁰ Some of the questions touched on the relationship between the sexes ("Do you think a wife should pick out her husband's suits for him?"),⁷¹ and others smacked of misogyny ("How could women be trained to be punctual?").⁷²

Rarely did the "Inquiring Photographer" pose a political question or, in light of what later happened to her, an interesting one. But on Sep-

tember 13, 1952, the woman who would soon marry a Massachusetts senator inquired: "Should a candidate's wife campaign with her husband?"⁷³ A few weeks later on November 7, she went to Tilden Street where the Nixon family lived and she inquired what his neighbors thought of the man then running on the Republican ticket for vice-president. Even six-year-old Patricia Nixon was fair game for the "Inquiring Photographer." In response to the question, "What do you think of Senator Nixon now?" Tricia answered, "He's always away. If he's so famous, why can't he stay home?"⁷⁴

Later, when she became a White House mother herself, Jackie Kennedy evidently tempered her ideas about what the public had a right to know, and she shielded her children from all but the most closely controlled situations so that no one got the unmonitored opportunity to ask what young John and Caroline thought of their father.

In spite of her attempts to maintain privacy, Jackie Kennedy quickly became familiar to people around the world. Her face, and others bearing a striking resemblance to it, appeared in many commercial announcements. A Scottish tweed company used her photograph, implying she endorsed its product, until requested to stop.⁷⁵ Less than three months into the Kennedy administration, the "Jackie look" was being debated in Polish magazines, and while one of them, *Swiat*, predicted she would dictate the "tone and style for the whole civilized world," the Communist organ *Trybuna Ludu*, pronounced her wardrobe rather costly for the average Polish woman.⁷⁶

When the First Lady accompanied the president to Europe later that spring, she multiplied her exposure and her admirers, thus establishing her important place in Camelot. Combining youthful beauty, fashionable clothes, and faultless French, she so engaged the crowds that she quickly became an international star. Vienna and London brought similar ovations, and at the end of 1961, Jackie Kennedy was voted "Woman of the Year" by the editors of more than 100 international periodicals.⁷⁷ In Argentina, the Public Opinion Research Institute selected her and Pope John XXIII as the two outstanding models for the world.⁷⁸

An even younger First Lady, Frances Folsom, had complained of her loss of privacy when she married Grover Cleveland in the White House in 1886, but she would have been appalled at the changes by the 1960s. Television, which brought the entire Kennedy clan into millions of households in ways that still photographs could never do, had become a common household appliance. Tabloids and movie magazines, other new additions to the American communications industry, included details of the lives of White House occupants alongside gossip about entertainers and athletes.

Jackie Kennedy quickly became a favorite "cover girl" of magazines her friends insisted she would not have dreamed of reading. *Photoplay* ran her picture on its cover and called her "America's Newest Star," while *Modern Screen*, *Screen Stories*, *Teen Tempo*, and *Movie World* all gave her similar prominence. She even inspired a new purse-sized magazine, *The Jacqueline Touch*, devoted entirely to her activities: how she chose her clothes, what she did with her children, and how she liked to travel. As though to underscore the extent to which taste had changed, *Motion Picture* carried five-year-old Caroline Kennedy on the cover of its December 1962 issue.

Whatever the reasons for the public's fascination with the Kennedys—whether it was their youth, their glamor, their energy, their wealth, or simply an illusion of proximity to power made possible by television—subsequent presidents' families could not ignore the precedent. With varying degrees of success, every administration after 1963 attempted to present a "star" family in the White House. Diets and "name" hairdressers, designer clothes and face lifts, glamorous activities and celebrity acquaintances, all gained a spot on the White House schedule of events.

For Lady Bird Johnson, the Kennedy administration proved a difficult one to follow. She lacked her much younger predecessor's strong confidence in her own taste but as an ex-journalism student and loyal wife, she understood the value of maintaining good relations with the press. Reporters would never hear her call them "harpies" or treat them as an inferior class. More importantly, Lady Bird had lived in Washington long enough to know that privacy for a presidential family was a naive fantasy—she accepted curiosity about her as part of her job.

The new press secretary for the East Wing reflected Lady Bird's views. Liz Carpenter had worked in Washington journalism since the days of Eleanor Roosevelt, and she combined, one of her colleagues said, the "best of Madison Avenue and a Barnum and Bailey circus."⁷⁹ She staged the First Lady's appearances in the manner of a press agent introducing an aspiring actress, even radioing to sailboats on one occasion to reposition themselves so as to form a more attractive backdrop for Lady Bird who was being photographed on shore. Liz Carpenter also served as cheerleader and coach to a First Lady whose own natural consideration for other people made her sympathetic to reporters' needs. "Lady Bird would call them around to the front," Liz Carpenter later recalled, "so that they could see what was going on when she was making a presentation or planting a tree. She knew why she was there."⁸⁰

Reporters appreciated Lady Bird's assessment of them and their jobs. Most of her predecessors had treated them like necessary evils, but she

seemed to welcome them for the positive effect their stories could have on her husband's administration. She had come to the conclusion, she later said, "that if you're available and talked over something with folks and explained why you couldn't do this or believe in that, or whatever, you would fare better in the end than if you either ran away or just evaded."⁸¹

Whatever the origins of Lady Bird's faith in the press, her successor, Pat Nixon (1969-1974), did not share it. Five days after Richard Nixon was elected president, Betty Beale used her column to advise the First Lady-elect on what to do. Encourage the arts, Beale wrote, and televise White House entertainment, but be sure to "hire a press secretary who is a trained newswoman and sees the job as giving information, not withholding it."⁸² In the same election, Mary Hoyt, active in public relations for Democrats, advised a candidate's wife that she had no choice but to accept a public role: "You'd better get a press secretary and start figuring out how you want to handle personal things that you do not want to discuss."⁸³

Such advice ran counter to Pat Nixon's personal preference for revealing very little about herself. The stamina that took her out of extreme poverty developed in her, as in so many people who make enormous changes in their lives, a passion for privacy. "I don't like to think back to [my youth]," she told Jessamyn West, the writer and Richard's cousin. "It is behind me."⁸⁴ Her unwillingness to talk publicly extended to opinions as well as personal matters; and while Eleanor McGovern, wife of the Democratic nominee in 1972, insisted that a wife had a right to be her own person, Pat Nixon emphasized the need to keep quiet. "I know a lot," she said when offered a large sum of money to do a syndicated column, "but you have to keep it to yourself when you're in this position."⁸⁵ On another occasion, she admitted, "I don't tell everything."⁸⁶

One reporter who managed to break through that reserve, if only briefly, was Gloria Steinem, the feminist leader who covered Richard Nixon for *New York* magazine in the 1968 campaign. When Steinem was granted an interview with Pat, after having requested one with the candidate, she was determined to get beyond the bland, hackneyed phrases that she had read in other reporters' stories.

At first the going was slow, with Pat Nixon unfailingly pleasant but offering nothing new. Then she named Mamie Eisenhower as the "woman in history she most admired . . . because she meant so much to young people," and something clicked in Steinem who had been a college student in the 1950s and recalled no such admiration for Mamie. Steinem pointed this out.

"Then the dam broke," Steinem wrote, and out came the most revealing comments that Pat Nixon made during a lifetime in politics. "Not out of control but low-voiced and resentful like a long accusation, the words flowed: 'I never had time to think about things like that—who I wanted to be or who I admired, or to have ideas. I never had time to dream about being anyone else. I had to work. My parents died when I was a teenager, and I had to work my way through college [and] I worked in a bank while Dick was in the service . . . I haven't just sat back and thought of myself or my ideas or what I wanted to do . . . I've never had it easy. I'm not like all you . . . all those people who had it easy.'" ⁸⁷

That resentment of reporters characterized Pat Nixon's White House years, and both her husband and younger daughter, Julie, singled it out as her biggest problem. Several journalists said that they liked Pat personally but that her insistence on privacy deprived them of good stories. She refused to share funny anecdotes that could have endeared her to readers, and because it was assumed that she had no access to important information, her views on substantive matters were not sought. One observer noted that Pat did not even trust her press secretaries, and in one sense there was an almost built-in conflict between her and them. They wanted to distribute information that would put her in a favorable light, while she wanted to tell as little as possible. In spite of all these difficulties, the First Lady was news, and Nan Dickerson remarked that "covering Pat's world trip in 1969 was more interesting than Dick's." ⁸⁸

Pat's own dissatisfaction with her image is reflected in her having named three different press secretaries in five and a half years. Constance Stuart replaced Gerry Vander Heuvel in October 1969, and then in 1972, Helen McCain Smith was named. For a while, Smith seemed to be presenting a "new" Pat who traveled alone to Africa to represent her husband at the inauguration of the Liberian president. On the pages of the *Ladies Home Journal*, Pat modelled pants suits, although she had not previously worn them in public. She even got up the courage to light a cigarette in a Washington restaurant, an event reported in the *New York Times* along with her press secretary's assurance that "she probably does not inhale." ⁸⁹

Before Pat Nixon's new image had had much time to develop, Watergate brought down her husband's administration. Thus Betty Ford became First Lady under unique circumstances. Since the presidential system started in 1789, no man had served in the top office without having first been elected either to it or to the vice-presidency. But Spiro

Agnew's resignation, followed eight months later by that of Richard Nixon, propelled Gerald Ford from a Michigan congressman to president in less than a year. His wife Betty described the change in her own life as "like being thrown into a river without knowing how to swim."⁹⁰

Within a month of becoming First Lady, Betty Ford made it very clear that she meant to proceed differently from Pat Nixon, and she later told an interviewer this had been a conscious decision.⁹¹ At her first press conference, Betty revealed that she had her own ideas and, more surprisingly, that she did not think her new prominence should silence her. "I never thought being First Lady should prevent me from expressing my own opinions," she later explained.⁹²

What happened the next month reinforced the Fords' reputation for honesty, although the president's staff took much of the credit for deciding how to treat it. A routine physical examination in September 1974 revealed that Betty Ford had breast cancer, and she entered a Washington hospital for surgery. Not twenty years had passed since the Eisenhower White House had refused to use the word "hysterectomy" in describing the First Lady's surgery, but the Fords made "mastectomy" a household word. Other famous women, including Marvella Bayh (wife of the Indiana senator), Alice Roosevelt Longworth (daughter of Theodore), Shirley Temple Black (former child star and later UN delegate), and Julia Child (television star cook), had all described similar surgery, but none of them merited quite the same interest as a First Lady.

The decision to level with the public came naturally to the Fords. Ron Nessen, the president's press secretary, later explained that while Betty was still on the operating table, "We produced doctors for briefings so detailed and technical . . . they might have stumped a medical class."⁹³ While Nessen seemed to concentrate on the political rewards of being open and candid, Betty Ford emphasized the humanitarian value. "I felt that if I had [cancer], many other women had it," she told Morley Safer on "60 Minutes." "I thought . . . if I don't make it public, then their lives will be gone."⁹⁴

Articles on the First Lady's surgery went beyond her individual case to discuss different treatments—comparing the advantages of radical mastectomies over more limited versions and discussing the necessity of follow-up drug or radiation treatment. In the process of satisfying their curiosity about the woman who lived in the White House, many Americans learned a great deal about breast cancer, one of the leading causes of death among women. Physicians reported a tenfold increase

in requests for examinations. Some of these mammograms revealed cancers at an early stage and increased the chances for successful treatment and cure.

Margaretta ("Happy") Rockefeller, wife of the newly installed vice-president, underwent a double mastectomy just three weeks after Betty Ford's. In an editorial, the *New York Times* commented on "these two prominent and appealing women [who] by their strength, courage and forthrightness, set an admirable example."⁹⁵ With so much public interest focused on their every movement, it is unlikely that either woman could have undergone hospitalization without press notice, but that each woman chose to acknowledge the truth so publicly marked a new direction.

An occasional critic spoke up in favor of the old reticence on such matters, but Betty Ford gave no indication that she heard. The president of the National Student Nurses Association complained in a letter to an editor of a major newspaper that the surgery had been treated in a "sports event atmosphere of press releases . . . extremely offensive and quite unnecessary."⁹⁶ Betty Ford preferred to concentrate on the value of what she had done: "Lying in the hospital, thinking of all those women going for cancer checkups because of me, I'd come to recognize more clearly the power of the woman in the White House. Not my power, but the power of the position, a power which could be used to help."⁹⁷

Thousands of letters arrived at the White House, and very quickly the woman who had been almost unknown to the country a year earlier became enormously popular. Jane Howard wrote in the *New York Times* that this one act of "shedding light on a topic" was enough to guarantee Betty Ford a place in history.⁹⁸

When time came to select a press secretary of her own, Betty Ford chose a determined and outspoken television producer, Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld. Unlike some of her predecessors, Weidenfeld was an old-timer around the White House. She had swum in the White House pool when her father served as secretary to the Eisenhower cabinet, and she showed little of the awe that frequently paralyzes newcomers to the presidential orbit. Weidenfeld sought to produce a Ford family show with each member portrayed so attractively that all would contribute to the success of the administration. As her model, she looked to Liz Carpenter who had helped a disciplined but slightly distant and none too confident Lady Bird Johnson appear warm, decisive, and attractive. Weidenfeld resolved to avoid a "hostessy" image of Betty Ford and to associate her with substantive issues.

Weidenfeld's book, *First Lady's Lady*, is rich in details of the conflict

between the president's side of the White House and the East Wing, as lines of authority repeatedly crisscrossed. In Weidenfeld's view, the West Wing conspired to keep her ignorant of plans so that reporters eventually questioned her credibility and her competence. When her decisions did not meet the approval of Ron Nessen and Don Rumsfeld, they did not hesitate to tell her, and when her scheduling conflicted with theirs, they expected her to make the adjustment.

By the 1970s, presidents' wives were receiving more requests for interviews than they could possibly accept, and part of their press secretaries' job was refusing invitations. In Betty Ford's case, the mastectomy and subsequent treatment had left her too weak for questioning for several months. By the summer of 1975, Weidenfeld deemed the time right. She had already selected the show "60 Minutes" with Morley Safer because she judged it so well produced. At the July taping of the interview, the press secretary felt her boss came across as caring, articulate, and warm, and Weidenfeld's satisfaction increased when she read the transcript and realized that CBS had cut some of Betty Ford's more naive comments.

Public reaction to the interview, when it aired on August 10, was something else. The Fords were vacationing in Vail, Colorado, when telephone calls began coming in from reporters who wanted to follow up on Betty's comments. In the interview, the First Lady had been asked what she would do if her daughter, then eighteen years old, told her she was having "an affair." Betty Ford had replied that she would not be surprised but would try to counsel and advise her. She had stressed the need to keep communication channels open between parents and children no matter what the circumstances, but the newspapers took her words out of context and implied that she expected, even condoned, premarital sex among teenagers. White House mail reflected the difference between the television show and printed accounts. Letters supporting the First Lady came from viewers of "60 Minutes," while her critics had read the newspapers.⁹⁹

The president admitted to a Minneapolis meeting of broadcast and newspaper executives that when he heard the interview he predicted it would cost him ten million votes but after reading the newspapers he had doubled the damage.¹⁰⁰ Weidenfeld kept insisting that in the long run the television appearance would work to the president's advantage and she was right. A Harris poll, taken three months later, showed 60 percent of the respondents approved of Betty Ford's handling of the hypothetical question about her daughter, while only 27 percent disagreed. For the pollsters, the president's wife represented "a solid asset" to her husband.¹⁰¹

Sheila Weidenfeld later said that she did not think Americans liked a decisive, opinionated First Lady,¹⁰² but Rosalynn Carter showed little evidence that she agreed. Beginning immediately after Jimmy's election in November 1976, Rosalynn took a highly publicized role in the administration. During the long campaign, she had conferred frequently with her husband on substantive issues so that she rarely felt uninformed on Jimmy's views, and she understood the value of the press in promoting her own projects. Within a month of the inauguration, she held her first press conference to announce the formation of the President's Commission on Mental Health, and although she described herself as "crushed" when the *Washington Post* failed to cover the story, she was pleased that the *New York Times* had "a good, substantive article."¹⁰³ To her regret, the *Washington Post* had preferred to focus that day on Rosalynn Carter's decision to serve only wine, rather than hard liquor, in the White House.

This marked only the beginning of Rosalynn Carter's disappointment with her press coverage. She selected an experienced press secretary, Mary Finch Hoyt, who had assisted the wives of several presidential candidates, but Hoyt spent much of her time correcting erroneous stories. Reporters seemed unable to agree on what the First Lady was doing—they shifted from emphasizing her weakness to portraying her as having exceptional clout. Insisting that she was somewhere in the middle, Rosalynn complained that her image changed from "fuzzy" to "most powerful" after she began attending cabinet meetings in early 1978. She tried to remain philosophical: "I had already learned from more than decade of political life that I was going to be criticized no matter what I did, so I might as well be criticized for something I wanted to do. (If I had spent all day 'pouring tea,' I would have been criticized for that too.)"¹⁰⁴

Rosalynn Carter learned that much as she wished to emphasize her work on substantive issues, the press would not ignore the more frivolous elements of her life. She recalled that she had impulsively flown to New York with her assistant Madeline MacBean to buy clothes, but that, hoping to avoid attention, she had not even informed her own press secretary. When she had finished shopping and was preparing to leave the Seventh Avenue building, "flashbulbs blinded me," she wrote, "and it seemed that the whole New York press corps was waiting for me."¹⁰⁵ Stories about how many Jerry Silverman designs she bought drew attention away from what Rosalynn considered more important topics, but she had little choice in the matter—Americans wanted to know as much as possible about their First Lady.

This "Jenkins" fascination with social and fashion news might have

satisfied Nancy Reagan, who succeeded Rosalynn Carter in 1981, but she soon learned that it did little for her husband's popularity. Having matured in Hollywood, where glamor and style play inordinate roles in careers, she had transferred those same rules into politics where the appearance of sincerity combined with seriousness takes the higher prize. Her 1980 autobiography, *Nancy*, chopped two years off her age, an entirely acceptable adjustment in the celluloid capital but not in the political spotlight, as Gary Hart learned during the campaign of 1984. Nancy's other pronouncements on premarital sex and drug use appeared to conflict with arrangements in her own family, and while few Americans expected perfection in the presidential household, a general sentiment favored discretion.

The image of Nancy Reagan as nothing more than conspicuous consumer and faithful supporter of her husband's achievements caused her even more trouble. Betty Friedan described Nancy as "an anachronism . . . denying the reality of American women today . . . what they'd like to see a First Lady represent."¹⁰⁶ Magazine writers queried readers, "Can We Afford [Nancy Reagan]?" William Buckley, the Reagan's fellow Republican, speculated publicly that Nancy probably thought her husband "belonged on Mt. Rushmore."¹⁰⁷ and other observers questioned what—if anything—she stood for on her own.

By the end of the first year of the Reagan administration, her image was remodelled so that it more closely coincided with that of her two outspoken predecessors. Nancy still talked about expensive clothes, but she confined her remarks to "off camera." Attention began to focus, instead, on her leadership in drug rehabilitation programs. First she appeared on national television, and then she vied for a place in the international spotlight. She invited her counterparts from other countries to confer with her in Washington at a "First Ladies Conference" on drugs, and she journeyed to the Vatican to discuss the topic with Pope John Paul II. In what NBC termed her "spring offensive," she arrived in Rome in an "entourage more appropriate to a visiting head of state." Later she told an interviewer that the trip had been a special one for her because "I was on my own . . . talking about something that concerns me and concerns [the Pope]."¹⁰⁸ Reporters seeking information about the First Lady's wardrobe found themselves learning, instead, about her other activities. When interviewed at the November 1985 Geneva summit, Nancy Reagan rejected questions about her clothes as "kind of silly" at a time when so much more important topics were under discussion.

The president's top aides made no secret of their role in changing the First Lady's public image. For them, her ratings in the polls af-

fectured her husband's rating, and when she did poorly, they looked for change. During an hour-long television program on Nancy Reagan (broadcast in June 1985), two presidential aides outlined how they had cooperated in the shift. Michael Deaver, a longtime Reagan assistant, spoke of "working out a plan," and White House pollster Richard Wirthlin hinted at something resembling "a public relations campaign." NBC commentator Chris Wallace concluded that there had been "a sophisticated White House effort" directed toward making the president's wife more appealing to more Americans. The plan evidently worked, because by the summer of 1985, NBC reported a poll showing that Nancy Reagan ranked second only to Jackie Kennedy Onassis among recent presidential wives.

First Lady Reagan's experience with the press represents considerable change since the days when "Jenkins's" coverage of social news was enough. By the 1970s and 1980s, complaints of undue attention came rarely from the East Wing of the White House—where occupants focused more on how they could use the media to their own advantage than how the media invaded their personal turf. Jackie Kennedy's injunction to Press Secretary Salinger to "protect" her and her children from the press sounded outdated. Rosalynn Carter's view had become the accepted one: "A press secretary's job," she told an interviewer, "is to publicize my projects and to publicize me."¹⁰⁹ Relations between an activist First Lady and the press now ran two ways: [she had learned to use the press as surely as the press used her for interesting copy\

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MEMORANDUM

March 4, 1994

TO: Melanne
FROM: Katy Button
RE: Research on Eleanor Roosevelt's Press Coverage

The following is a summary of the enclosed group of articles, most of which are criticisms of some aspect of Mrs. Roosevelt's public actions:

Mrs. Roosevelt was the first First Lady to receive constant, national media coverage. She held weekly press conferences and her activities were widely reported. Inevitably, although the overwhelming majority of this coverage was positive, Mrs. Roosevelt was the object of several negative editorials. The most significant of these was regarding her appointment as Assistant Director of the Office of Civil Defense in 1941. One account of this criticism is found in Chapter 10 of Eleanor Roosevelt and the Media, by Maurine Beasley. The following are some quotes from this account:

- Mrs. Roosevelt was seen as "sugar-coating" serious business with "all manner of fads, fancies, homilies, and programs which would have been appropriate to the activities of an excited village improvement society."

- Columnist Walter Lippmann contended that the wife of the President should not confuse everybody by being a "subordinate official in a subordinate department of the government which her husband administers."

- Mrs. Roosevelt was criticized both for administrative inefficiency and for putting personal friends on the civil defense payroll.

- In 1942, Mrs. Roosevelt's resignation was demanded. Columnist Raymond Clapper complained, "How can you have any kind of morale with a subordinate employee, who happens to be the wife of the President of the United States, flitting in and out between lecture engagements to toss a few more pets into nice jobs."

Mrs. Roosevelt was also criticized for myriad other minor "scandals."

- When she donated the proceeds from radio shows to charity, conservative Congressman Hamilton Fish accused her of tax evasion and testified before a special Congressional

committee that Mrs. Roosevelt had "availed herself of a special loophole" in the tax laws.

- Catholic newspapers condemned Mrs. Roosevelt for supporting a charity that benefitted the Loyalists in Spain (during the Spanish Civil War). "Unless Mrs. Roosevelt speedily disavows approval of groups sympathetic with the Loyalists in Spain she, as the wife of the President of the United States, is bound, one of these days, to get into an embarrassing situation."

- When Mrs. Roosevelt expressed her feeling that the President's wife and children should "live their own lives," she was soundly criticized by some members of the public.

- "I deplore Mrs. Roosevelt's statement that she regards it as a mere family concern for the wife of the President to represent her son in an insurance company whose business has been admittedly secured through 'dad's influence.'"

- "With due regard for the charity Mrs. Roosevelt has done, I still maintain that married women with husbands gainfully employed should consider homemaking their own career."

- Even the Nazis asked Mrs. Roosevelt to end her political comment. "One should ask her to keep her pen away from things of which she is ignorant. There are many other better fields of work for a militant writer; for instance, social questions concerning the 12,000,000 unemployed, lynching, child labor, and public morals. It is not good for a nation if not only the husband but also the wife enters the political china shop."

- Mrs. Roosevelt was attacked not only for her political views, but also for the simple fact that she was a "working wife." She was even challenged to a debate on the subject.

- "Duplication of jobs within families is poor national economy and will be responsible for low wages as long as it continues."

- Working wives "are deserters from their post of duty, the home, which is the only unit of society on which the country depends for existence."

- "With all due respect to the First Lady of the Land, it seems that 'working wives' who have husbands to support them are a decided menace to our American democracy. By occupying the posts that should go to the men they drive the latter into a position of economic dependence on the Government - the first step toward fascism and dictatorship."

- Boston Mayor William Feiker told the Mrs. Roosevelt to "attend to [her] own knitting.

CALLS FOR INQUIRY ON ROOSEVELT TAX

Fish Says President Admitted
in '34 That He Had Deducted
for an Old Farm Barn

HITS 'LOOPHOLE' CHARGES

Representative, in Orange County
Speech, Asks Investigation on
Hyde Park 'Rentals'

GOSHEN, N. Y., June 19 (AP).—An investigation of President Roosevelt's income tax returns by the Congressional committee studying tax evasion, was advocated today by Representative Fish, Republican, of New York.

Mr. Fish, who represents the President's home district, told the Orange County Republican Committee that he would "suggest" to the committee that it "examine the tax returns of President Roosevelt for 'farm losses' and depreciation on Hyde Park and his Georgia cotton plantation."

"There can be no reasonable doubt of this," the Representative said. "I'll be glad to furnish proof to the committee."

Mr. Fish said that he wanted the committee also to look into "alleged payment of rental on Hyde Park property to Mrs. James Roosevelt by the Federal Government for maintenance during occupation by the President as a Summer White House." He expressed doubt that such rental was paid.

Likewise, he proposed a study of "alleged avoidance of income tax payments by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt for charity" and examination of the income tax returns of James Roosevelt, Mrs. Anna Roosevelt Boettiger, Elliott Roosevelt, Postmaster General Farley, Secretary Morgenthau, Harry L. Hopkins, John L. Lewis and Henry L. Doherty.

"In view of the fact that the administration has submitted the names of several prominent men, among whom are some liberal contributors to the Republican party, charging them with tax avoidance," Mr. Fish said that he believed tax reports of Cabinet members should be studied.

Mr. Fish said that the President had "admitted at a press conference in 1934 that he had deducted on an old barn on the farm adjacent to his home." Mr. Fish adding that "this barn was built in 1890."

"He admits taking advantage of these loopholes," the Representative concluded. "I don't claim the President is not within the law, but it is rather strange that he, as an absentee landlord with a salary of \$75,000, sitting at Washington, should deduct for these and admit taking advantage of that loophole, and then point the finger of scorn at others for taking advantage of these loopholes."

Personally, Mr. Fish said, he believed "all the loopholes should be plugged."

The county committee endorsed Franklin Schriver, former Orange County District Attorney, as Republican candidate for Assemblyman from the Second Assembly District, to succeed Rainey S. Taylor, and re-endorsed Lee H. Muller of Cornwall as Representative from the Second Assembly District.

Judge Gerald Nolan of Westchester County was endorsed as Republican candidate for Supreme Court Justice of the fourth judicial district.

CARRIED WOMEN TO MEET

Puerto Rico Gets Island For Use as Bird Preserve

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, June 19.—President Roosevelt in a proclamation today conveyed to the people of Puerto Rico-Desecho Island, located in the Mona Passage, specifying it was to be used for forest reserve and native bird preserve purposes.

The island heretofore has been reserved as a preserve for breeding of native birds. The President in his proclamation stated the island no longer was needed for that purpose.

The government reserved the right to occupy areas necessary for establishment of aids to navigation.

ROOSEVELT TO GREET DOMINION BY RADIO

Accepts Invitation to Exchange
'Good-Neighbor' Greetings With
Governor General on July 1

OTTAWA, Ont., June 19 (AP).—An exchange of good-will greetings between President Roosevelt and Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor General of Canada, will be a feature of a Dominion Day program which is being arranged by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for July 1, seventieth anniversary of the confederation of Canada.

Three United States radio networks will carry the Canadian program and contributions to the entertainment will originate in that country. Vincent Massey, Canadian High Commissioner in London, also will participate.

The program will be built up around the exchange of greetings between the Governor General and President Roosevelt. It is not known from what point Lord Tweedsmuir will speak, but this will not present any difficulty. He has already indicated his willingness to participate and the acceptance of President Roosevelt was received today.

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, June 19.—President Roosevelt accepted the invitation today of the Canadian Government to exchange "good-neighbor" greetings with the Canadian Governor General in an international radio broadcast July 1. The White House announced the broadcast would be for three or four minutes from Hyde Park, N. Y.

BARONESS FACES JAIL OVER BILL FOR GOWNS

Court Rejects Plea Income on
\$750,000 Trust Leaves No
Margin to Pay Debts

Special in The New York Times.

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y., June 19.—Baroness Maude B. Von Leidesdorff of Harrison, N. Y., faces a six-month term in Westchester County jail at East View for contempt of court unless she promptly pays at least \$900 on account of a \$5,734.87 bill for gowns.

The Baroness insisted in Supreme Court recently that although her income from a \$750,000 trust fund established by her father "can at face appear to be a substantial amount," yet, nevertheless, it is an amount necessary to maintain dependent members of her family.

HUGHES URGES CURB ON RUTHLESSNESS

Continued From Page One

"left for the experts." Once again the crowd burst into applause.

"We must look for balanced appraisal and wise judgment to keep the spirit of tolerance alive in our society," he continued.

"Sometimes crusaders have more fervor than wisdom. Where should we look for balanced judgment? In the school of experience one is apt to learn particularization, and it is important that there should be developed an emotional drive that will in turn develop the civic virtue, without which democracy cannot survive.

"Foremost is the need for truth which consists of thoroughness and precision. I place thoroughness and precision in contrast to ease and flippancy, to the desire simply to find an argument, to triumph in controversy. The highest mission of an educational institution is to send out men who know their subjects thoroughly and have an emotional drive. Such emotional drive contains the essential resistance to the specious appeals of demagogues and to the irrational demands of zealots."

He attacked the falseness of leadership which does not play fair.

"There must be no conflict," he said, "between freedom and progress; the majority must protect the rights of minorities astutely lest democratic government itself shall be lost."

Recalling his own college days, Justice Hughes said that "perhaps we neglected current affairs," add-

ARNOLD CO
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CRISP AND COOL...

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in Glider Rides Two Thunderheads; New Record for Elmira Soaring Meet

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

N. Y., July 9.—Richard Wilmington, Del., sent plane into the thunder-storm today and rode fully for the first time of the annual confiding a thunderhead of thrills for pilots be-danger involved and attempted every year. y storm approached with freak air currents thermals, Mr. du Pont red an altitude of 4,500 red the first thunder-over the hill. er he emerged, several returned to the hill and second thunderhead. twenty-one miles to about eight miles by ult of Berkley, Mich., one miles to a point

near Binghamton at a 4,200-foot altitude; Peter Riedel of Germany, soared to Ulster, Pa., twenty-eight miles, at 6,000 feet, and Emil Lehecka of Long Island City, soared to Wyalusing, Pa., forty-six miles, at 5,000 feet.

Carl W. Thompson of Wilmington, Del., sent his radio-controlled plane, weighing ten pounds and with a 13-foot wing spread, into the air. The radio receiver worked perfectly until a down-draft caught the ship and crushed it against a tree.

An Elmira Soaring Club plane, caught in the storm, was lifted from the ground and tossed 35 feet on to its back and damaged.

William McGrath, president of the Eclipse Machine Company, a subsidiary of Bendix, entertained 200 pilots and officials tonight at a garden party at his home. This is an annual event.

FISH LAYS EVASION TO MRS. ROOSEVELT

He Tells Hearing That Radio Contract Enabled Her to Use Tax Loophole

ACCUSES MORGENTHAUS

Secretary Offers to Produce Returns of Himself, His Wife and His Father

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 9.—Representative Hamilton Fish, appearing before the Congressional committee investigating income tax avoidance and evasion, declared today that Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, in connection with her radio broadcasts, had been able "to avail herself of special loopholes" in the tax laws.

He also called upon the committee to examine the tax returns of other members of the President's family, including Mrs. James Roosevelt, the President's mother, and charged that Secretary Morgenthau, before he came to Washington as an aide of the administration, had reduced his income tax payments by establishing family trusts and interchanging stock with his wife. His charges also included Henry Morgenthau Sr., father of the Secretary.

Secretary Morgenthau, who was at the hearing throughout the testimony, told the committee after Mr. Fish had concluded that he would be glad to produce his returns for the years covered by the accusations and answer any questions.

When he appeared at the committee room, before either the committee or Mr. Fish had arrived, Mr. Morgenthau said he was "anxious to testify if Fish says anything about me."

Cites "Reliable Authority"

Mr. Fish's accusations concerning Secretary Morgenthau related to the years 1929 and 1930 and were based, he said, on reliable authority. Concerning Mr. Morgenthau Sr. he declared he had been advised that he had avoided taxes by creating family trusts and by ownership of a foreign corporation.

Secretary Morgenthau's statement came when he was asked by Chairman Doughton whether he had anything to say.

"I would be more than pleased," he answered, "to furnish the committee with my returns, my wife's and my father's and if there is any doubt that these returns have not been honestly made, I will be glad to answer questions."

Prevented by the committee from referring in any way to President Roosevelt, Mr. Fish used most of the forty-five minutes allotted to him to read and discuss the terms of a contract by Mrs. Roosevelt with the Shelby Arch Preserver Shoe Company for a series of radio talks.

He asked the committee to ex-



Times Wire

ANNOUNCE U. S.-CHINA MONETARY COM

Minister of Finance Kung and Secretary Morgenthau their conference in Washington yesterday.

enacted prohibiting public officials and members of their families from speaking over the radio for money."

After his testimony as it related to members of the President's family, the Morgenthau and other persons he named, Mr. Fish proposed that the committee investigate the sale of campaign books by the Democratic National Committee or whatever agency was responsible.

"If these books, allegedly autographed by the President, are sold to corporations, then that is a violation of the Corrupt Practices Act," he asserted. "Or if they were sold for a profit, then the committee should investigate to see that income tax has been paid on them."

He refused, under questioning by Representative Vinson of Kentucky, to name the person from whom he had received information concerning establishment of trusts and other transactions by the Morgenthau. He could only give the name of the foreign corporation he understood had been purchased by Henry Morgenthau Sr. It is the Photomax Corporation.

"Then all this information is based on hearsay?" asked Mr. Vinson.

"And how else could I testify?" Mr. Fish shouted in reply. "I claim the Treasury Department has smeared any number of Republicans and let the Democrats go free."

"You say you don't know anything about Elliott Roosevelt's taxes?" Mr. Vinson inquired.

Mr. Fish said he did not.

"Now, about these other men you mentioned, do you know that any of them used any tax-evasion devices?"

"Ben Smith, for instance, had a

no definite information companies formed in Crown colonies by means, there were at least corporations and the companies as a means income taxes was one ing points used by bureau.

Says Treasury Gave

PHILADELPHIA, J

ence E. Pickett, executive of the American Anti-Committee, said today

Mrs. Roosevelt's arrangement of her re-

"Every nickel Mrs. Roosevelt received, approximately in all, has gone to the committee. Mrs. Roosevelt touched this money directly. Before her arrangement Mrs. Roosevelt the Treasury and asked there whether there income tax to pay arrangement and they would not be, as they not be subject to tax."

The American Anti-Committee is the organization of the Senate in the United States.

It carries on various relief and rehabilitation work and in the United States special interest in special problems in the coal fields.

At present the committee is doing some relief work under the supervision of representatives.

No Comment by Mrs.

HYDE PARK, N. Y.

—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

declined comment today

ment of Representative

Melvin Schneider, who

told reporters that

about Mrs. Roosevelt

IN WASHINGTON

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TON, July 9.—President outlined the labor policy of the government at a press conference. Federal employees cannot be limited in their organization but by the organization. He sent to the Senate nominations of A. Manuel member of the Tariff and of Joseph B. reappointment to the Commerce Commission. He debated the Courts Bill and recessed until noon tomorrow. House conferees agreed on the new Bill.

Committee on Government heard Charles O. the Brookings Institution Joint Committee on Evasion heard Representative Fish discuss charges Roosevelt family and Morgenthau.

approved the bill for naval auxiliary and the conference re-non-military War Appropriations Bill, and at 3:35 P. M. until 11. Leaders agreed on plans for recessing from the Senate debates Bill.

on the Ingersoll would consolidate offices in each of the four offices for the new department. Mr. Lyons picked up a remark that that would follow the date of election. a candidate for Mayor, Mr. La Guardia, forgot to tell you,

COPELAND WARNS CITY CHIEFS ON RIFT

Continued From Page One

the Democratic primary should become a three or four cornered race among candidates of the various factions in the Democratic party, the Mayor might enter the primaries and win, since much of his support comes from enrolled Democrats.

No Decision for Ten Days

This decision, and the actual start of the Fusion conferences looking toward the picking of the Fusion ticket, will not take place for at least ten days, it was learned yesterday. Afterward the conferees, headed by Samuel Seabury and Charles C. Burlingham, who performed the same rôle in 1933, will begin the task of reconciling the demands and hopes of the various groups behind the Mayor's candidacy.

The American Labor party is prepared to sit in on the conferences, and to make very few demands, it was said. The party would be disposed to go along with the nomination of Newbold Morris for President of the Council, in all probability, and is scheduled to endorse Borough Presidents Raymond V. Ingersoll of Brooklyn and Joseph A. Palma of Richmond.

The Labor party is certain to put up a candidate in opposition to George U. Harvey in Queens, and that may cause some dissension in the Fusion ranks.

There is likely to be trouble with the Republican organizations over the selection of a candidate for Controller. The Republicans will demand that they be allowed to name the Controller as well as the President of the Council, and are not at present disposed to permit the Mayor to name the candidate, even if he be Mr. McGoldrick, whom the Republicans did accept in 1934. Mr. Morris, even though he

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President of the Council, and are not at present disposed to permit the Mayor to name the candidate, even if he be Mr. McGoldrick, whom the Republicans did accept in 1934. Mr. Morris, even though he broke with his organization recently by espousing the cause of the Mayor before his organization was prepared to do so, is still regarded as acceptable to the Republican leaders.

Fusionists Are Pleased

Fusion leaders yesterday were disposed to regard the Republican demonstration for Mr. La Guardia, at the Summer City Hall on Thursday, as an unqualified success. They now plan to have a similar, and much larger demonstration, arranged by independent groups, some time before the first of August.

Republican friends of the Mayor held yesterday that they now have a majority of the Kings County executive committee in favor of the Mayor's nomination. However, John R. Crews, county chairman, and anti-La Guardia, now plans to have the decision made by the members of the county committee, a much larger group, some time within the next ten days. The La Guardia supporters in the borough countered with the contention that they can win a majority of the county committee, too.

A more surprising claim made by friends of the Mayor was that the party organization in Queens will be for him. In Queens, both Borough President Harvey and County Chairman Warren B. Ashmead have declared against the Mayor, and in political circles he has been regarded as weaker, politically, in Queens than in any other borough. This situation has now changed, friends of the Mayor declared.

No steps have yet been taken to present a Fusion slate for candidates for the City Council, but it is certain that an attempt will be made to set up some sort of clearing committee, to pick the best candidates from the names suggested, and to discourage weaker candidates from filing for the Council. The fewer names on the ballot, the better chance the Fusion candidates will have, it was contended.

However, these decisions need not be made for several months, as the last date for filing for candidates for the Council is Oct. 5, while other candidates must file their petitions by Aug. 10.

SCHUSCHNIGG BALKS REICH

Refuses Demand for Entry Into Austria for All German Papers

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

VIENNA, July 9.—Austro-German negotiations were reported to have ended today, but a communiqué will not be issued until tomorrow because at the last moment Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg refused a demand that all German newspapers be allowed to enter this country. Consequently, it is believed, the communiqué will not quite satisfy the Germans.

Dr. Schuschnigg has just returned from Grado, Italy, where he was accompanied by his son. This correspondent learns that he had no interview with Italian political personages during his short sojourn.

The Fatherland Front has organized mass meetings in many parts of Vienna at which speakers have drawn attention to the present Austro-German situation as regards the first anniversary of the Austro-German agreement Sunday.

All stressed that Austria's policy was unchanged, saying that only those recognizing Austria's independence without reservation could take part in political life here.

Alleges Discrimination

He charged that the Treasury and the administration had "singled out for its inquisition a handful of economic royalists and anti-New Deal and Republican campaign contributors of which to make a Roman holiday."

He added that out of about eighty names of those accused of avoidance or evasion before the committee about forty were large contributors to the Republican campaign fund.

Only two names of Democrats had been placed in the record, he declared, Henry L. Doherty and Jacob Ruppert, "and since Mr. Ruppert is no particular friend of the administration, I suppose he contributed for reasons of his own."

Mr. Fish testified that a man by the name of Darby, with an office at 30 Rockefeller Center, had visited his office and offered proof that James Roosevelt had avoided taxes by ownership of a Bahamas corporation. He added that the man had a photostatic copy of a document with which to prove this contention, but that he would not release it because "he wanted to use it himself later."

He asserted that his visitor also said he had "the same dope" on Postmaster General Farley, but no proof in photostatic form.

Repeatedly Mr. Fish complained that he had been placed in "an embarrassing position" by being prohibited from mentioning the name of President Roosevelt.

"It is like trying to play Romeo and Juliet without any Romeo," he said at one point.

He sought only to place in the record, he declared, a statement by the President several years ago in which he said he was taking full advantage of tax exemptions provided by law.

Reads From Contract

Reading from the contract between Mrs. Roosevelt and the Shelby Shoe Company, Mr. Fish established that she was to receive directly only the nominal fee of \$1. To the American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia an additional \$3,000 per broadcast was to be paid. Mr. Fish said that \$1,000 per broadcast went to Myles F. Lasker "as commission" and that of this amount \$400 a broadcast went to Nancy Cook, a friend of Mrs. Roosevelt.

Referring to Revenue Law provisions permitting individual deductions up to 15 per cent of taxable income for charitable contributions and the stipulation that contributions in excess of that amount were not tax-free, Mr. Fish declared the contract had enabled Mrs. Roosevelt "to avail herself of a special loophole" in the tax laws.

"If she could do this, then John D. Rockefeller Jr. could do the same thing and not have to pay 60 per cent on his income," he added. "The money she earned she directed into other channels and it must be self-evident to every one that she received a type of advice on tax matters."

"I have the highest respect for Mrs. Roosevelt, and I commend her for her gifts to charity. The only objection is the manner in which the money is distributed. However, I would like to see a law

Mr. Fish said he did not. "Now, about these other men you mentioned, do you know that any of them used any tax-evasion devices?"

"Ben Smith, for instance, had a corporation in Canada."

"What was the name of it?"

"I don't know."

"Are you a lawyer?" asked Mr. Vinson.

"Thank God I'm not," Mr. Fish replied.

Calls Testimony Good Enough

Mr. Vinson then asked whether, as a layman, Mr. Fish believed his testimony would be considered competent in any court of the land.

"Probably not enough to get anybody shot at sunrise, but it ought to be good enough for this committee," he replied.

Soon after Mr. Fish had concluded it was announced at the White House that neither the President nor Mrs. Roosevelt would have any comment to make on his testimony.

Senator Harrison issued a statement in which he said:

"If Congressman Fish believes that the case he presented of Mrs. Roosevelt, who took \$1 of the radio lecture contract to have a society obtain \$3,000 to distribute as charity among the poor people and crippled children of the country, is on all fours with the nefarious and indefensible cases presented before this committee, he has had a brain-storm."

A. Harding Paul, an attorney representing The New York Sun, testified in defense of the company's action in filing its tax return as a personal holding company. While he agreed that the return had been filed in this form, he said, the Federal Government had received \$50,000 in taxes that it would not have obtained if the holding company had not been created.

"By no questionable means or otherwise has there been an avoidance of payment of taxes," Mr. Paul declared. "Neither members of the Dewart family nor employees saved or diminished taxes in any way by means of filing a personal holding company return."

The witness said that less than 50 per cent of the value of the outstanding stock of the New York Sun Company was held by the Dewart family. Later he said that 60 per cent of the common stock was held by the C. W. H. Corporation, a personal holding company, owned almost entirely by the Dewart family.

Darby Denies He has Information

Fred W. Darby, public relations counselor and lecturer, yesterday identified himself as the person who, according to Representative Fish, had information on alleged tax evasion by members of the Roosevelt family, but denied he had such information or that he had told Representative Fish he had.

He declared he had told Mr. Fish only that he had heard rumors. His only contact with Representative Fish was Wednesday, he added, after Colonel Gleason, secretary of the Republican State Committee, had first called on him.

"I was connected with the Nassau-Bahamas Tourist Bureau from Aug. 1, 1935, to Sept. 1, 1936," he went on, "my job being to contact wealthy Americans who might be prospects for Winter visits. Through an advertising agency here, with which the President's son Elliott was then associated, I suggested that he might like to visit the islands on his Winter fishing trip, as he had done in 1934. I also arranged for Postmaster General Farley to make a two weeks' vacation trip there. The only idea, however, was to get publicity for the islands."

He declared that, although he had

—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt declined comment today on the statement of Representative Fish. Mrs. Melvina Schelder, her secretary, told reporters that "those who attend Mrs. Roosevelt's press conferences in Washington know her attitude and the background on this matter." She said that Mrs. Roosevelt did not "wish to talk to the press at this time" and that "she will have no comment."

Motorman Cleared in Death

James Minnaugh, 36 years old, of 1,385 Amsterdam Avenue, motorman of a Third Avenue Railway street car which fatally injured Dr. Frederick P. Hammond, 70, of 632 West End Avenue, at Broadway and Ninety-first Street, was cleared of suspicion of homicide in Homicide Court by Magistrate William A. Farrell yesterday. Dr. Hammond was for twenty-five years consulting physician for the same railway line prior to his retirement five years ago.

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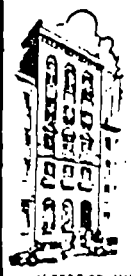
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He asked the committee to ex-
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No Comment by Mrs. Roosevelt

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Motorman Cleared in Death

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He added that out of about eighty names of those accused of avoidance or evasion before the committee about forty were large contributors to the Republican campaign fund.

Only two names of Democrats had been placed in the record, he declared, Henry L. Doherty and Jacob Ruppert, "and since Mr. Ruppert is no particular friend of the administration, I suppose he contributed for reasons of his own."

Mr. Fish testified that a man by the name of Darby, with an office at 30 Rockefeller Center, had visited his office and offered proof that James Roosevelt had avoided taxes by ownership of a Bahamas corporation. He added that the man had a photostatic copy of a document with which to prove this contention, but that he would not release it because "he wanted to use it himself later."

He asserted that his visitor also said he had "the same dope" on Postmaster General Farley, but no proof in photostatic form.

Repeatedly Mr. Fish complained that he had been placed in "an embarrassing position" by being prohibited from mentioning the name of President Roosevelt.

"It is like trying to play Romeo and Juliet without any Romeo," he said at one point.

He sought only to place in the record, he declared, a statement by the President several years ago in which he said he was taking full advantage of tax exemptions provided by law.

Reads From Contract

Reading from the contract between Mrs. Roosevelt and the Shelby Shoe Company, Mr. Fish established that she was to receive directly only the nominal fee of \$1. To the American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia an additional \$3,000 per broadcast was to be paid. Mr. Fish said that \$1,000 per broadcast went to Myles F. Lasker "as commission" and that of this amount \$400 a broadcast went to Nancy Cook, a friend of Mrs. Roosevelt.

Referring to Revenue Law provisions permitting individual deductions up to 15 per cent of taxable income for charitable contributions and the stipulation that contributions in excess of that amount were not tax-free, Mr. Fish declared the contract had enabled Mrs. Roosevelt "to avail herself of a special loophole" in the tax laws.

"If she could do this, then John D. Rockefeller Jr. could do the same thing and not have to pay 60 per cent on his income," he added. "The money she earned she directed into other channels and it must be self-evident to every one that she received a high type of advice on tax matters."

"I have the highest respect for Mrs. Roosevelt, and I commend her for her gifts to charity. The only objection is the manner in which the money is distributed. However, I would like to see a law

body shot at sunrise, but it ought to be good enough for this committee," he replied.

Soon after Mr. Fish had concluded it was announced at the White House that neither the President nor Mrs. Roosevelt would have any comment to make on his testimony.

Senator Harrison issued a statement in which he said:

"If Congressman Fish believes that the case he presented of Mrs. Roosevelt, who took \$1 of the radio lecture contract to have a society obtain \$3,000 to distribute as charity among the poor people and crippled children of the country, is on all fours with the nefarious and indefensible cases presented before this committee, he has had a brain-storm."

A. Harding Paul, an attorney representing The New York Sun, testified in defense of the company's action in filing its tax return as a personal holding company. While he agreed that the return had been filed in this form, he said, the Federal Government had received \$50,000 in taxes that it would not have obtained if the holding company had not been created.

"By no questionable means or otherwise has there been an avoidance of payment of taxes," Mr. Paul declared. "Neither members of the Dewart family nor employees saved or diminished taxes in any way by means of filing a personal holding company return."

The witness said that less than 50 per cent of the value of the outstanding stock of the New York Sun Company was held by the Dewart family. Later he said that 60 per cent of the common stock was held by the C. W. H. Corporation, a personal holding company, owned almost entirely by the Dewart family.

Darby Denies He has Information

Fred W. Darby, public relations counselor and lecturer, yesterday identified himself as the person who, according to Representative Fish, had information on alleged tax evasion by members of the Roosevelt family, but denied he had such information or that he had told Representative Fish he had.

He declared he had told Mr. Fish only that he had heard rumors. His only contact with Representative Fish was Wednesday, he added, after Colonel Gleason, secretary of the Republican State Committee, had first called on him.

"I was connected with the Nassau-Bahamas Tourist Bureau from Aug. 1, 1935, to Sept. 1, 1936," he went on, "my job being to contact wealthy Americans who might be prospects for Winter visits. Through an advertising agency here, with which the President's son Elliott was then associated, I suggested that he might like to visit the islands on his Winter fishing trip, as he had done in 1934. I also arranged for Postmaster General Farley to make a two weeks' vacation trip there. The only idea, however, was to get publicity for the islands."

He declared that, although he had

street car which running
Frederick P. Hammond, 70, of 632 West End Avenue, at Broadway and Ninety-first Street, was cleared of suspicion of homicide in Homicide Court by Magistrate William A. Farrell yesterday. Dr. Hammond was for twenty-five years consulting physician for the same railway line prior to his retirement five years ago.

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ALBERT FRANK GUENTHER LAW BLDG. N. Y.

Minister of Finance Kung and Secretary Morgenthau following their conference in Washington yesterday.

enacted prohibiting public officials and members of their families from speaking over the radio for money."

After his testimony as it related to members of the President's family, the Morgenthau and other persons he named, Mr. Fish proposed that the committee investigate the sale of campaign books by the Democratic National Committee or whatever agency was responsible.

"If these books, allegedly autographed by the President, are sold to corporations, then that is a violation of the Corrupt Practices Act," he asserted. "Or if they were sold for a profit, then the committee should investigate to see that income tax has been paid on them."

He refused, under questioning by Representative Vinson of Kentucky, to name the person from whom he had received information concerning establishment of trusts and other transactions by the Morgenthau. He could only give the name of the foreign corporation he understood had been purchased by Henry Morgenthau Sr. It is the Photomap Corporation.

"Then all this information is based on hearsay?" asked Mr. Vinson.

"And how else could I testify?" Mr. Fish shouted in reply. "I claim the Treasury Department has smeared any number of Republicans and let the Democrats go free."

"You say you don't know anything about Elliott Roosevelt's taxes?" Mr. Vinson inquired.

Mr. Fish said he did not.

"Now, about these other men you mentioned, do you know that any of them used any tax-evasion devices?"

"Ben Smith, for instance, had a corporation in Canada."

"What was the name of it?"

"I don't know."

"Are you a lawyer?" asked Mr. Vinson.

"Thank God I'm not," Mr. Fish replied.

Calls Testimony Good Enough

Mr. Vinson then asked whether, as a layman, Mr. Fish believed his testimony would be considered competent in any court of the land.

"Probably not enough to get anybody shot at sunrise, but it ought to be good enough for this committee," he replied.

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no definite information on holding companies formed in the British Crown colonies by wealthy Americans, there were at least 3,000 such corporations and the lure of such companies as a means of evading income taxes was one of the talking points used by the tourist bureau.

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both countries, for currency stabilization purposes."

At the same time, the Minister of Finance of China in a public statement expressed the firm belief that the new measures of monetary reform which were then being adopted by the Chinese Government and the arrangements made with the United States would insure the stability of the Chinese currency, and this would inevitably lead to greater economic improvement and prosperity of the Chinese people.

Purchases Arranged

Arrangements have now been made through which the Government of China will purchase from the United States Treasury a substantial amount of gold. To aid the Chinese Government thus to augment its gold reserves, and in accordance with the terms of the United States Silver Purchase Act of 1934, the United States Treasury will purchase an additional amount of silver from the Chinese Government.

The United States Treasury will also broaden the scope of the arrangements under which the Central Bank of China has been enabled, under conditions which safeguard the interests of both countries, to obtain dollar exchange for currency stabilization purposes.

Both the Secretary of the Treasury and the Finance Minister of China are greatly gratified by the beneficial results to both countries which have been the consequence of their understanding reached last year, and they are equally gratified to be able to announce further progress in their cooperation. It is a source of satisfaction to them that the program of monetary reforms and currency stabilization in China has been carried out with great success and has been accompanied by an increase of trade between China and other nations, particularly the United States, which occupies the first place in China's foreign trade.

Because of his desire to express the appreciation of the Chinese Government and the people of China, the Chinese Minister of Finance came in person to the United States to conduct the negotiations which have just been concluded.

The Secretary of the Treasury greatly appreciates having had this opportunity for personal contact with the Finance Minister of China and of undertaking in conference with him to further the welfare of both countries.

No Estimate on Amount

Neither the secretary or Mr. Kung, in the joint conference with newspaper men, would venture an estimate of the amount of the gold to be purchased by China other than the phrase in their formal

called the glory of the church in Czarist days. The entire ritual was in Russian with the exception of a few words of congratulation and welcome to the new Bishop.

The Most Rev. Nicholas Kedroff of New York, Archbishop of North America and the Aleutian Islands, presided. He was assisted by Bishop Klymovich of Springfield, Mass. The participating clergymen included the Very Rev. Prokofiy Raduk, the Very Rev. Nicholas Motolich, the Very Rev. Michael Maslov, dean of the cathedral, and the Rev. George Baran.

After communion in the inner altar the new Bishop received from the Presiding Bishop the Bishop's cassock, pectoral image, mantle, cowl and rosary. The Royal Gates were opened and the Bishops, followed by the clergy, walked to the dais. On finishing the ceremony of enthroning for the new Bishop, Archbishop Nicholas handed the crozier to Bishop Damasclonos, who kissed the hands of all the consecrators and received their blessing.

Congratulations and addresses followed and the new Bishop preached a responding sermon and blessed the small congregation. He will take over the San Francisco diocese, which has been in the care of the Rev. Nathaniel Vlahakis, a priest under Archbishop Nicholas.

MRS. WARREN'S ESTATE

Transfer Tax Sets Property at \$2,294,569—Trusts Left

Mrs. Georgia Williams Warren, wife of George Henry Warren, a director of the Metropolitan Opera Association, left a net estate of \$2,294,569 when she died on Feb. 21, according to a transfer tax appraisal filed yesterday. The principal assets were securities and real estate.

Under the will, the husband receives real estate at 924 Fifth Avenue and in Newport, R. I.; a remainder interest in a \$15,000 trust fund and a life estate in the residue. George Henry Warren Jr., a son, receives a life estate in \$500,000 and succeeds to his father's interest in the residue. Remainder interests in the trusts were given to various grandchildren and other relatives.

Among the securities in the estate were 964 shares of United New Jersey Railroad & Canal Company, valued at \$250,640; New York Central 3½ per cent bonds, valued at \$4,326; and Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad 4 per cent bonds, valued at \$216,311.

Rev. John J. Dunn, who was Bishop Auxiliary of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, will be celebrated at 10 A. M. on Aug. 31 at the Church of the Annunciation, Convent Avenue and 131st Street. The celebrant will be the Right Rev. Thomas J. McDonnell, national director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith for the United States.

EDITORIAL SCORES SPANISH FUND DRIVE

Catholic News Criticizes Mrs. Roosevelt Because Her Name Was on Patroness List

Fund raising by groups sympathetic with Loyalists in Spain is condemned in an editorial to appear in today's Catholic News, in which Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt is criticized for having been listed as a patroness last week of a carnival on the estate of Adolph Zukor at New City, in Rockland County, for the benefit of Spanish refugee children.

Miss Bessie Breuer, chairman of the carnival, who in private life is the wife of Henry Varnum Poor, sculptor, offered to share the proceeds with any group similar to the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, to which she said the proceeds would go. Mrs. Arthur T. O'Leary, wife of the head of the Catholic Laymen's League, protested such use of the funds. Miss Breuer explained, according to The Associated Press, that there was no other group distributing milk in Spain. Another patroness was Representative Caroline O'Day.

"Unless Mrs. Roosevelt speedily disavows approval of groups sympathetic with the Loyalists in Spain she, as wife of the President of the United States, is bound, one of these days, to get into an embarrassing situation," The Catholic News editorial says.

The editorial further says Mrs. O'Leary "very properly protested that cooperation in such a project by another patroness, a Congresswoman, was an unneutral act, since the affair was for the benefit of only one side," and she pointed out that in a spirit of fairness the receipts should be turned over to the American Red Cross to be used for the benefit of suffering children on both sides in the Spanish conflict."

Jewish

West Side Institutional Synagogue, 120-138 West Seventy-sixth Street—Today, 9 A. M., initial service at the former St. Andrew's Methodist Episcopal Church, which has been converted since Spring into a synagogue and community house. Sermon at 10:30 by Rabbi Herbert S. Goldstein, who is also president of the Rabbinical Council of America, on "Is America Safe for the Jew and Is the Jew Safe for America."

German Jewish Congregation, 100 West Seventy-second Street—Today, 9:45 A. M., Rabbi Max Mallin in German on "We Hate War."

Fort Washington Synagogue, 555 West 182d Street—Today, 10:30 A. M., Rabbi Alexander Segel, who begins his duties as spiritual head of the congregation, will preach on "If Gifts Are From God."

Jewish Science, 150 West Eighty-fifth Street—Tomorrow, 11 A. M., Rabbi Morris Lichtenstein on "How to Gain Peace of Mind."

Congregation Rodeph Shalom, 7 West Eighty-third Street—Today, 10:15 A. M., the Rev. Wendell A. Phillips on "Antidotes for Hate."

Lutheran

Advent, Broadway and Ninety-third Street—Morning, the Rev. Dr. Paul C. White, secretary for religious education of the United Lutheran Synod of New York on "God's Eternal Call."

St. James, Seventy-third Street and Madison Avenue—Morning, the Rev. Dr. Walton H. Greever, secretary of the United Lutheran Church in America.

Holy Trinity, 3 West Sixty-fifth Street—Morning, the Rev. Dr. Paul Scherer on "The Help Anybody Can Give."

St. Peter's in the Bronx, 437 East 140th Street—10 A. M., the Rev. Otto George Gerblach on "Living to the Glory of God." Evening, service in memory of John Lacher, who died recently in Czechoslovakia. This will be the last service until September.

Immanuel, Lexington Avenue and Eighty-eighth Street—Morning, sermons at 9:30 in German and at 11 o'clock in English by the Rev. Arthur Kleps.

Our Saviour, Williamsbridge Road and Morris Avenue—8 A. M., the Rev. H. Tusky.

St. Matthew's, Convent Avenue and 145th Street—Morning, the Rev. Arthur Wismar.

Messiah, 202 Sherman Avenue, at 205th Street—Morning, the Rev. A. W. Trinklein in German at 9 and

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A cross-section of opinion in major cities in the United States revealed a variety of reactions to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt's statement that she felt the wife and children of the President of the United States ought to be permitted to live their own lives. The report, by cities, follows:

NEW YORK CITY

Dorothy Thompson, political columnist and wife of Sinclair Lewis, Nobel Prize author, and Hamilton Fish Jr., Republican, who represents President and Mrs. Roosevelt and other residents of their district in Congress, took exactly opposite sides on Mrs. Roosevelt's statement.

Miss Thompson declared: "I think emphatically that Mrs. Roosevelt has been fulfilling her duties as a woman and citizen and First Lady of the land better than the wife of any other President in history. I do not agree with everything she does, but she has helped her husband magnificently and has made great sacrifices to further her husband's policies. It's a curious thing I've noticed that those who say that Mrs. Roosevelt ought to stay home and confine herself to pouring pink tea are great admirers of British aristocracy. Well, Mrs. Roosevelt is American aristocracy and her activities are those of a true aristocrat. Her detractors are talking pure bunk."

Representative Fish said he was not one of those who believe woman's place is in the home, but "I think the wife of any President should devote her entire time, energy and ability to fulfilling the obligations that go with being the First Lady of the land—and that requires her to stay in the White House."

The women stopped at random at the corner of Forty-second Street and Eighth Avenue agreed with Mrs. Roosevelt, eight to two. Louise Holtzman, Brooklyn, bookkeeper, said, "Every woman is entitled to live her own life within the bounds of her position. I don't think American women want the First Lady to live the life of a mummy."

Mary Fannelle and Sarah Meyer, housewives, thought Mrs. Roosevelt was "running around so much she was neglecting her duty as hostess" and "if she wants a private life, ask the voters, they'll be glad to give it to her."

Celia Higgins, public stenographer at a midtown hotel, summed up what seemed to be a majority opinion when she said, "I think she's wonderful and I think everything she does is just wonderful."

DETROIT

Mrs. Fred T. Murphy, one-time Republican member of the Michigan Liquor Control Commission: "No one can forget the official connection between the members of the family and the President."

Representing 1,500 young business women, Miss Lorraine Revels, president of the General Motors Girls Club, said: "This is America and we should all be allowed to seek our own careers. We must not be selfish."

Mrs. George V. Rowe, vice president of the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs: "Regardless of his or her station in life, one gifted with executive ability should use it."

"It's hard for a big family to live off father," said Frank D. Eaman, Detroit attorney and a Democrat. "I can see no objection to Mrs. Roosevelt's statement."

Hal H. Smith, once Republican candidate for United States Senator: "The statement reflects the misunderstanding of the position of the President."

MINNEAPOLIS

Mrs. Jean Wittich, former Minnesota State Budget Commissioner: "Certainly I think Mrs. Roosevelt ought to be able to lead her own life. It's entirely a personal matter between Mrs. Roosevelt and the President."

Shirley Edelson, 23, Minnesota law co-ed, who ran for State Representative two years ago: "I say the question is not whether members of the President's family are human beings and should be allowed to live their own lives. I grant them that. In the minds of increasing numbers of citizens, however, the question concerns the propriety of members of the President's family using their relationship to benefit directly or indirectly."

Mrs. Jean Pichard, business woman, said she was not sure.

cause members of the President's family get jumped on if they do something and get jumped on if they don't. It's a shame they can't live normal lives."

WASHINGTON

Mrs. Roosevelt's defense received strong and readily voiced support in Washington—at least from women folk.

Mrs. Evelyn Walsh McLean, social leader, expressed "deepest admiration and respect for the way Mrs. Roosevelt has carried on the maze of her work that occupies her daily life."

Mrs. William Nuckles Doak, widow of the former Secretary of Labor: "I don't think there should be any personal restrictions on any one, and Mrs. Roosevelt should be able to carry on her private work even if she occupies a place in public life."

Miss Elizabeth Eastman, legislative chairman of the National F. W. C. A., praised Mrs. Roosevelt as "one of the wisest and most valuable women in the country."

Captain Rhoda Milliken, head of the Washington police woman's bureau: "As for the rest of the family, it's hard enough to be the children of a famous man without restrictions being placed on their business activities."

ATLANTA

Dr. Moses L. Har y, Emory University Professor of Political Science: "In theory it's fine. But in practice it never works. I heartily agree with Mrs. Roosevelt in saying members of a President's family should be able to call business and private lives their own, but the public won't permit it and lack of privacy is a penalty they must pay."

Henry Powell, insurance executive: "Every man is entitled to a career, but the present occupants of the White House seemed to be cracking the whip and making all jump. In such instances, it is taking advantage of private business men for members of the White House family to engage actively in competitive business. It is natural for people to give the family members their business."

Hamilton Lokey, lawyer: "Mrs. Roosevelt is exactly right. The President's children have three alternatives—sponge off the public funds, sponge off the old man or enter private business. Entering business is by far the lesser evil."

KANSAS CITY

Mrs. John L. McLaughlin, clubwoman: "Of course they have a right to live their own lives, but their rights of privacy and personal choice are modified by the places they hold. It seems to me they are bound to profit by White House connections, whether they attempt to profit by those connections or not."

Charles Hardy, clerk: "The Roosevelts indulge in a little too much activity. I'm not worrying about any one interfering with the rights of such a family. The Roosevelts will see to it that they get all the rights and privileges to which they are entitled."

BOSTON

Miss Marian C. Nichols, civil service reformer: "As the first woman member elected to the council of the National Civil Service Reform League, I deplore Mrs. Roosevelt's statement that she regards it as a mere family concern for the wife of a President to represent her son in an insurance company whose business has been admittedly secured through dad's influence."

Miss Florence Birmingham of Brighton, who recently led a successful drive to oust married women from public service: "With due regard for the charity Mrs. Roosevelt has done, I still maintain that married women with husbands gainfully employed should consider homemaking their career."

Have this to say about problems from White House connections: "Mrs. Roosevelt's wife must be a very good person."

By ELIZABETH LA HINE

Fourteen of the city's hospitals—public and private—will be serviced in the new year by a central council of hospital libraries, the first organization of its kind to be staffed almost completely by volunteer workers. The set-up is the work of the Junior League of New York in cooperation with the hospitals which will benefit by the services of sixty trained young women who combine a knowledge of the routine of book circulation with the more highly technical grasp of bibliotherapy.

Anticipating the need for volunteers to augment the skeleton staffs which the hospitals have been able to finance, the Junior League began several months ago to train young women in the rudiments of library service, book selection and even book repair.

The Central Council for Hospital Libraries is modeled on the Paris system and housed in the Junior League clubhouse at 221 East Seventy-first Street. Miss Selma Linden, librarian of the Presbyterian Hospital in Chicago, will be installed as director. The volunteers who have, so far, completed one training course in which physicians, nurses and librarians have cooperated are prepared to catalogue books, review them in the light of their suitability for convalescent reading, aid in their distribution via the ward book carts and to bind them sturdily when repair is required.

A second course will be under way early in January and at its completion the young women will be required to write a thesis as qualifying evidence. Field trips to hospital libraries will be part of this course.

Hospital library service has been accepted by the league as a subcommittee project for the occupational therapy which they will soon relinquish at the Welfare Island Hospital when the city assumes full responsibility for the work there. For thirteen years the members have been interested in that institution, first as volunteers and in more recent years through making financial provision for a professional worker.

Not only does the league contemplate furnishing volunteers for book



Mrs. Harold R. Medina Jr.

collecting through its motor corps but the assembling of a model hospital library is being made possible through the sale of unsuitable books which are donated.

The installation of a book-binding machine has made possible reconditioning the most worn volumes. It is the hope of the young women that novels which are published serially in magazines may be bound in the clubhouse and fill a need of patients not physically strong enough to handle a book of the usual size.

In a large, sunny room on the fifth floor activities of the league's hospital committee are concentrated. A corner of this room has become the book bindery, while adjoining is the model library from the services of which will go the books as they are requisitioned. Mrs. Harold R. Medina Jr. has the



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es Square section of the
ontini, the Easter.

Opposed Money Jobs

The Question:
Do you approve of a married
woman earning money in
business or industry if she has
no dependents capable of support-
ing her?

Yes.....22%
No.....78%

the question of
and in his reports of
States unemployment, the
report does point out that
for which has complicated
American employment picture
increased number of women
labor market.

votes of men and women in
stitute survey are as follows:

Married Women Earn?
Favor Oppose
P.C. P.C.
Men.....19 81
Women.....23 75

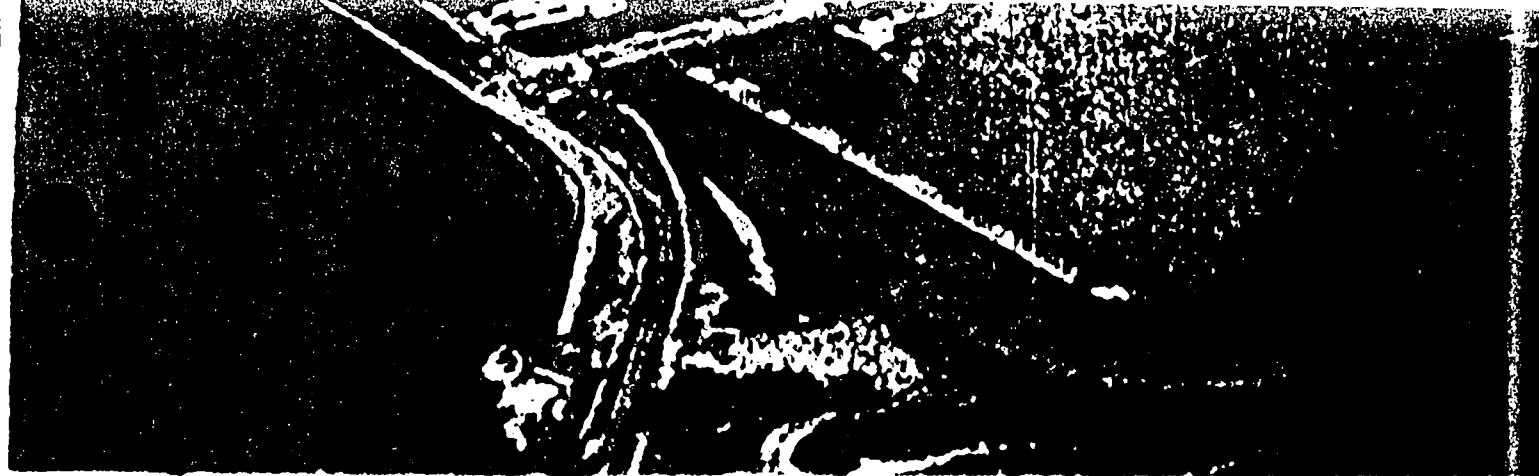
Young Folks Least Critical
Young men and women are the
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one should have the right to work,
irrespective of his family income.
The same argument is used by the
city in the Institute survey,
of whom say, "Any one who
to work should be able to
" and "The problem is to
more jobs for all."

are indications that the
of the opposition to wo-
man's holding jobs may have de-
clined somewhat in the last two
years. In November, 1932, the In-
stitute asked voters a similar ques-
tion and found 82 per cent disap-
proving of married women job-
bing.

Legal Quest for Miss Kenyon

ate to Geneva Will Sail
morrow to Join Parley
on Laws for Women



Associated P

A PREVIEW OF THE GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

A birdseye view of Treasure Island as it appeared on Feb. 1, just seventeen days before the fair opened on the site. The few unfinished buildings are being rushed to completion.

DETAILS SOUGHT ON FOREIGN POLICY

Continued From Page One

carry out President Roosevelt's emergency national defense mes-

Senator McCarran, who has not been an unwavering supporter of the Administration, praised today the foreign policy which the President outlined yesterday.

"I am gratified that the President has made a clear and emphatic and unequivocal statement as to our foreign policy," he said. "Some of us who urged that such a statement be made did so to allay a spirit of unrest and unhappiness that was apparently growing in the minds of the American people due to a misunderstanding of the President's attitude."

"At his press interview yesterday the President gave to the world, with clarity and pronounced emphasis, a program of foreign policy that should be read and admired by every American. The four statements of policy made by the President are each couched in such language that a schoolboy of the sixth grade could most definitely understand and repeat."

"These statements are grounded in the principles of American tradition that had their foundation in the first Presidency and have been emphasized ever since:

"Freedom from entangling alliances.

"Trade intercourse.

"Limitation of burdensome and

Nazis Ask Mrs. Roosevelt To End Political Comment

Special Cable to The New York Times
BERLIN, Sunday, Feb. 3. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt is told to "leave politics alone" in an article in today's "Lokal-Anzeiger."

Reporting that Mrs. Roosevelt wrote in favor of delivering military planes to France, the newspaper says:

"One should ask her to keep her pen away from things of which she is ignorant. There are many other better fields of work for a militant writer; for instance, social questions concerning the 12,000,000 unemployed, lynching, child labor and public morals. It is not good for a nation if not only the husband but also the wife enters the political china shop."

tional-defense program unless it is settled reasonably soon.

Senator Logan, a member of the Military Affairs Committee, who favors supplying the greatest amount of rearmament permissible under the law to Great Britain and France, said today that the airplane industry of this country was not now capable of turning out the number of military airplanes demanded by the President's air expansion program. His point was that the fulfillment of orders for Great Britain and France would help place the industry on a mass production basis where it could benefit the American people.

had not been received from Government Printing Office.

The committee must decide whether or not it would make record, or any part of it, public and whether it would hold hearings in the future, the chairman said. Thus, he added, it would be useless for it to meet until text under discussion was before it.

At the same time, he denied formally and completely a story reported to have been printed by "Nachtausgabe" in Berlin to the effect that the committee had refused at its meeting yesterday, that of testimony by Secretary McArthur and Secretary Woodrin before one of its executive sessions had been torn from the record had disappeared.

Representative Vorys of Ohio a statement asserting that "evil breeds war, not peace," the President to make public details of the broad policies which he is conducting this country's relations with foreign nations.

"What is our foreign policy asked. 'Let's get it into the decade, let's implement it, and execute it. We must not let domestic politics enter into our foreign policy.'

"Congress must assume the faith of the President. He must assume good sense on the part of Congress and the people and in on his foreign policy."

Backs Up Republican Demands

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4.—Sen. Clark of Missouri added his support today to a Republican demand that members of the Senate Military Committee be permitted to hear versions of what President Roosevelt said when he discussed foreign policies with them.

tions and to the United States, but that the government would not seek to prevent either Arabs

The history of these stateless rooms stretches back 400 years and is intimately connected with our na-

make another important contribu- tion to the cause of peace, which he has so much at heart and which

Jews We

FIRST LADY SCORNS NAZI PRESS ADVICE

She Repeats to the Reporters Her Views on Foreign Affairs Which Evoked Criticism

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
WASHINGTON, Feb. 7.—Despite the advice of a Nazi newspaper to "keep her pen away from foreign affairs," Mrs. Roosevelt reiterated today and then amplified remarks which in her column led to comment by the Berlin Loka-Anzeiger that "it is not good for a nation if not only the husband but also the wife enters the political china shop."

In response to a query at her press conference, Mrs. Roosevelt said she had not seen the German criticism of her defense of the proposed sale of American airplanes to France. When it was quoted to her, she replied:

"I thought their whole attitude was that women didn't count."

Mrs. Roosevelt said she was neither flattered nor offended by the attention devoted to her by the Berlin paper nor was her own attitude in any way affected by its comment on her conduct and on her expressed views regarding American foreign policy.

Asserting that she could not understand why some Americans seemed to fear European democracies equally with dictatorships, Mrs. Roosevelt recommended the reading of history by those entertaining such fears, adding that she was sometimes moved to wonder if people in this country ever read history at all.

She ended a lively "off the record" discussion with the assertion that she was in hearty accord with the traditional American policy of "no entangling alliances," but not always with the interpretation of its meaning.

"I hope Americans continue to desire not to be entangled," Mrs. Roosevelt said, "but also to realize that you don't have great advantages without carrying great responsibilities. Sometimes, in order not to be entangled, you have to take the responsibility of deciding what is best to be done." That sometimes leads you to an effort to prevent wars before they begin."

Miss Mary Anderson, chief of the women's bureau in the Department of Labor; Mrs. Alexander Weddell, wife of the Ambassador to Argentina, now on leave in Washington, and Miss Mary Winslow, who was appointed last week by President Roosevelt as the representative of the United States on the Inter-American Commission of Women, were the guests of Mrs. Roosevelt at her press conference and were invited by her to participate in it.

DALADIER WINS TEST BY 16-VOTE MAJORITY

Full Amnesty Refused to Workers in General Strike

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
PARIS, Feb. 7.—By a small majority of only sixteen votes Premier Edouard Daladier's government emerged safely this morning from the difficult situation that has been created by the demand of Leftist parties for full amnesty for all workers involved in the general strike of Nov. 30. All the government would undertake to do was to grant full pardons in individual cases after judicial inquiry.

Premier Daladier considered the principle involved so important that he made the vote one of confidence and the debate has occupied three sessions of the Chamber's time.

Léon Blum, Socialist leader, today led the Left parties against the government, pleading that discrimination and elimination of militants among the workers would prevent a pacific settlement in future conflicts.

Minister of Justice Paul Marchandieu took the opposite view that the mass of workers must be protected from bad leadership and from the pressure that was sometimes accompanied by physical violence.

Premier Daladier said that only fifteen railroad workers had been dismissed as a result of the strike and already 4,000 men employed in private industry had been reinstated. There would have been more if it had not been for the legal action taken by the trades unions in their defense, which had antagonized employers, he said. In the airplane factories production has been increased by the dismissal of certain poor workers, he added.

Three votes were taken and in the closest of these the government won by 309 to 293.

OLD BERLIN STORE SOLD

New Yorker Said to Head Group Buying Popular Israel Concern

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
BERLIN, Feb. 7.—The Nathan Israel concern, one of Berlin's oldest and most popular retail establishments, passed into "Aryan" hands today after having been the property of the Israel family more than 125 years.

The new owner, the Berlin Bekleidung Aktiengesellschaft, is a subsidiary of the Emil Koeester concern, which operates a chain of retail stores throughout Germany. Its principal stockholder is reported to be Phelan Beale, a New York attorney.

It is understood that 11,000,000 marks were paid for the premises and inventory of the Israel establishment.

PALESTINE PARLEY BEGINS IN LONDON

Continued From Page One

Mufti's men and the Defense delegates would probably shoot on sight if they met in Palestine.

Pending an outcome to the negotiations the Defense party delegates retired gracefully today and did not even attempt to go to the historic picture gallery in St. James's Palace, where the conference is being held. Fakhri Bey Nashashibi, leader of the Defense group, explained this willingness to stay away by saying that it was a sacrifice for a united Palestine.

Mr. MacDonald and Richard Austen Butler, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who are the actual working members of the British delegation, which includes Mr. Chamberlain and Viscount Halifax, the Foreign Secretary, appeared to have attained this abstention as a result of last night's meeting, which lasted until 4 o'clock this morning. So far they have gained no more.

Invoke Aid of Other Arabs

To aid in the negotiations between the Palestine Arabs the British were invoking the help of delegates to the conference from other Arab States. The fact that these delegates were assisting to solve the first major problem of the conference led some observers to speculate on the extent of the "horse-trading" that will go on during the meetings.

It is agreed that the British are depending to a great extent on the aid of the independent Arabs in settling the Palestine question—if, indeed, it can be settled at all. Therefore, it is reasoned by many here, it is to be expected that these leaders of the independent States will demand something in return for their assistance. Hence, it is argued, the discussions in the next few weeks may see a basis laid for federated Arab States and for considerable changes in the territorial status of some Arab countries.

Today's formal opening was that of one of the strangest "conferences" that even St. James's Palace has ever seen. Under a bright sun that made the day seem almost springlike, the Arabs—the Haudi Arabians in brown silk robes with white headpieces, the Yemen representatives in turbans and black and green silk clothes, the Egyptians in scarlet fezzes and the Prime Minister of Iraq in a top hat—mingled with the British delegates, who wore the morning coats and silk hats of diplomacy.

After Mr. Chamberlain's speech of welcome to the Arabs there followed a brief speech in English by Prince Mohamed Abdul Monem of Egypt, thanking Mr. Chamberlain for expressing hope for a successful conference. Then Emir Saif ul-Islam al-Husseini, Crown Prince of the Kingdom of Yemen, rose and, first invoking the aid of Allah, proceeded to echo these sentiments in sonorous Arabic. He paid tribute to Mr. Chamberlain's previous activity in the cause of peace.

Then the Arab part of the initial

ceremonial delegation one of the delegates began for or ferent of co other, fully

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quiem Mass Sung for Pope I Rex in the Mediterranean

Dougherty and Mundelein Take
I Gigli Is Soloist—Passengers of
a Faith and Nationality Attend

By MICHAEL WILLIAMS
Catholic Editor and Writer
Wireless to The New York Times.

S. S. REX, AT
the main ball of
this morning, as
the cloud-shroud
in the Mediter-
ranean, the chaplain,
as of requiem for
Plus XI.

American Cardinals—
Dougherty, Arch-
diocese, and George
Mundelein, Arch-
diocese—bound with
the concave in
that is to elect the
Catholic Church,
opel side of the im-
mense the draped
and the United

side to the right
gregation, facing
two Bishops and a
A guard of honor
ations in uniform

er of the Rex, Cap-
gone, with his offi-
members of both
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duty together with
of society,
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posed the
numbered sev-

mon was delivered
by the Very Rev.
aid, the Dominican
a professor at the
erality, Washington,

his fact, much dis-
tinct today, that, ac-
famous though apoc-
rites of St. Malachy,
bishop, concerning
the one who is to
will be known as
"Cardinal Dough-
Mgr. Hurgio, told
a fine English ver-
"shepherd and navi-
gers commented upon
ence of this forecast

AIR FORCE DEATHS IN BRITAIN MOUNT

24th Crash in Seven Weeks of
1939 Brings the Total of
Fatalities to 44

TRAINING HELD TOO SWIFT

Anti-Spin Parachute to Aid
Pilots to Regain Control of
Planes Bared at Inquest

LONDON, Feb. 17 (UP).—Great
Britain's accelerated campaign to
strengthen her air fighting arm
has cost an increasing number of
Royal Air Force fatalities.

R. A. F. crashes for 1939, only
seven weeks old, were brought to
a total of twenty-four with forty-
four fatalities when a squadron
leader and a technician were killed
yesterday while testing one of the
planes imported from the United
States. During 1938 there were 118
crashes, with 218 dead.

There also have been a number
of casualties among civilians re-
sulting from R. A. F. planes fall-
ing on populated centers. The
latest accident of this nature oc-
curred Feb. 11 when an R. A. F.
plane crashed out of the fog onto
an apartment building, killing a
mother and two children besides
the pilot.

The heavy toll is attributed to the
fact that the government is train-
ing a large number of recruits to
man fighting planes that are being
produced on a mass-production
scale.

Bitter criticism of the R. A. F.
training tactics has been voiced in
the House of Commons. Defense
strategists have been accused of
sacrificing the lives of scores of
young pilots in their hurry to pre-
pare a giant air arm for the nation.
They are charged with not giving
the recruits enough ground train-
ing before sending them aloft.

The regular R. A. F. strength,
now over 35,000, is expected to
reach 100,000 by June. A large
group of volunteer reserves have
been released by employers from
their jobs at the urgent request of
the Air Council.

Special Cable to The New York Times
LONDON, Feb. 17.—The North
American Harvard training plane
in which Squadron Leader R. T.
Cazalet of the Royal Air Force and
R. P. Alston, one of the Air Min-
istry's senior scientific officers,
were killed in a crash near Wood-
bridge, Suffolk, yesterday had been
flown continuously for about eight
weeks in Britain without showing
any faults. It was stated at the in-
quest held at Marlborough today.

Pilot Officer W. J. Carr, who
gave this testimony, said that the
fatal flight had been made special-
ly to enable Alston to give his op-
inion on the behavior of the machine.
An anti-spin parachute designed
to assist pilots to regain control of
planes in a spin was then described.
Squadron Leader B. W. D. Collie of
the Royal Air Force station at Mar-
tlesham Heath said that before
Cazalet had taken off he had
shown the controls of the parachute
and remarked: "I shall not need
that as I am not going to spin the
machine."

A former airman who saw the ac-
cident testified that Cazalet's plane
went into a flat spin at 3,000 feet.
It did not spin and then

FASCIST PERTURBED BY MRS. ROOSEVELT

Gayda, Leading Editor, Says
Cornell Speech Is Another
Fuse in Powder Barrel

CALLS OUR POLICY 'FATAL'

Belligerence of Democracies
Is Held Responsible for
Race in Armaments

Wireless to The New York Times
ROME, Feb. 17.—An address at
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt at Cor-
nell University, in which she is
reported to have referred to Ameri-
can neutrality in case of war, in-
spires Virginia Gayda, leading Fas-
cist editor to say in today's *Gior-
nale d'Italia*:

"The President's wife has stuck
another fuse into the great powder
barrel of the war-mongering parties."
Signor Gayda believes that Mrs.
Roosevelt's statements against the
United States isolation policy must
be included among the typical docu-
ments of democratic bellicosity and
the present fatal trend of Ameri-
can policy. "This," he adds, "is an
ominous sign of the democracies'
determination to meet the unsat-
isfied nations with guns, steel and
fire rather than in a spirit of un-
derstanding and cooperation."

The method advocated by Mrs.
Roosevelt causes no surprise, Signor
Gayda asserts, because it is in keep-
ing with the political tradition of
the United States, which extermin-
ated the Indians and unarmed
neighboring nations and is promot-
ing the business of munition mak-
ers and stock exchange operators
who speculate on the shares of
war industries. But this, he adds,
will never cow Italy, Germany and
Japan, three outstanding nations
that will sooner or later achieve
their rightful aims.

"Mussolini and Hitler," he says,
"do not want war. They still place
hope in justice and human intelli-
gence. They cannot surrender
merely because there is barbed
wire across the road. Intransi-
gence among the great powers be-
gets nothing but intransigence and
in the end renders conflicts un-
avoidable."

As proof of the democracies' in-
transigent intentions Signor Gayda
cites "the rearmament appro-
priation voted in Washington the
other day, Mr. John Simon's an-
nouncement of further borrowing
to hasten a similar program in
Britain and the French orders in
America for war material."

"The unsatisfied nations," he
continues, "are not alarmed but
are making their own preparations.
They have the right, however, to
ask how these heavy armaments,
the offensive nature of which is
evident, will be used. They must
know whether the peace by nego-
tiation that Prime Minister Neville
Chamberlain desired will not soon
take the form of negotiation by in-
timidation."

The same paper gives promi-
nence to an interview by its Lisbon
correspondent with Nicolò Franco,
the general's brother, who, in out-
lining Nationalist Spain's future
policy says:
"Our aims will be: First, co-
operation with Italy—whose friend-
ly and noble attitude will not be
forgotten by Spain; second, aboli-
tion of the democratic laws enact-
ed during the Republican period;
third, full re-establishment of the
Catholic Church; fourth, a nation-
wide campaign to increase the
birthrate following Mussolini's lu-
minous example."

BURMESE CABINET QUILTS

GUERRILLA FIGHTING CONTINUES IN CHINA

Japanese Claim Victories, but
Say Campaign Must Be Pushed

Wireless to The New York Times
PEIPING, China, Feb. 17.—The
Japanese drive against Chinese
guerrillas in Southern Hopei and
Northern Honan Provinces is con-
tinuing vigorously, according to Ja-
panese reports reaching here.

Apparently Chihsten, in Northern
Honan, is the main center of fight-
ing, and several engagements are
reported from this sector. In the
most important of these, the Ja-
panese say, Chinese forces were de-
feated in a ten-hour battle. They
also report the capture of large
supplies of munitions and war sup-
plies.

The Peiping-Hankow railway is
also the scene of various encoun-
ters between Japanese forces and
Chinese guerrillas, who have clashed
in five separate battles. Japanese
military authorities here assert
that the campaign is far from fin-
ished and declare that it is abso-
lutely necessary to drive out all
Chinese forces at present stationed
in Hopei and Honan between the
Peiping-Hankow and Tientsin-Pu-
kow railways.

Wireless to The New York Times
RANGOON, Burma, Feb. 17.—
Fifteen railway carloads of arms
and ammunition left here last night
under military police guard bound
for China. Other munitions for
China which are stored here will
be dispatched soon.
Fifty motor trucks also left yester-
day, evidently to transport the
munitions from the railroad in
North Burma over the new road
into China.

CHUNGKING, China, Feb. 17.
UP.—The United States Embassy
and the Chinese Foreign Office an-
nounced today completion of ar-
rangements to send an American
and a British naval officer to Ku-
ling, mountain-top resort southeast
of Hankow, where sixty-five for-
eigners are marooned.
Lieut. Comdr. Charles R. Jeff-
commander of the United States
gunboat Oahu, and Lieut. Comdr.
R. A. Stafford of the British gun-
boat Afford planned to leave Ku-
ling tomorrow morning for the
resort, fifteen miles away.

AGUIRRE WOULD PUT PRESSURE ON RIGHT

Chilean President Seeks Aid of
Quake Victims on Loans

Special Cable to The New York Times
SANTIAGO, Chile, Feb. 17.—
President Pedro Aguirre Cerda con-
tinued yesterday his second tour of
the six provinces hit by the earth-
quake on Jan. 24, in an effort to
speed relief measures and to urge
the quake victims to ask their re-
presentatives in Congress to support
the government in the plans it has
put forward for reconstruction.

Before leaving Santiago the Presi-
dent declared that Rightist mem-
bers of Congress, in refusing for
the third time to consider the gov-
ernment's plans, were paying the
way for serious political trouble.
He said he was representative of
the people and would govern with-
out giving way to the Rightist ma-
jority in the Senate and Chamber
of Deputies.

The Rightists insist that they are
willing to support relief measures,
but they are firmly opposed to the

JE CHARGED ET AIR HUNT

d to Arctic Radio
anovsky Search—
Feb. 25

Feb. 17.—Whispers long
now that Sigismund
and his five compan-
out on a flight to
Aug. 12, 1937, and were
in the Arctic wastes
the North Pole, had
of sabotage, received

High Mass for Pope Pius Is Celebrated in Moscow

Special Cable to The New York Times
MOSCOW, Feb. 17.—A requiem
high mass for Pope Pius was cele-
brated here today in the presence
of most of the foreign diplomatic
corps, who attended in morning
clothes and silk hats—unusual at-
tire in Moscow's streets.

The services were held in the
church of Saint Louis, the only
remaining Roman Catholic Church
here. An American priest, Father
Leopold Braun, who came to Rus-
sia five years ago following Ameri-
can recognition, is pastor of the
church. Father Braun celebrated
today's mass.

DARES FIRST LADY ON WORKING WIVES

Foe of Married Women in Jobs
Issues Challenge in Boston
for a Debate on the Issue

SEES DESERTION OF DUTY

Miss Birmingham Says Child-
less Ones on Public Payrolls
Form a 'New Plutocracy'

BOSTON, June 3 (AP).—Miss Florence Birmingham, leader of a fight against "working wives," offered today to debate the issue with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt as a result of an assertion by the President's wife that people should not be stampeded into letting such movements get a hold.

President of the Massachusetts Women's Political Club and sponsor of legislation designed to bar married women from State jobs, Miss Birmingham wrote to Mrs. Roosevelt that she was ready to enter into a discussion of the subject publicly or privately.

In an attack on "childless wives" on the public payrolls, Miss Birmingham declared that they "form the new plutocracy," and such a situation was "a threat to our system of government as political democracy cannot long survive when economic democracy has perished."

"Duplication of jobs within families is poor national economy," she added, "and will be responsible for low wages as long as it continues."

Hitting at "working wives" whose husbands had sufficient income to support them, Miss Birmingham said that they "cannot be dignified by the name of workers; they are deserters from their post of duty, the home, which in the American system of government is the only unit of society on which the country depends for existence."

Schwellenbach to Run Again

WALLA WALLA, Wash., June 3 (AP).—Senator Schwellenbach announced today his candidacy for reelection in a transcribed message to the State Convention of Young Democrats.

GARNER IN '40 RACE DESPITE ANY RIVAL

Continued From Page One

ord of thirty-eight years in the National Government to indicate where he stands, they say. They



MRS. GARNER GOWNED FOR ROYALTY

The wife of the Vice President in the dress she will wear to garden party at the British Embassy in Washington on Thursday in honor of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth of England. Garner's dress is of chiffon with a black background carrying a design of Copenhagen blue. It will be street length with a sweet neckline. The wide-brimmed black hat will be trimmed in the blue d.

South Honors Jefferson Davis

ATLANTA, June 3 (AP).—Southerners paid tribute today to the Civil War leader of the South, Jefferson Davis. It was the birthday anniversary of the only President of the Southern Confederacy. Ob-

served as a public holiday in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia, the day was marked by closing of banks and varied mer services.

LILIPUTIAN BAZAAR

Reg. U. S. Pat. Off. Est. 1878



Sizes: 1 to 3 Years

g Credit Where Due

ve Signers of the Petition for ort of the Arts Listed

THE NEW YORK TIMES:
a fairness to all the persons
concerned, amend the ac-
the arts petition delegation
eared in THE TIMES of today.
York Citizens Committee for
ment of the Arts prepared
in for the continued govern-
ment of the fine arts, signed
standing persons in all fields

Spaeth and Mrs. Muriel
re the official representatives
omitted in the delegation
sented copies of the petition
Wagner, Brig. Gen. Watson
Florence Kerr. They were
accompanied by a group of
olans, including Donald
the Whyte Galleries, Donald
of the American Council of
societies, F. A. Whiting Jr. of
lean Federation of Arts and
na Scott Wilale, under the
of the National Citizens Com-
Support of WPA, represented
Marie Coleman, Washington
and myself.

the 302 signatories of the peti-
Chapman Andrews, di-
Museum of Natural His-
the Macaze, architect; Alfred
In, director of the Museum of
Art; Leopold Arnaud, dean of
of Architecture, Columbia
v; Walter Hampden, actor;
ore of the Metropolitan Opera
Fredric March, actor;
telles, producer; Helen Hall,
of the Henry Street Settlement;
Strateln, director of the Amer-
let; Geraldine Farrar, former
tan Opera star; Olin Downes,
tic for THE NEW YORK TIMES;
apman, concert artist; Dashiell
of the League of American
Carl Van Doren of the Literary
obert M. Conner, art critic on
w Yorker; Katherine Liddell,
of English, Sarah Lawrence
Lewis Mumford, author; Sid-
ward, director of the Play-
Company; George Soule, editor

5-cent fare" contains in the last para-
graph the cause, if not checked, of the
decline of our form of government.

This paragraph reads: "Since the
Transit Commission assisted Mayor La
Guardia in drawing up the plan and
obtaining the assent of the B. M. T., it
is believed that the plan will be ap-
proved with possibly a few minor
changes."

Although the hearing on June 3, 1939,
was the last one held by the Transit
Commission, yet public hearings must
still be held by the Board of Estimate
prior to commitment of the taxpayers
to assumption of the necessary debt.

If, as your report implies, decisions
made prior to public hearings are held
unalterable after public hearings with-
out regard to possible change after pub-
lic hearings, then public hearings, the
American way of deciding public ques-
tions, are a farce, and our officials are
perpetrating a costly joke on the tax-
paying citizens.

When the judge and the jury, together
with counsel on both sides, "gang up"
on the witnesses who foot the bill, con-
ditions are serious indeed.

MATTHIAS BERNARD.

Richmond Hill, N. Y., June 7, 1939.

Addressed to 'Working Wives'

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

As a young married woman who
takes an interest in the economic and
social problems that clamor for solu-
tion in America today, I wish to ex-
press my hearty endorsement of Flor-
ence Birmingham's views against
"working wives."

With all due respect to the First Lady
of the Land, it seems to me that "work-
ing wives" who have husbands to sup-
port them are a decided menace to our
American democracy. By occupying
the posts that should go to the men
they drive the latter into a position of
economic dependence on the Govern-
ment—the first step toward fascism and
dictatorship.

Relief and WPA will not solve our
great economic problems and it is up to
the women who don't need their jobs
to step aside and do something for
their country by giving the unemployed
men a chance to make a living and
start an economy of their own.

STELLA L. KANTER.

New York, June 7, 1939.

June 10, 1939, p. 9, 16, 17

June 20, 1937 1111
"It would seem to me very clear that if we continue in our relations with Argentina, and with some of our great neighbors to the south, a policy which makes possible restrictions which in essence amount to an embargo upon their sales to us, we can have little hope either of finding in future years in these countries a logical and a friendly market for our goods, or of establishing that practical economic and commercial foundation for our inter-American policy which is indispensable if our relations are to grow closer in the years to come."

DEFENDS WORKING WIVES

First Lady Says That Ban on Any Group Would Be Fascistic

BOSTON, June 19 (AP).—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the President, defended working wives today with a suggestion that discrimination against the employment of any one group might make the United States "a fascist nation which tells one when to work or how."

Her statement was contained in a letter made public today by Miss Florence Birmingham, president of the Massachusetts Women's Political Club and campaigner against the employment of married women in government office. She had written a protest to Mrs. Roosevelt.

"I do not think," Mrs. Roosevelt said in her reply, "that the class of citizens which you mention is protected or coddled. If they did not work, others in a great majority of cases would go hungry."

Miss Birmingham replied by challenging Mrs. Roosevelt to a debate.

MRS. EMILY LAMBERT WED

She Is Married in the South to Anthony T. Wilson

ST. LOUIS, June 19 (AP).—The marriage today of Mrs. Emily Milliken Lambert, former wife of J. D. Wooster Lambert, wealthy sportsman of St. Louis and New York, and Anthony T. Wilson of London was announced by the bride's mother, Mrs. John T. Milliken. The couple was married at the home of Mrs. Poteat Staling at Yanceyville, N. C.

Mrs. Wilson was the daughter of the late John T. Milliken, millionaire chemical manufacturer of St. Louis. She received \$1,600,000 alimony when her marriage to Mr. Lambert terminated in divorce in December, 1936.

the Rev. John F. X. Sweeney, the Rev. Thomas J. Doyle, the Rev. Harold X. Folser, the Rev. Henry A. McGarvey, the Rev. James M. Carey, the Rev. Daniel J. Turbett, the Rev. Joseph A. Canning, the Rev. Thomas J. Kelly, the Rev. Francis X. Delaney, the Rev. Thomas E. Henneberry, the Rev. Aloysius E. Fuller, Dr. William Boylan, Dr. Arthur Boylan, E. Borgia Butler, Edward Dwyer and Maurice Downing.

MAYOR BACKS RELIEF PLAN

City Proposed Job Registration 3 Years Ago, He Says

Declaring that the city had proposed three years ago that all WPA workers and employables on home relief register with the State Employment Service, Mayor La Guardia endorsed the new plan yesterday at the World's Fair City Hall.

At the same time he condemned the proposal to cut down WPA labor through the bill pending in Congress and called the United States Employment Service "the weakest link in the entire security program."

Regarding the registration plan, the Mayor said:

"I hope it will work. Of course it cannot do anything if there are no jobs. It cannot make up all the damage that will result if the WPA bill is approved in its present form. Of course, such registration is not going to be the answer to fundamental elements in the WPA situation."

Under the plan that goes into effect next month relief recipients will be required to report for an employment interview each month under penalty of dismissal.

To Remarry as Charley Ross

PHOENIX, Ariz., June 19 (AP).—Charley Ross, the Phoenix carpenter who was declared by a court recently to be the principal in the famous kidnapping mystery of sixty-five years ago, said today he would sue in Philadelphia to obtain a share in a supposed \$460,000 family trust fund. Mr. Ross, who used the name of Gustave Blair before establishing his legal identity, will leave tomorrow with his wife for Philadelphia. On July 1, the anniversary of the abduction, they will be remarried under the name of Ross in Germantown, where the child Charley Ross was kidnapped at the age of 4.

VANISHED MEN, by GEORGE W. (Penn, \$2.) An adventure of the Hudson Bay country.

WHAT TO SEE AND DO IN NAVIA, by George W. (Prentice-Hall, \$3.50.) A book.

WIND, SAND AND STARS, by de Saint Euxpéry. (Re Hitchcock, \$2.75.) Remin of a French airline pilot.

WORLD FINANCE: 1938-1939, Paul Einzig. (Macmillan, \$2.50.) An international financial book.

BOOK NO

Three important biographies being scheduled for Fall publication by Houghton Mifflin are "Thoreau, a Biography," by Henry Sidel Canby; "The Noble Era: Life and Times of G. Harding," by Samuel Adams, and "American Story: The Life and Times of Wheeler Wilcox," by Jon

Richard S. Gill, South explorer, has completed negotiations with Holt for the publication of two books. The first, a count of an exploration of Amazon territory in search of native Indian poison, which is being employed experimentally for relief of spastic paralysis, is a story for children titled "Kalu the Llama." The second will be published during

The Pierpont Morgan Library just issued an extensive exhibition with several fine color plates. The current exhibition, arranged on the occasion of the New York Fair.

"The Delusion of Jacques Ducharme, who Wagnalls is publishing a tale of a French Canadian in New England in the Eighties. The book has been selected by the Catholic Book-Club as its July selection.

Deterding Left £370,000

LONDON, June 19 (AP).—Deterding, oil magnate in Switzerland Feb. 4, died of a heart attack. His personal estate of £370,400 (£733,470) in Great Britain and outside Britain has been valued unofficially at (about \$9,360,000).

JOCKEY KILLED

With Two Others in Crash in England

June 21 (AP).—James chief jockey to King, was found dead today others in the wreckage of the missing since yesterday. F. S. Appl and Radio J. Emalle were the other

ee had left Heston Air-ear London, yesterday. ne was found near Bartle, Durham County, in of England. An Air Min-rt said all three had been ear of the plane.

24, was to have been mar-week. He was appointed y to the King in 1937 and ve ridden in the Gosforth s yesterday and today.

Children Never Spanked

SEAL, June 21 (Canadian V. of the Dionne quins-er been spanked, their Dr. Allan Roy Dafeo, y. "We just have a quiet m," he said in an inter-ling how the children are "We put them in there t on their sins for a few . The others point and say and that cures them." The s here for the Canadian As ocation Convention.

"Banks pay 2 per cent for the use of money you save," he pointed out. "The cooperative is paying 1½ per cent on money that is spent."

The meeting will be held at 8:30 o'clock tonight in the Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East Twenty-second Street. June 22, 1939 p. 25.

HITS AT FIRST LADY AGAIN

Northampton Mayor Tells Her to 'Attend to Own Knitting'

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

NORTHAMPTON, Mass., June 21.—Mayor William H. Felker tonight told Mrs. Roosevelt to "attend to your own knitting" in a written reply to her criticism of his demand that working wives employed by this city resign immediately.

He said that he doubted her "position to take up the cudgels for working wives."

"As first lady of the land you should be neutral," his letter said.

"My friendly neighbor, Grace Goodhue Coolidge, widow of the thirtieth President, was more discreet. She let her husband do the talking on all things pertaining to public questions."

Mrs. Roosevelt recently told the Mayor by letter that "We can no more prevent people from exercising fundamental rights and privileges than we can fly to the moon."

many; Somerset, her present home with her child, Mrs. Julia Abt at 1 Seventy-ninth Street, seen party.

Mrs. Wimpfheimer, who this country eighty-three years and who was instrumental in bringing to America two Jewish relatives, contributed to the relief of her co-religionists and many. She signs her own check the companionship of friends plays keno bridge—for state late at night. Mrs. Wimpfheimer has made it a practice to drink a glass of wine at dinner and whisky toddy before going to bed every night.

Mrs. Wimpfheimer has grandchildren and eight grandchildren.

Will Let Church Keep

Tade Styka, portrait of 38 West Fifty-ninth Street yesterday that he would effort to recover the painting of his father, Jan Styka, Polish painter, which disappeared from the 1904 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The picture, called "Poland Pray for Us," given to the church by the artist, now dead, who was chased it at an auction.

THE NEW YORK TIMES TODAY

Robinson, retiring president of college, to receive an annual salary of \$9,964.98. Page 15

finances sifted by Dewey; assistant's report on relief fund postponed. Page 18

are called chief war peril; Monroe Doctrine is a safety College. Page 21

Carew signs final order regarding kindergarten cut by the board. Page 23

all backs general parkway plan of Planning Board but features. Page 25

New York's Democratic House delegation will weigh Neutrality Bill at caucus today. Page 8

Senate Committee on Foreign Relations approves new treaties with Panama. Page 8

GENERAL

Gov. Lehman calls a special session as court upsets budget; education cuts are held legal. Page 1

Governor Leche of Louisiana will resign, Huey Long's brother succeeding him in office. Page 1

Former Governor Earle is called as witness by State in alleged pay-

Britons to give fervent the King and Queen to display is set.

FINANCIAL AND B SEC criticizes investment founders who sell control to their secondary holders. Loyalty to clients emphasized new code of the Associated Customers Brokers.

Four proposed issues of Illinois Electric and Gas from Holding Act.

Wallace says Hull backs side; market, up sharp outlook

...died lee rail as tall-
und schooners bowl
he season of regattas
Thursday the sailors
made a romp of the
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that carried the
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n colleges in "pre-
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seems useless to the pres-
at continue, he said, to be
renewing channels of com-

If Mr. Kettering's argu-
mentative friend doesn't quite
Finding a Good Job
feel at home in these chaste,
If slightly austere, domestic
surroundings, he will feel
still less en rapport with working
conditions in the city of his choice. News-
papers with their want-ad assistance to
the man seeking a job will have rolled
off some printing press, so he will have
none of them. He will, presumably, set
out on horseback in his hunt for work.
An office job is out of the question,
since it would certainly involve use of
telephone, adding machine and type-
writer. Besides, how would he get there
on time? No subways, street cars, buses
for him.

But it hardly seems likely that Mr.
Kettering's friend is sincerely a city
man, anyway, even though he is said to
own a warehouse. The country is the
place for him, and far, far back in the
country out of earshot of tractors and
party-line phones for his wife to listen
in on, and without even a Model T Ford
to carry them into town on Saturday to
shop. And no AAA benefits either, mind
you. That is a modern invention with a
vengeance. Mr. Kettering wins, all
right. We were secretly with him from
the beginning. *June 24, 1939*

First Lady's Knitting
Mayor Felker of Northamp-
ton, Mass., in searching out
some way to put Mrs. Roose-
velt in her place, has un-
wittingly ordered her to do
the very thing that she likes most to
do. "I think you should attend to your
own knitting," says the Mayor firmly.
The good Mayor was complaining about
the First Lady's criticism of his stand
against permitting wives to work if
their husbands can support them. But
his second injunction to Mrs. Roosevelt
will be more difficult for her to follow.
He intimates that she should behave
more like "my friendly neighbor, Grace
Goodhue Coolidge," who was "more
discreet" and was accustomed to letting
her husband do the talking on public
questions. How can any woman knit
without talking?

Life by a Wife
One actor's opinion of an-
other actor. If written with
by a frankness, would be sure to
be good reading. If the two
happened to be wife and hus-
band, the result should be devastating.
That prospect may account for the
chastened and anxious countenance
Charles Laughton presented to some
cameras as he arrived on the Queen
Mary.

If no man is a hero to his valet,
surely no man can be thoroughly a
hero to his wife. We assume, however,
that Mr. Laughton is a good husband,
thoughtful of his wife's comfort, bright
and cheerful over the breakfast coffee.

North Sea, Black Sea is

and a move in the same war.

The stalling in the negotiations be-
tween London and Moscow is a con-
spicuous instance of this. The conclu-
sion of the Franco-Turkish pact, im-
portant as it is in itself, is chiefly sig-
nificant for its bearing on the larger
accord, and it is plain to every one that
the British Lion and the Russian Bear
are being pushed together against their
will. The obvious suspicion and hesita-
tion with which they come together
have already weakened the effect of
the partnership; but it is most unlikely
that the Turks, who are in close rela-
tions with the Soviets, would throw
open the route into the Black Sea to
the British and the French in the event
of war unless Russia expects to fight
on the same side. On the other hand,
it is most likely that the Russians, ob-
serving how Ankara at last won all her
points in the trade with the French,
are thereby strengthened in their deter-
mination to hold out until their terms
are met in full.

Stalin a Shrewd Trader

Moscow's tactics are not surprising
to those who know anything of the
psychology and methods of the Rus-
sians. Like the Turks, they are good
oriental traders. Even if they did not
like secrecy, mystery and suspense,
they would enjoy paying the British
back for past slights by keeping them
on tenterhooks. Stalin is a typical
oriental chieftain, wary to the last de-
gree. His shrewd, suspicious eye looks
inward; and in dismissing Litvinoff be-
fore dealing directly with England, he
deliberately closed the Kremlin's win-
dow on the west and surrounded him-
self with advisers, from Molotoff down,
who have not been corrupted by inter-
course with the outside world. To a
much larger extent than Ismet of An-
kara, Stalin can dictate terms to his
would-be allies. A sprawling colossus,
he straddles two continents, dominates
two war fronts. Whatever purposes lie
hidden in that veiled and powerful
mind, he means to find out first the
utmost he can extract from the entente
he is offered.

But the British are good traders too.
Even in extremity they carry on busi-
ness as usual. If, as has been sug-
gested, Stalin hesitates to deal with
the Chamberlain government and hopes
to force a change, he is going the
wrong way about it. Governments do
not fall because of outside attack.
When Winston Churchill pledged his
full support to the Prime Minister and
Lord Halifax at a dinner this week of
the 1900 Club, composed of the Con-
servative members of Parliament, he
was not only applauding the govern-
ment's foreign policy.

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WEEKLY**

NEW YORK TO GET FARM FUND SHARE

Tenant Purchase Allotment for Ten Counties of State Is Fixed at \$305,652

NEW JERSEY HAS \$70,510

Five Counties Are Approved for Program—\$28,673 Is Put Aside for Connecticut

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
WASHINGTON, July 17.—Ten New York counties, five in New Jersey and one in Connecticut are among forty-seven in eleven North-eastern States which have been approved by Secretary Wallace for operation of the Farm Security Administration's tenant purchase program for the coming year, Phillip E. Henderson, regional FSA supervisor, announced today. These counties were recommended by State Farm Security Advisory Committees for participation in the program as provided by the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act.

Allotment of \$1,227,937, including \$305,652 for New York, \$70,510 for New Jersey and \$28,673 for Connecticut has been divided among the forty-seven counties. Loans will be made to borrowers who have been approved by a county tenant purchase committee, of which the Farm Security Supervisor is executive secretary, and at whose office any eligible farmer may make application for a tenant purchase loan.

The allocations by counties and the supervisors are as follows:

NEW YORK		
Counties	Allocations	Supervisors
Washington	\$20,000	J. F. Brable
Tianderoga		
Jafferson	19,500	J. F. Reeves
Watertown		
St. Lawrence	38,000	J. R. Conklin
Canton		
Chenango	30,000	H. D. Brokaw
Norwich		
Cattaraugus	28,000	C. M. Bennett
Springville		
Seneca	12,000	George Kriebel
Syracuse		
Onondaga	42,000	George Kriebel
Syracuse		
Orange	42,000	E. H. Seward
Coshen		
Orleans	42,000	Frank R. Perry
Rockport		
Steuben	37,000	David Russell
Wellsville		

NEW JERSEY		
Counties	Allocations	Supervisors
Harrington	11,000	J. M. Roberts
Burlington		

Mrs. Roosevelt Declines Debate on Women's Jobs



Times Wide World, 1939
Florence Birmingham

By The Associated Press.
BOSTON, July 17.—Miss Florence Birmingham, promoter of a movement in Massachusetts to eliminate the employment of married women in government positions, said today that Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt had declined to debate the merits of the question.

Mrs. Roosevelt, who previously suggested to Miss Birmingham that discrimination against the employment of any group of persons might be a step in the direction of fascism, wrote:

"You invited me to debate a question on which both of us have, in my opinion, clearly stated our points of view. I can see nothing to be gained by debate, since a more important opinion than ours has been rendered in your State. Therefore, I do not choose to debate unnecessarily."

Mrs. Roosevelt's reference to a "more important opinion" was construed by Miss Birmingham as an allusion to the Massachusetts Supreme Court's decision that legislation barring public employment of married women would be unconstitutional.

HOME OF BRIDE, 16, STONED
Crowds Mill in Street to Hoot Marriage to Man, 60

265 PICKETS FACE JUDGE IN HARLAN

Arrested After Battle With Guardsmen, All Are Held for Grand Jury

225 FREED ON THEIR WORD

Machine Guns Command the Court House Approaches and Troops Search All Who Enter

HARLAN, Ky., July 17 (AP).—Soldiers brought into court today 260 men and women arrested after a gun battle between union coal mine pickets and National Guardsmen last week and a circuit judge passed the cases along to a special grand jury meeting on July 25.

Each of those arraigned was accused of "banding and confederating," and George Tittler, secretary-treasurer of the Harlan district of the United Mine Workers, was also charged with sedition, forcible rebellion and attack on National Guardsmen.

Two men have died since and six others were injured in the skirmish preceding the mass arrests.

Attorneys conferred with Circuit Judge James M. Gilbert for a long time prior to his ruling that the cases should go to the grand jury he called last week.

Judge Gilbert ordered 225 of the defendants to post a bond of \$500 each and then released them on their word. Thirty-four others were required to post bail of \$2,000 each and Tittler's bond was set at \$8,000. Bail was supplied in each case by private individuals.

Tittler when released departed for Knoxville, Tenn., where he expected to take part in negotiations between Harlan County operators and representatives over a union shop contract.

Sunlight glinted on machine-guns which commanded approaches to the court house. National Guardsmen searched each person entering the building and only those with business there were permitted to go in. There was no disorder.

The 225 released on their word were taken from the court house in small groups after Brig. Gen. Carter, commanding the troops on duty, had warned "no loitering" would be tolerated. "Get out of town at once and go to your homes," he ordered.

At Knoxville Dr. John R. Steelman, director of conciliation for the United States Department of Labor, personally entered the negotiations between the operators and the union.

Willie Fee, one of those who signed warrants against the 260 defendants and who later was arrested in the fatal shooting of Bill Roberts, an idle union miner, was

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Professor M. A. Blake, chief of horticultural research at the New Jersey State Agricultural Station at New Brunswick, said that the situation for the fruit crop is the most serious of any time this year. Unless rain falls within a few days, he said, the situation would be "very serious." An added difficulty, he declared, has been the growth of the European red mite, which has thrived in the dry weather.

The large potato crops of New Jersey, centered in Middlesex, Monmouth and Mercer Counties, have also been damaged, it was reported.

A large portion of Westchester County and Long Island has also been affected by the drought. In the northern part of Long Island a 40 per cent loss in the potato crops is estimated. The grain crop on the island was described as "short" and the carrot and beet yield is low. The Weather Bureau reported that a mass of warm, moist air is moving from the South and Southeast toward the metropolitan area and New England, where it may affect the weather within the next day or so. There was no indication, however, that a heavy precipitation would result from the mass.

CRITICIZES THE FIRST LADY

Massachusetts Group 'Condemns' Her Stand as to Working Wives

BOSTON, July 19 (AP).—The Massachusetts Women's Political Club has adopted a resolution "condemning" what it calls the interference of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the President, in the State controversy over government employment of married women.

The State House of Representatives rejected two days ago a bill which would have prohibited employment by the State of women whose husbands had incomes of \$3,000 or more.

The club's resolution assailed the "refusal" of the President's wife "to debate this issue, although she assumed the offensive in Massachusetts by taking up the cudgels in defense of working wives after the citizens had overwhelmingly voted against retention of them."

The Senate today followed the action of the House, accepting without debate an adverse report by the committee on public service, which followed a recent advisory opinion by the State Supreme Court that such legislation would be unconstitutional.

the grand jury condemnations of certain members and employees of the Campfire Club of America in not reporting the killing of the dogs to the owner or to the public authorities as lacking in common decency and sportsmanship.

"It is the grand jury's judgment that had the killing of the first dog on Nov. 19 been reported by the killer to the owner or to the public authorities, the killing of the additional two dogs on Dec. 4 would not have been allowed to occur. The burying of the first dog together with the burning of collar and the cremation of the second and third dogs, in an effort to conceal the killings, constitutes acts which the grand jury severely condemns.

"The grand jury recommends to the Legislature of the State of New York that it provide laws making it mandatory to report the killing of dogs and fixing the penalty for those who fail to make such reports."

Colonel A. J. Macnab, U. S. A., retired, and Thomas H. Bauchle Jr. of 194 Riverside Drive, New York, were among the witnesses before the grand jury, signing waivers of immunity and stating they were the club members who had shot Mr. Moore's dogs. Other members supported their contention of "justification." The Campfire Club membership comprises many noted big-game hunters and explorers. The late Theodore Roosevelt was honorary president.

MAYOR INVITED TO CANADA

Promises to Go to Toronto Fair if He Possibly Can

Mayor La Guardia was invited yesterday to attend the Canadian National Exposition in Toronto, which will be held from Aug. 25 to Sept. 9, and said he would go if he possibly could.

The invitation from Mayor Ralph Day of Toronto was taken to the World's Fair City Hall by the Timothy Eaton troop of Boy Scouts from Toronto. Headed by Scoutmaster Charles A. Bradford, the boys were introduced to the Mayor by Magistrate Anthony Savarese, Scout Commissioner in Queens. After receiving the invitation the Mayor said:

"If it is at all possible, I will come. It does not take much provocation to get me to come to Canada."

A group of Boy Scouts from Bay-side, who are hosts to the visitors, also attended the ceremony.

burst into tears or cheering; murder; makes a good dog turn his nose skyward and howl bitterly; and makes two-fisted tom cats run for their lives."

Cohen family Avenue. Nelig whether the thing to do wi

AN INDEX TO

Thursday, July 20, 1939

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WORLD'S FAIR

Pay of all World's Fair executives is reduced 10 per cent; 150 policemen are dismissed. Page 1

Tiny republic of Lebanon presents its story in Pavilion at the Fair, stressing age of cedars. Page 14

Dismissed World's Fair cadets won reputation for ingenuity in face of absurd questions. Page 14

Pageant staged at Fair by 10,000 members of Women's Benefit Association. Page 14

NEW YORK

Names of participants in WPA stoppages by teachers and Workers Alliance asked in inquiry. Page 1

Ship bulletin board in Battery Park is dedicated at colorful ceremonies. Page 3

Plans for the Battery tunnel rushed to permit early request for Federal funds. Page 3

Arthur M. Fields Jr., brilliant graduate of naval academy, dies here of mysterious illness. Page 3

Garment workers open war with Amalgamated over jurisdiction in mannish women's wear. Page 4

Sanita Hill sued as a zoning violation; sale of Kahn estate seen as tax-dodging scheme. Page 11

Jury is completed at Baldwin trial; counsel to deliver the opening address today. Page 20

Mercer St. police station completely renovated, reoccupied by its staff; priest blesses it. Page 20

West Side boys guard their racing mice as they prepare for an East-West Derby. Page 21

Two women to tour South America by plane to study the status of women there. Page 21

Curran's attack on saxophone helps boy to get a bigger and louder one. Page 21

Drought threatens crop loss in area.

Principals re Mayor's adopted budget

Mayor La Guardia blames Wilson Housing and Coast Guard slight questioning plans

METRO

Jersey racing mile tracks of measure

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Internatio rally, led in Holly

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT AND THE WASHINGTON PRESS

1933 - 1945

A Thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
Master of Arts in Liberal Studies

By

Jacqueline Neel Peebles, B.A.

School for Summer and Continuing Education
Georgetown University
Washington, DC
April 30, 1991

Thesis 6245

responsibility, reportorial ability, generosity, devotion to her husband's career, intellectual versatility, and "motherliness."

The door at the Post had finally opened to reporting the substance as well as the style of women's progress. In 1934, Eugene Meyer decreed that the papers women's section would be expanded, and would be "written by women for women".⁵⁵ But articles continued to appear in the first section on Ellen Woodward's accomplishments at FERA and CWA; Susan B. Anthony's 114 birthday; Nellie Tayloe Ross' money saving "sweep" of the U.S. Mint's wall, ceilings and floors and who would succeed Grace Abbott as chief of the Children's Bureau. There was a tribute to Abbott's work on the editorial page, and a letter to the editor praising the great outdoor life which strengthened women so they could hold their own physically and need no longer be referred to as the weaker sex.⁵⁶

In the meantime, the Herald's social adviser was opining that a woman with small children didn't have time

⁵⁵Chalmers Roberts, The Washington Post: The First 100 Years, "Rescue and Revival: Mr. Meyer Begins Anew, 1933-1945" (Boston: Houghton Mifflin company, 1977), p. 222.

⁵⁶Post, 14 February; 3 March; 10, 28 April; and 16 June 1934.

for a career unless she had a maid in which case she didn't need a career. A woman's time is better used doing things around the house without tiring herself out, wrote Helen Ray Hagner, so that when her husband comes homes at night she'll be ready to cheer him up.⁵⁷

Eugene Meyer's Post and Cissy Patterson's Herald remained staunchly anti-Roosevelt throughout his four terms. That the Post had more kind words for the President's wife than the Herald could be explained in part by the influence on the paper of Meyer's strong-minded wife Agnes, and by recollections of a reporter assigned by the Herald to cover Mrs. Roosevelt in 1934:

. . . too friendly stories were often cut, and I envied the reporters who could go all out in their admiration of her.⁵⁸

Only the Post was editorially critical of Mrs. Roosevelt's decision to campaign for her friend Caroline O'Day when she ran for Congress in New York.⁵⁹ The objection was not that a women's place was in the home but that she could not step out of the role of First Lady into that of concerned citizen of New York. On page one of the

⁵⁷ Herald, 10 April 1934.

⁵⁸ Beasley, The Media, quoting Mildred Gilman, p. 75.

⁵⁹ Post, 27 October 1934.

Post and three of the Herald for 16 October 1934, the "precedent shattering" nature of the decision was headlined.

The Star's Genevieve Forbes Herrick took another tack, reporting that Mrs. Roosevelt was "Risk(ing) Ire of Other Women Candidates to Campaign" for O'Day. Should O'Day be elected, Herrick continued, she would join the "First-Name Club--a very unofficial group in Washington's very official circles", which includes the First Lady, Molly Dewson, Frances Perkins and a few others. Thus Herrick expressed her understanding of the network of women in positions of power in Washington of which Mrs. Roosevelt was the center.⁶⁰

Post columnist Carlisle Barger used one episode in the campaign to slap at the relationship between the First Lady and the press, as he saw it. Their champ let them down by evading a debate with one of Mrs. O'Day's opponents over New Deal issues, he wrote on 3 November 1935.⁶¹

They had faith in her, they believed she could beat anybody in the world--in public debate, in anything, or with any weapon her opponent might choose. Ever since she came to Washington and took up

⁶⁰ Star, 16 October 1934.

⁶¹ See also Drew Pearson's column, Herald, 10 June 1936, where he expresses a similar description of the relationship between Mrs. Roosevelt and reporters who covered her.

with them their admiration has known no bounds. Everywhere she would go they would follow heedless of any risk involved--out to sea, up in the air, across the country in an automobile at 70 miles per hour, down in the mines.

(Anybody) who can perform the miracle of switching from the President's wife to just plain citizen and back again (could have found time to debate). . .

I asked one of them about it. In fact, friendly like, I expressed my deepest sympathy. Tearfully she exclaimed: "I'd like to ring your neck."

During the campaign, Mrs. Roosevelt said she was there because her friend was an "example of the real reason most women go into politics--that is to achieve changes in our social organization which they feel can be reached only through government."⁶² She was put in the position of defending New Deal programs against charges of waste and abuse of liberty; and of defending the continuation of the patronage system despite the League of Women Voters active opposition to it.

The end of 1934 and beginning of 1935 marked the height of popularity for the New Deal: by the end of the first term, the participation of women in its administration also reached a peak. By 1936, the opportunities that experimentation and restructuring bring for women were ending.⁶³ By

⁶² Herald, 16 October 1934.

⁶³ Ware, Beyond Suffrage, p. 61.

1937 it was apparent that women who had gotten positions held onto them and new ones weren't forthcoming. By 1936, 460,000 women were employed in relief work, and Woodward had an easier time "calming the anxieties of those who feared the relief needs of women went unattended" than those who complained there were too many women on WPA payrolls.⁶⁴

Star columnist Paul Mallon had predicted on 1 May 1934 that FDR's honeymoon was coming to an end. A few months earlier, the same paper printed a joke making the rounds about Eleanor and Franklin. Their cousin Alice Roosevelt Longworth was the source for the joke which ran that the President was 1/3 mush and 2/3's Eleanor.⁶⁵ By 1935, the President was struggling to hold together a coalition in Congress that would renew funding for expiring programs and approve new ones. The Supreme Court had begun to overturn various New Deal programs on constitutional grounds. In May, the Court struck down the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Transcripts of only three of Mrs. Roosevelt's press conferences from 1935 were found by Maurine Beasley. In these, Mrs. Roosevelt talked about what had been accom-

⁶⁴ Scharf, To Work and To Wed, pp. 126-127.

⁶⁵ Star, 11 February 1934.

Divorce Reform League selected President Roosevelt as one of the five "best husbands" in the country and Mrs. Roosevelt as one of the five "most fortunate wives" because he did not restrict her activities to the home. As a celebrity, she did not stand apart from her marital partnership.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, instead of being blinded by the spotlight of publicity, Mrs. Roosevelt had learned to use it to illuminate herself. She fit the mold of what Daniel Boorstin identified as "a new kind of eminence," that attained by celebrity status rather than pure achievement. She was known for what she did, but she was also known for who she was, which in turn influenced what she did.⁶¹

Eleanor Roosevelt and the Media
by Maurine H. Beasley
1987

10

The Press as Adversary 1941-42

I don't question for a moment that any President of this country would do anything he could to keep his country out of war. But nobody can state what circumstances may exist.

—Eleanor Roosevelt, White House press conference,
May 13, 1941

People can gradually be brought to understand that an individual, even if she is a President's wife, may have independent views and must be allowed the expression of an opinion. But actual participation in the work of the government, we are not yet able to accept.

—Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day,"
February 23, 1942

After Roosevelt's third-term inauguration in 1941, Mrs. Roosevelt began to prepare the nation's women for war. Hornaday recalled that she told the press conference group off-the-record that she "couldn't believe her husband could switch so fast" on the issue of war, after promising to keep the nation out of it. On the record, Mrs. Roosevelt warned of the likelihood of rationing. She reported that army officers in training camps were telling draftees to stop joking and start marching because they were headed for combat. As a supporter of organized labor, she tried to persuade the public, including mothers of draftees, that it was understandable why workers were striking even in defense plants.¹

In the midst of serious discussion, a chatty, sorority house atmosphere often prevailed. "It used to be as much as a girl's reputation was worth to be seen with a soldier in uniform," one newswoman declared after hearing Mrs. Roosevelt report on an inspection trip to Fort Bragg, North Carolina. "I don't see how that can hold, when

many of us have children in uniform," Mrs. Roosevelt earnestly replied.²

The first lady favored conscripting young women, as well as young men, for a year of compulsory service. She proposed the plan when she inaugurated a question-and-answer page, "If You Ask Me," in the *Ladies' Home Journal* in May 1941 patterned after a similar page, "Dear Mrs. Roosevelt," which ran in the *Democratic Digest* from December 1937 until January 1941.

Her proposal on conscription came in response to a question from a 19-year-old woman who wrote, "My young man has just gone to camp, and it doesn't seem right for me to sit at home and go around doing the same things I have always done." The *Journal* co-editor, Beatrice Gould, thought Mrs. Roosevelt's idea "a fine thing," but *Time* magazine commented, "No one in the government, from the President down, supported her." The plan was viewed as too radical, because it would remove women from their protected, subordinate status, although under it women could have lived at home while being trained in traditional fields like nursing, food preparation, and, as *Time* put it, "such mechanical skills as they wanted to learn."³

Mrs. Roosevelt was not initially a supporter of a bill introduced in May 1941 by Representative Edith N. Rogers, a Republican from Massachusetts, to create a women's army auxiliary corps. "I don't know that we will consider it a necessity here [to have women in the military]," Mrs. Roosevelt told a press conference. The legislation did not pass until six months after the United States entered World War II, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Women were not given full army status until 1943, when the auxiliary was converted to the Women's Army Corps (WAC).⁴

Prior to United States entry into the conflict, Mrs. Roosevelt had stressed that women should be mobilized not simply for military purposes, but to carry out the New Deal vision of an improved society. Impressed by the efforts of Lady Stella Reading, director of the women's civil defense organization in England, Mrs. Roosevelt wanted to involve women in building a new social order. She interpreted civil defense as a means of improving society, not just selecting air raid wardens. At a press conference in August 1941 she criticized the national Office of Civilian Defense, headed by Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia of New York, because it ignored women. She saw her

own proposal to conscript young women for post-high-school training as an alternative to drafting them for defense work. Mrs. Roosevelt opposed a draft on the grounds that the nation had a surplus of unemployed workers.⁵

In reaction, LaGuardia insisted that Mrs. Roosevelt be designated assistant director of the office. Although she was unpaid, her appointment had to be approved by President Roosevelt. It marked the first time a first lady had held a government office.⁶

LaGuardia called Mrs. Roosevelt "America's Number 1 volunteer." In her new post, she took charge of what the Office of Civil Defense press releases referred to as "fortification in recreation, health, welfare, family security, education and other types of public and private community services." The press, however, focused not on her task but on the unusual spectacle of a president's wife holding an official appointment even if an unpaid one.⁷

She began her duties on September 29, 1941, under difficult circumstances, three weeks after the death of her mother-in-law and four days after the death of her brother, Hall Roosevelt. As she did on other occasions, Mrs. Roosevelt used "My Day" to ventilate her personal feelings in public, while still staying within the boundaries of good taste. She described her mother-in-law frankly in her column as a "grande dame," concluding, "She was not just sweetness and light, for there was a streak of jealousy and possessiveness in her where her own were concerned."⁸

When she walked nearly a mile from the White House to her Dupont Circle office for her first day on the job, journalists checked her arrival time. Black's United Press story said that Mrs. Roosevelt was on time, but other reporters said that she was ten minutes late. "First Lady is Late for New Job," blared the headlines in the *Washington Times-Herald*. Even favorable reports pictured her as a dabbling do-gooder. Black, in her United Press stories, quoted Mrs. Roosevelt as saying that she would "really work" but would not observe regular hours because of other commitments.⁹

One of Mrs. Roosevelt's first acts was to decide on admission policies for press conferences. She announced that she would retain women-only press conferences at the White House but would admit men to conferences at her civil defense office. Obviously Mrs. Roosevelt wanted to retain the women's conference as a separate entity,

although a major scrutiny of accreditation standards was under way before she took the civil defense post.¹⁰

On May 31, 1941, Florence Shreve, formerly a government publicity writer, had been called out of a conference and "dramatically ejected from the White House by ushers," according to a newspaper column. The White House press office declared that Shreve, described in the column as a "red-haired and aggressive matron," had misrepresented herself as a reporter for the *Hemet* (California) *News*, but actually was a lobbyist for West Coast shipping and mining interests. In a confidential memo, Black informed United Press editors that Shreve had used her accreditation to the conference to "jimmy good pay out of contract-seekers and lobbyists by telling them . . . she has 'White House contacts.'"¹¹

At the time of the Shreve incident it was easy for almost any woman with the slightest claim to being a correspondent for a daily newspaper to gain admission. A roster of accredited correspondents compiled in June 1941 showed 115 names of newswomen along with the names of sixteen other journalists who represented federal publicity offices. Many of the eligible women wrote only occasional feature stories for small papers such as the *Southwest Times* of Pulaski, Virginia, and the *News Telegraph* of Atlanta, Iowa.¹²

Admission to the conferences was controlled by Stephen T. Early, the president's press secretary, although he frequently delegated the task to Malvina Thompson. In February 1941 he informed Mrs. Roosevelt that he had rejected the application of Mrs. Bedford Lawson, who "represents colored weekly newspapers printed in Pittsburgh." If correspondents for weekly newspapers were admitted, he continued, the "regular attendance at these conferences probably will be increased by several hundred persons." In addition, Early saw the Lawson request as a subterfuge by "certain colored leaders" who were trying to "force their admission to the President's conferences with the press," where they were also banned on the grounds that they represented weekly, not daily, newspapers.¹³

Nine months later Thompson asked Early's opinion about admitting a black reporter from the *Washington Afro-American*, another weekly. Early reiterated his opposition. Since some of the women admitted sold free-lance articles to weekly newspapers, although they

were not actually employed by them, it appeared that Early's intent was to exclude black journalists on a technicality.¹⁴

Following the Shreve incident, the women journalists, with Mrs. Roosevelt's approval, discussed the possibility of forming their own organization to direct the press conferences. After the United States entered World War II, the women set up such a body. At a meeting on December 22, 1941, May Craig called attention to the need "to prevent exploitation of the conference, which is more to be feared with war on; also to avoid the danger of subversive activity."¹⁵

The group chose the title Mrs. Roosevelt's Press Conference Association, proposed by Martha Strayer, temporary secretary. It rejected the use of "First Lady" in the name after Craig said that Mrs. Roosevelt "had made fun of the term." It also considered "Women's White House Press Conference Association," but abandoned it when Craig argued against a sex distinction.¹⁶

The previous week a male reporter had attended what was supposed to be a women-only conference. On that occasion Mrs. Roosevelt, to save time, had told the women journalists to meet at her civil defense office rather than at the White House. Dewey Fleming, a reporter for the *Baltimore Sun*, appeared and refused to leave, asserting his right to attend a press briefing by a public official.¹⁷

The issue of admitting men was not discussed immediately by the new group, however, as it debated accreditation requirements. A key question was whether to continue to admit part-time correspondents and government press officers. Speaking against the latter, Miriam Ottenberg of the *Washington Star* argued, "Is this supposed to be a propaganda bureau for Mrs. Roosevelt?" Her chief opponent was Black, who was now supplementing her United Press earnings with a part-time job, obtained through Mrs. Roosevelt's influence, at the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs headed by Nelson A. Rockefeller. In the end the group compromised by deciding to admit government representatives but without giving them voting privileges in the organization.¹⁸

In the early months of 1942, Mrs. Roosevelt held a series of press conferences at the Office of Civil Defense with male reporters present. By this time she was under journalistic fire, first for alleged administrative inefficiency, and later for putting personal friends, es-

pecially Mayris Chaney, a professional ballroom dancer, on the civil defense payroll. Chaney, who originated the "Eleanor glide" in Mrs. Roosevelt's honor, was hired to set up a program to teach dancing to children in bomb shelters. The press overwhelmingly disapproved.

The revelation that Mrs. Roosevelt had favored Chaney's employment was reported in February 1942 by Christine Sadler of the *Washington Post*. According to Mary Hornaday, who had been elected the first chairman of the press conference association, this demonstrated that women reporters did not always "cover up" for Mrs. Roosevelt. Notes taken at Mrs. Roosevelt's press conferences at the Office of Civil Defense in January and February 1942 show that she was asked much harder-hitting questions than at the women-only conferences at the White House, although there is no record of whether men or women asked them.¹⁹

On January 5 a reporter asked, "Will you confirm or deny the accuracy of a newspaper prediction that you and Mayor LaGuardia will resign from the civilian defense?" According to Strayer's notes, "Almost for the first time in her press conferences, Mrs. Roosevelt was on the defensive." She replied, "Do they need to make predictions that absolutely are not based on fact and that put me on the spot? As far as I know, there is no truth in that whatsoever."²⁰

As the questions kept on, Mrs. Roosevelt became increasingly flustered, as this exchange indicated:

Question: "Did LaGuardia fire two of your assistants, including the assistant connected with the physical fitness program?"

Mrs. Roosevelt: "If there were two assistants, there were two that I never have seen."

Question: "Did you promptly rehire them?"

Mrs. Roosevelt: "I haven't seen any. I had a staff meeting this morning and everyone on the staff was still there. I don't know."

Question: "They might have been there, because according to the report you rehired them."

Mrs. Roosevelt: "I haven't been conscious of anything."²¹

Further questions followed, implying that Mrs. Roosevelt was inefficient as an executive. In actuality the job represented an administrative nightmare that would have taxed the most experienced

manager. Efforts to create a program ran afoul of bureaucratic jealousy between cabinet departments and fledgling defense agencies as well as friction with the military. Voluntary organizations sought to outdo each other to gain publicity for themselves. Volunteers lacked clearly defined tasks, and local and regional councils issued conflicting sets of instructions. The press, however, pictured the problems in simplistic terms centered around criticism of Mrs. Roosevelt herself.²²

A chance comment in "My Day" became a target for attacks that Strayer called "the most embarrassing of all." In her column for December 24, 1941, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote that she had been late arriving at the Office of Civilian Defense because the president "finally decided to tell me that British Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, and his party were arriving sometime in the late afternoon or evening." To the Republican *New York Herald-Tribune* and other critics, this showed that Mrs. Roosevelt had "an improper attitude about getting to work on time," in an era when punctuality was taken seriously.²³

Even before this incident, columnists had called for her resignation. The sober Walter Lippmann saw her as "sugar-coating" serious business with "all manner of fads, fancies, homilies, and programs which would have been appropriate to the activities of an excited village improvement society." He contended that the wife of the president should not confuse everybody by being "a subordinate official in a subordinate department of the government which her husband administers." The anti-New Deal columnist Frank R. Kent alleged that the talents for publicity displayed by both LaGuardia and Mrs. Roosevelt obscured administrative chaos. Presidential aides reacted to the criticism by bringing in new officials. To improve civil defense administration, James M. Landis, dean of the Harvard Law School, was appointed executive officer and Jonathan Daniels, later editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer*, was named executive aide.²⁴

Mrs. Roosevelt was subjected to more sharp questioning at another press conference, and again became defensive. On January 12, 1942, a reporter asked, "Did you happen to read in the *Congressional Record* what was being said on the floor. . . particularly the reference to your being too busy to handle the job?" Mrs. Roosevelt replied, "How specific was it? Who was it who made that? What is

the definite question? What do people consider too busy?" After the reporter responded, "The point in both houses was that this is a full-time job," Mrs. Roosevelt continued, "What is a full-time job? How many hours does that mean?" She estimated that she spent twelve hours a day on civil defense but that not all were spent in her office. Knowing of her high energy level, her journalist friends did not dispute her assertion.²⁵

Mrs. Roosevelt also became embroiled in policy arguments. She opposed a bill to turn civil defense over to the army, arguing it was more than a military issue. To the disappointment of feminists, she was lukewarm about using women as army volunteers. She told a press conference, "If you need them, I think it should be possible to use them; but I don't believe in obliging women to do things when it isn't necessary for them to do them."²⁶

Mrs. Roosevelt also aroused hostility from segregationists who disliked her efforts to allow blacks to participate in civil defense programs. Racial integration was in line with her dream of a better world for all, a theme highlighted in Mrs. Roosevelt's speeches and writings after the United States entered World War II. In "My Day" she stressed, "If we cannot meet the challenge of fairness to our citizens of every nationality . . . if we cannot keep in check anti-semitism, anti-racial feelings as well as anti-religious feelings, then we shall have removed from the world, the one real hope for the future."²⁷

The uproar over the Chaney appointment occupied reporters at a press conference on February 9, 1942. Mrs. Roosevelt admitted having suggested the dancer as director of children's civil defense activities at \$4,600 annually, a salary higher than that paid to an army colonel. Questioning turned into a sparring match. "What is Miss Chaney doing? Because, of course, she must be doing something," a reporter insisted. "You're bringing up a question on the whole question of the physical fitness program," Mrs. Roosevelt countered. "I think that's not for me to discuss."²⁸

Congressional Republicans seized upon the incident gleefully with the House voting to ban funds for promoting "physical fitness through dancing." A growing number of newspapers demanded Mrs. Roosevelt's resignation. Raymond Clapper, considered a nonpartisan

columnist, complained, "How can you have any kind of morale with a subordinate employee, who happens to be the wife of the President of the United States, flitting in and out between lecture engagements to toss a few more pets into nice jobs."²⁹

In addition the Chaney appointment provided lethal ammunition for critics already incensed because of fears that the civil defense organization harbored communist sympathizers brought in by Mrs. Roosevelt. Lash, appointed as an unpaid member of an advisory committee, came under fire. Melvyn Douglas, an actor who headed an arts division, was berated for being a radical. These efforts to attack her through her friendships proved upsetting, Mrs. Roosevelt noted in her autobiography.³⁰

The February 9 press conference marked the last of Mrs. Roosevelt's attempts to combine a session for women reporters with a conference open to men. Before admitting the male journalists, she met with the women alone. She instructed them to return to the White House for subsequent conferences, commenting, "Miss Thompson tells me that you really find it better at the White House, and there is this difficulty here that other people [men] want to come."³¹

By this time the women's association had agreed on a procedure for conference accreditation. Each applicant was directed to submit a letter from her employer, clippings of recently published work, and a statement of her plans for attendance. This was a concern because only about half of the accredited group usually showed up for the conferences, perhaps because many of the women were feature writers whose work appeared only intermittently in their newspapers.³²

In mid-February 1942 Mrs. Roosevelt informed the chairman, Mary Hornaday, that the Secret Service "because of the war, has asked me to place a limit on the size of the groups which are admitted to the White House." Mrs. Roosevelt then specified that attendance should be restricted to employees of daily newspapers, press associations, broadcasting companies and weekly news magazines. By excluding part-time journalists, the new requirements sharply cut the number of women eligible to attend. From the total of 115 accredited in June 1941 the number dropped to thirty-three.³³

The actual accreditation was left to a five-member committee. It included Hornaday, Strayer, Craig, Gertrude Chesnut of Transradio

Press Service, and Esther Van Wagoner Tufty, who represented a group of Michigan newspapers. Admission of government publicity women was left to Mrs. Roosevelt.³⁴

According to Strayer, "many 'fringe' or 'free lance' writers were eliminated, much to the regret of everybody, including Mrs. Roosevelt, [because] the eliminated writers had done well by her." These women had written features presenting "usually kind pictures of the depression model First Lady," Strayer noted. Most of these articles were published in small-town newspapers otherwise lacking in White House coverage.³⁵

As the waves of criticism over the Chaney appointment mounted, even Mrs. Roosevelt's staunchest friends among the women reporters questioned her action. Strayer wrote years later that Mrs. Roosevelt's "friends and admirers regretted that she had accepted this federal post. It undoubtedly was a mistake."³⁶

Mrs. Roosevelt resigned her civil defense post on February 20, 1942. The press immediately softened its condemnation by portraying Mrs. Roosevelt as a woman of honorable intentions, if poor judgment. *Time* pictured her as "a kind lady" giving the nation "a lesson in good manners" by resigning in the best interests of civil defense. Calling her failure "inevitable," because of the vagueness of her responsibilities, the *New York Times* said that her resignation did not reflect upon "her ability, her goodwill and her unselfish devotion to the general welfare."³⁷

In her own defense Mrs. Roosevelt sidestepped criticism of specific actions by casting the issue in broader terms. In "My Day" she made a feminist claim, ignoring the question of her civil defense performance itself. Portraying herself as the victim of her position, she wrote it was impossible for anyone who was first lady to be "looked upon as an individual."³⁸

After Mrs. Roosevelt's resignation, questions at press conferences reverted to the details of White House life during wartime, particularly sugar rationing and the prospects for a victory garden, which was not planted after the soil was found to be unsuitable. Questioned about the role of women, she gave conservative replies. She foresaw no possibility of a woman admiral, although women were being accepted into the navy WAVES, because "there is no question of women running ships in any capacity."³⁹ Defending the

administration in the spring of 1942, Mrs. Roosevelt supported the internment of citizens of Japanese descent. She insisted that many Japanese-Americans she had met realized their removal from their homes was for their own good and for the good of the country. She added that many would suffer unjustly but said the war required extreme measures.⁴⁰

As head of the conference association, Hornaday asked Mrs. Roosevelt in November 1942 to relax her rule forbidding direct quotations except by special permission. "Since the size of the conference has been drastically reduced and its caliber increased accordingly (we hope), we do not believe you would have much trouble with being misquoted," Hornaday argued on behalf of the group. Privately, she had doubts. "It was hard to take Mrs. Roosevelt's statements down," recalled Hornaday years later. "Her language was vague. You couldn't get it down fast. She kind of wandered. Covering her was the only time I wished I knew shorthand."⁴¹

Responding to Hornaday's request to relax the "no quote" rule, Mrs. Roosevelt at first held out for advance approval. She said, "I'm quite willing if you just simply say, 'Is this all right to quote, to have you quoted.' If I say anything that I want to have off the record, I'll say, 'This is off the record.' " Six months later Hornaday again sought blanket permission for direct quotes except when Mrs. Roosevelt stated otherwise. By 1944, the association's rules provided that any statement made by Mrs. Roosevelt at a press conference could be used in direct quotes unless she specified that it was for indirect quotation only or entirely off the record.⁴²

After the civil defense debacle, Mrs. Roosevelt insisted that her press conference be barred to men. When Gordon Cole, a reporter for the liberal New York newspaper *PM*, requested admission, the conference association itself divided. "Some members seemed to feel it is up to us to end the discrimination against men; others felt that women have so many strikes against them in this business that it is wise to keep this one advantage," Hornaday informed Mrs. Roosevelt. When the first lady warned the group she might end the conferences if men were admitted, the association rejected Cole's application. Esther Van Wagoner Tufty, a member of the standing committee, stressed to her colleagues that the women-only conferences were "precious" to Mrs. Roosevelt.⁴³

A month after she left the civil defense office, Mrs. Roosevelt cast herself in the role of a dutiful, traditional wife. "I guess I'd list myself as a housewife—with some experience in writing a column and in speaking—and that's all," Mrs. Roosevelt told her press conference in March 1942. Other comments reinforced various government campaigns to persuade housewives to work in defense plants and service industries but only until the war emergency was over. In an era of serious debate over the propriety of women wearing slacks, Mrs. Roosevelt remarked she would not want a secretary working for her to wear them.⁴⁴

Her retreat into the role of a self-sacrificing wife was illustrated by her stand on a proposal that would require married couples to file a joint income tax return. She said that she agreed with the object of raising money for the war by combining two incomes to force a couple into a higher tax bracket. Women's groups argued that it would penalize working women, and some columnists, including Arthur Krock of the *New York Times*, objected on grounds that it would turn back the clock on social progress. He pointed out that Mrs. Roosevelt was speaking as the president's wife in upholding the plan and not as the well-paid career woman that she also was.⁴⁵

Before the attack on Pearl Harbor, Mrs. Roosevelt had signed a contract with the Pan-American Coffee Bureau, which represented eight coffee-exporting nations, for a series of twenty-eight Sunday evening broadcasts. (By today's standards, it would be almost inconceivable for a president's wife to receive similar payments from foreign governments. At the time there was little concern, probably because the public was used to Mrs. Roosevelt's broadcasts.) From October 1941 through April 1942 the broadcasts praised homemakers as "the first line of defense in the war." They urged women to accept food rationing and described Mrs. Roosevelt's visits to defense installations. *Time* magazine said that the programs were carried by more NBC outlets than the popular "Fibber McGee and Molly" comedy show.⁴⁶

The programs, for which Mrs. Roosevelt reportedly received a total of \$28,000, also afforded her an opportunity to defend her civil defense activities. Mrs. Roosevelt told her listeners that a professional dancer like Chaney was needed for a physical fitness program, and labeled her critics enemies of the New Deal. In a broadcast on Feb-

ruary 22, 1942, she called them "the same group which has felt that everything which was done to make life pleasanter and easier for the people as a whole, was in some way useless, and therefore, should be branded as boondoggling." On the one side, she said, were the "virtuous Westbrook Peglers," and on the other, "the boondogglers, so-called. . . . It is a question of privilege or equality."⁴⁷

This marked one of the few times that Mrs. Roosevelt directly attacked Pegler, whom she usually ignored, following her husband's advice not to get into a "bad smells" contest. Pegler mocked the dilettantish quality of Mrs. Roosevelt's column in a devastating parody written a few months later. Written shortly after he had won a Pulitzer prize for an exposé of scandals in organized labor, the parody drew appreciative responses even from Mrs. Roosevelt's friends. Few could dispute the element of haziness in Mrs. Roosevelt's enthusiasms that Pegler encapsulated. He began: "Yesterday morning I took a train to New York and sat beside a gentleman who was reading the 1937 report of the international recording secretary of the World Home Economics and Children's Aptitude and Recreation Foundation of which my very good friend, Dr. Mary McTwaddle, formerly of Vassar, is the American delegate. This aroused my interest and I ventured to remark that I had once had the pleasure of entertaining a group of young people who were deeply concerned with the neglected problem of the unmarried father. It turned out that gentleman himself was an unmarried father so we had a very interesting chat until he got off at Metuchen."⁴⁸

Yet even as Pegler ridiculed Mrs. Roosevelt, he unintentionally presented her in a quasi-favorable light as a well-meaning lady whose heart outran her head. A less vitriolic columnist, Raymond Clapper, raised the same point after Mrs. Roosevelt invited Secretary of Agriculture Claude R. Wickard to appear on her radio program to advise housewives of an impending sugar shortage. The warning led to a rash of hoarding, which prompted Clapper to ask why the shortage was announced before rationing measures were put into effect. "Sometimes Mrs. Roosevelt seems so naive that you wonder whether it isn't something just a little more subtle," Clapper wrote. He suggested that the naivete masked a strong character whose will to do good overpowered her judgment.⁴⁹

In the wake of the civil defense fiasco, Mrs. Roosevelt found

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herself without any definite responsibility in the war effort. Wartime restrictions halted her lecture tours and precluded any new contracts for radio commentaries, although she continued to keep individual speaking engagements as well as to write. Her duties as a hostess multiplied, with royalty and prime ministers parading through the White House. Yet in the midst of hectic days, Mrs. Roosevelt lamented, "I do not seem to be doing anything useful." Soon, however, she would begin a round of travel that would make her a figure known worldwide.⁵⁰



During World War II Eleanor Roosevelt traveled all over the world visiting American troops. This cartoon was drawn by Herblock for NEA shortly after the British commando raid on Dieppe in August 1942. © 1942 Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc.