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Box 188

PSF: Senate

PRIVATE AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 13, 1933.

MEMORANDUM FOR SENATOR ROBINSON

Here is the kind of thing which has made the Meritt appointment impossible and it seems to be largely his own fault. A letter has just come in from an archeologist friend of mine who cares only about Indians long dead and who has been out in the western Indian country. He says:

"Everywhere I went I was asked the question by everyone, 'Who is going to be the next Indian Commissioner?' My answer was 'I do not know.' I was startled and appalled, however, to find that certain groups of the Indian Service itself were and are trying to organize the Indians, particularly the Navajos, into making a demand for Mr. Edgar B. Meritt for Indian Commissioner. The Navajos in the remote districts do not even speak English - all they would be able to understand about a subject of this kind would be what was told to them.

A petition has been, and is being, circulated, expressing the desire for Mr. Meritt to be appointed Indian Commissioner. Many white employees and many of the Indians have refused to sign this, notwithstanding the pressure brought to bear upon them. One Indian said to me, 'We are puzzled, we know so little, why do they want Mr. Meritt back; he did nothing for us all the years he was in office, why should we expect him to now. I told my people this and we did not sign.' Also I was told that this petition would be sent to Senator McAdoo to present to the President. 'Why', I asked in surprise, 'He is from California.' 'Because', I was told, 'he is thought to be close to President Roosevelt.' What was eventually done I do not know, because I left for home.

While in Washington I heard that Mr. Meritt was extremely active in his efforts to obtain every possible influence - even in the Senate itself, to secure the Indian Commissioner-ship. I had dismissed from my mind any possibility of his success, until I found the strength of the effort that was being made for him in the Southwest. I had thought the powerful showing against his administration as Assistant Indian Commissioner had eliminated him for good. He was part of the Fall-Burke-Meritt regime during which the Bursum Bill was presented and defeated. It was one of the worst administrations the Indian has ever had.

It was under Mr. Meritt that there took place the slow starving of the Indian children in the Boarding schools, the overwork and the failure to see that medical attendance was provided when it was imperative. The first recommendation of Lewis Meriam's report on the Indian Administration for the Institute of Government Research was for an emergency appropriation of one million dollars to "improve the quantity and quality of the foods." It was during the Burke-Meritt administration the attempt was made to stop all "Indian dances" in one year." The truth is that you would not merely "stop the dances", you would disintegrate the tribe's social, economic and religious life.

Within the past two or three years there has been a great improvement in the personnel throughout the Southwest pueblos and reservations. It is obvious everywhere. I can see it in the children who look healthy and well fed as a result. There is also a great improvement in the schools, in the hospitals and in those who serve in them. The Indians reflect the change - they have said to me - "They are thinking of us differently - they think of us more kindly", and above all the Indians themselves are far happier, far more contented about their children and the schools.

While one doubts the possibility of Mr. Meritt making himself seem greatly desired or wished for, it is often difficult to know the truth that may underlie a situation. Many Indians have a great distrust of him. The group that is working for Mr. Meritt in the Southwest feel that with his appointment "things as they are" would be undisturbed and that all those appointed during the past three or four years would be instantly removed."

I thought you would like to know this because our friend Meritt seems to have gone about the thing in just the wrong way.

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CONFIDENTIAL

The President's conference with the Senators  
Saturday afternoon, April 14, 1934

**COCOANUT OIL discussion.** The President said he would have to veto if tax remains on cocoanut oil, constituting an act of bad faith, as it does. He suggested that Senator Tydings commission to study the question of reducing the ten year transition period, during next summer, be appointed. This would put the question off a year.

Senator Harrison suggests that the President should have Shallenberger in on cocoanut oil discussion.

**INCOME TAX PUBLICITY.** Senator Black discussed this question - he thinks corporate returns should be publicized completely. The President agreed with this but insisted that publicity on individual returns be restricted to publication of names of those paying on incomes in certain brackets.

**FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE BILL.** This is held up by Congressman Steagall only. Consensus of opinion is that it should be gotten out over the Chairman.

**CRIME BILLS.** These are being held up by one man opposition also. Hatton Sumners feels very strongly on this as a question of "states rights". Suggested that they be brought out on a rule.

**MCLEOD BILL.** This is a bill to pay off depositors in closed banks. The President disapproves. A general discussion of different banking bills followed.

**TO CREATE A MONETARY AUTHORITY BILL.** Thumbs down.

**LOBBYING BILL.** Mention of this led into discussion of several similar bills and where they are at the present time.

**STOCK EXCHANGE BILL.** Senator Fletcher's committee will have a reprint on Monday morning. The President thinks House Bill should be passed first.

WHERE IS THE COMMODITY EXCHANGE BILL?  
the Senate.

Now in Agriculture Committee in

MUNICIPAL BANKRUPTCY BILL.  
any time we can get to it.

Ready and we can take it up now  
Opposition headed by Senator Van Nuys.

CORPORATE BANKRUPTCY BILL.

Senator Robinson said, "I don't  
think it will take more than three or four hours to dispose of it." Some  
doubt about when they can get to it. Senator Harrison says probably Monday.

WAGNER LABOR BILLS.

There is intense opposition in  
both Houses - no end of session in sight if they are taken up.

The President discussed this at  
length. "It is my thought that we could take the Wagner Bill and simplify  
it to about two pages and set up in the Department of Labor a Mediation Board  
with the right to set up additional Boards as the requirements might be --  
regional boards or central boards - depending upon the number of cases which  
come before it. I think I would make it compulsory mediation -- permanent  
boards - you would draw from panels from time to time. This is a case of a  
government mediation board like the railroad set up.

"Then, in addition to that, under  
the Labor Department, a court of arbitration - to be composed of one person  
from each city and an independent person appointed by the Secretary of Labor  
so if mediation fails the thing would have to go to arbitration. You don't  
need, in my opinion, to define Section 7-a any further. I defined 7-a when  
I settled the automobile strike. These codes are evolutionary. We  
probably have 30 or 40 different methods which are being experimented with.  
We are not ready yet to have one standard code for everybody -- and it is  
going to take another couple of years - we may have to have eventually 2 or 3  
different kinds of codes."

Senator Walsh: "What do you think of having a study of this  
whole subject made through the recess?"

The President: "All right. We can get by without legislation,  
if Bob could be persuaded to take his Bill and say, 'I would like to have  
7/8 of this studied until next session.'"

"Get through as much as you can of Eastman's  
proposal without controversy. Leave out stuff you can't get through.

TARIFF.

As soon as we can get this sugar  
bill out of the way, we can take up the Tariff Bill. Senator Robinson  
intends to call a Democratic conference. The President said "I feel that  
it must be passed, very strongly, absolutely. I think we are going to have  
a very large percentage of all our exports excluded unless we get some kind  
of elastic tariff. I don't think the tariff will affect New England  
at all - it think it is going to increase the exports from New England and I  
think it will improve industry.

BONUS BILL.

Has gone to the Finance Committee,  
where it is sleeping very peacefully.

DISCUSSION ON SILVER

The President started with review of the gold transactions - how with gold they were dealing with a known factor. "In the case of silver you don't know one damn thing - Key to the contrary, notwithstanding. We don't know how much silver there is in the world. It may be 11 billion ounces and it may be 15 billion ounces - and we don't know where it is held."

"Governments and banks held 95% of all the gold in the world. Governments and banks hold only a very small percentage of the silver in the world. The amount of floating silver is not known and I don't think the record on production is accurate."

These arguments were contested by Senator Pittman. The President read extensively from a statement prepared by the Treasury Department regarding exports to China. He called attention particularly to the ratio that the exports to China bear to the whole exports of the United States.

The President continued, "Suppose, for the sake of argument, that the Congress in June, 1933 had said 'You must do this with gold and you must do that with gold' - we wouldn't have gotten anywhere on this - we have to feel our way. I don't want my hand forced. We are thinking of silver as money, not as a commodity."

"What does this Bill do? It directs the purchase of fifty million ounces a month until 750 million ounces have been bought or until the price of silver has gone up to \$1.29. The floating surplus of silver will be dumped on us and I don't think it is going to raise the price of silver. What you are trying to do, Key, is that the United States of America is making an offer to the world. What does that do toward establishing a bi-metallic base?" The President read further from the prepared statement, adding, "If we are turned down by the other nations, then we can go it alone."

Senator Pittman: The only possibility, in my opinion, if inflation.

The President: Why should not all nations inflate together? The next logical step is for us to try to get the other nations to agree to a bi-metallic or fused base. I don't want my hand forced on it. I can tell you confidentially that this thing is not anything brand new. If any one nation tries to control silver they may get an awful sock in the eye. I think the first step should be to try to get the other nations to join in the purchasing. I have the right to go out tomorrow and buy a million dollars worth of silver.

Things are going damn well at this particular time - don't forget it. And if you put through mandatory legislation on silver - in the first place I doubt if it will have anything like the effect on world prices you think it will. In other words, you are guessing. Here you are trying to pull a more drastic experiment on a world scale and you are offering to buy all the world surplus of silver. It is going to have a very serious effect on the confidence of the people in this country because nobody would know what the dollar would be worth. It is purely a shot in the dark.

S I L V E R Discussion (Continued)

With the same objective you have, if you will let me work this out by international agreement you can establish silver on a bi-metallic agreement, I hope. If we fail, then maybe we will try to talk about our ability to do it all by ourselves. I am in favor of a bi-metallic base.

We have taken the initiative - we have taken two steps in this direction. We got an agreement. That agreement then required the second step, which was ratification. The nations have not put into effect a general national policy to use an increased amount of silver in their coinage. It won't be done if we start to buy an unlimited amount of silver.

The President asked the Secretary of the Treasury to speak about the Dies Bill in its original form. He brought out that this is not discretionary, it is mandatory. The President reiterated that the first step he would take would be to talk with the other nations and see if we could not get an agreement. "If you take my compromise, without adding a pyramid on top of it, that is all right."

Conference attended by

The President  
The Vice President  
Senator Robinson  
Harrison  
Glass  
McAdoo  
Loneragan  
Black  
Murphy  
Walsh  
McKellar  
Clark  
Pittman  
Wheeler  
Connally  
Dill  
Smith  
Fletcher

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**MUNITION MANUFACTURERS  
SHOULD BE CURBED**

**NO TREATY, NO LAW MADE BY MAN OR GOD  
CONTROLS MUNITION MANUFACTURERS**

*File*

Speech of  
**Hon. William E. Borah**  
of Idaho

In the  
Senate of the United States

Monday, March 5, 1934

(Not printed at Government expense)



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REVISIONS  
SHOULD BE  
MADE  
IN THE  
FUTURE  
TO THE  
FOLLOWING  
STATEMENTS

Speech of  
Hon. William E. Borah

SPEECH  
OF  
HON. WILLIAM E. BORAH

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, I desire to discuss a subject which seems to me entirely relevant to the bill which is now before the Senate, and that is the position, power, and influence, and activities of munition manufacturers in the building up of armaments, and in questions affecting peace and accord between the nations of the world. So long as the munition manufacturers exercise the influence which they now wield with governments we shall make little progress in reducing armaments or holding navies down to a reasonable program. It is well known that one of the great contributing causes to the World War was the naval race between Great Britain and Germany. But the naval building program of itself, in my opinion, did not so much contribute to the estrangement and the ill feeling between Great Britain and Germany as did the propaganda, sordid and vicious, which was constantly in those days disseminated by the munition manufacturers. They carried on with ability and persistency a campaign of misrepresentation.

It is now known that many of the reports which went to Germany as to what Great Britain was doing with reference to preparation for war and which went to Great Britain as to what Germany was doing with reference to the building up of her navy and her preparation for war constituted false propaganda, issued and disseminated by the great munition manufacturers of Europe. They were seeking a market for their instruments of murder and that market was war. Those men then, as they do today, held positions of great prestige and influence, and they were often successful, as I believe they are at this time, in inducing public men and statesmen to accept as facts the baseless statements of their false propaganda. When one turns back and reads the numerous statements, some of them made by public men in England, as to the program of Germany and vice versa the program of England, many of them are now found to be utterly unfounded. It is also true that those which were unfounded and have been shown in history to be without support came from those who were interested in selling munitions to the respective nations.

I read yesterday in one of the newspapers a statement coming from an admiral of the Japanese Navy which is

so similar to the statements made prior to the actual breaking out of the great World War that one is prone to believe that it had its inspiration in the same source as had those which preceded the outbreak of that war. The Japanese admiral says:

The United States has now restored normal relations with Soviet Russia. We naturally think that the restoration of normal diplomatic relations between them, two good neighbors of Japan, involves a scheme to surround Japan for some military purpose.

In other words, it is now being propagandized that the recognition of Russia by the United States has as its ultimate object and purpose the surrounding of Japan for military purposes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BORAH. I yield.

Mr. CLARK. Has it not been the Senator's observation that for the last 25 years, at least, every time a big Navy bill came before either the House or the Senate of the United States it was invariably accompanied by propaganda as to the possibility or probability of a war with some foreign power, usually with Japan?

Mr. BORAH. Yes; that is true. The first disagreement I ever had with President Theodore Roosevelt was when a vessel-building program was proposed in the Senate. When I expressed my disapproval of it I was informed that we were upon the verge of a war with Japan.

I was proceeding to say, Mr. President, that this statement purporting to come from an admiral of the Japanese Navy, in my opinion, is the result of some such propaganda as that which emanates from munition manufacturers of the world. No sane, thoughtful, healthy mind knowing anything about the attitude or disposition of the people of the United States would for a moment entertain the view that the recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States had an ulterior purpose with reference to Japan or that we in doing so entertained anything in the way of an unpeaceful attitude toward the people of Japan. The people of the United States desire nothing but peace with reference to the great Japanese nation, and those who disseminate the propaganda that we are disposed to formulate our policies and our program with a view of attacking Japan must do so not because they are misled, but because they have sordid ulterior motives such as have characterized the great munitions manufacturers throughout the history of the world whenever an occasion of this kind has arisen.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BORAH. I yield.

Mr. BONE. May I express the hope that as the Senator from Idaho proceeds he will discuss the feasibility of this Government preparing for war in its own plants? I mean

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by that, the public manufacturers of munitions and the instrumentalities of war. I think it will be opportune to discuss that question at this time, in face of the pending bill.

Mr. BORAH. I thank the Senator. I am of the opinion my general proposition may include the suggestion of the able Senator.

Mr. President, everything at the present time points unfortunately to a naval race, to a competitive naval-building program. I do not know what can be done, or whether anything can be done to mollify the situation, but I do think that, in view of the circumstances as they now present themselves with reference to the naval-building programs of several great nations, it is worth while to stop and consider what we can do with reference to controlling the evil, pernicious influence of those who will make vast gains in case a disturbance shall occur. A naval-building program means that the munition manufacturers will aggravate the situation in every conceivable way.

A short time ago one of the leading statesmen of Great Britain, Winston Churchill, declared that Great Britain should denounce the London Naval Treaty in order to enable Great Britain to build a navy in proportion to her needs and in harmony with her desires.

We are informed by the press that a very strong sentiment now obtains in Great Britain with a view to denouncing that treaty. On yesterday the ex-Premier of Great Britain said:

An understanding on armaments is also remote and the present situation will inevitably lead to a competitive increase in arms. Agitation in Britain for a more powerful air fleet and a larger number of cruisers is growing in momentum and its influence will be felt in the coming budget.

In the magazine known as Contemporary Japan we read an article by a prominent Japanese publicist who said:

It is for this reason that the present writer wishes to state that Japan cannot accept any arrangement at the forthcoming conference which seeks to perpetuate the present ratio of 5-5-3, the inadequacy of which for purposes of Japan's national defense he hopes to demonstrate in what follows.

A vast amount of material might be gathered and presented to disclose that at the present time we seem to be entering upon a real naval race or a competitive armament race instead of making progress toward disarmament. A naval race or anything which looks like a naval race is a Christmas holiday season for the munition manufacturers. They take advantage of that kind of situation to circulate just such statements as I read a few moments ago as to the evil purposes of the United States in recognizing Russia, and to circulate such statements as are calculated to augment the purposes on the part of the respective nations to build armaments and to bring about a greater estrangement and a deeper feeling of resentment on the part of the respective nations.

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I have reached the conclusion that it would be about as absurd to turn the War Department or the Navy Department over to private interests as it is to leave the manufacture and sale of the instrumentalities of warfare in the hands of private interests. The influence of these interests is so very great that they can directly shape and dominate the policy of a nation toward war and away from peace. Yea, more, they can shape and dominate the policy with reference to budgets for armaments. So long as that is true—and it will be true so long as profits are made out of war; so long as war means vast gains, so long as vast corporations have the influence which they have, that will continue to be true, and the only remedy, in my opinion, is for the Government to take control and dominate the manufacture and output of armaments, either naval or land. This can be brought about by the Government manufacturing armaments or by adopting a policy of licensing under which the Government could control the amount of armaments built and when and to whom they might be sold. This would involve our establishing our own policy and, if possible, extending the policy through treaty. In some way we should seek to eliminate profits in the matter of manufacturing the instrumentalities of warfare.

Let us survey some of the facts with reference to the armament manufacturers and the influence they exert upon the expenditures which the people are called upon to make for navies and armies, and the influence which they exert in breaking down disarmament conferences, in blocking all efforts to bring about peace and a better understanding among the nations of the world. Armament manufacturers are in every sense of the word international criminals engaged in disseminating such false facts as are calculated to bring their fellow man into war. When they bring him into war they reap the reward of their influence.

During the period of depression, while millions of men and women walk the streets ill-clad and half-starved, while governments have been unable to pay their debts, while educational institutions have been starved of funds, it is a fact that the munition manufacturers have been realizing profits of 12 and 20 and 30 percent during the entire period of the depression. While the world was struggling to get from under the catastrophe of the great World War and to relieve itself of the untold and immeasurable burdens which it imposed, these manufacturers have been engaged in disseminating the news which brings another world war. I know of no way to restrain or control them except for the Government to take from them the power to manufacture, to take it over by the Government or to take it under license so they can put out only the amount which the Government itself determines they shall put out.

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In an article which appears in this month's *Fortune* a great publication which came to my desk today, I read:

According to the best accountancy figures, it cost about \$25,000 to kill a soldier during the World War. There is one class of big business men in Europe that never rose up to denounce the extravagance of the Government in this regard, to point out that when death is left unhampered as an enterprise for the individual initiative of gangsters, the cost of a single killing seldom exceeds \$100. The reason for the silence of these big business men is quite simple: The killing is their business; armaments are their stock and trade; governments are their customers; the ultimate consumers of their products are, historically, almost as often their compatriots as their enemies. That does not matter. The important point is that every time a bullet-shell fragment finds its way into the brain, the heart, or the intestines of a man in the front line, a great part of the \$25,000, much of it profits, finds its way into the pocket of the armament maker.

It is not alone that they are engaged even at a reasonable profit in an enterprise which would be a matter in itself sufficiently serious for consideration, but the exorbitant profits and gains which they make in furnishing instruments to maim, to destroy their fellow men, is something almost unbelievable.

For without a shadow of a doubt there is at the moment in Europe a huge and subversive force that lies behind the army and counterarmy of nations: Their mines, smelters, armament works, holding companies, and banks, entangled in an international embrace, yet working inevitably for the destruction of such little internationalism as the world has achieved so far. The control of these myriad companies vests, finally, in not more than a handful of men whose power, in some ways, reaches above the power of the State itself. Thus, French interests not only sold arms to Hungary in flat violation of the Treaty of Trianon, but when Hungary defaulted on the bill the armors got the French government to lend Hungary the money to pay the French armors.

They are proceeding in utter disregard of treaties. No treaty, no law made by man or God, controls them, and when the default arises, growing out of the violation of the treaty, they have sufficient influence upon their government to make their government, their own taxpayers, get behind the default which has resulted from the violation of the treaty. They break down laws; they break down governments; they kill human beings; they trample upon everything which gets in their way, human or divine; and they do it for gain—nothing but sordid gain.

Thus, too, the great Czechoslovakian armament company, controlled by Frenchmen, promoted the rise of Hitler in Germany, and contributed millions of marks to Hitler's campaign.

Manufacturers of armaments in France promoting the rise of Hitler in Germany; manufacturers of armaments in France shipping armaments to Hitler, and then contributing millions of marks to Hitler's campaign!

These same Frenchmen own newspapers that did more than any others to enrage France against Hitler. It is time we had a dramatic personae of arms, and the men.

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Now, what is the game? Here are France and Germany in a tense situation, the result of centuries of disagreement. The munitions manufacturers ship armaments to Germany, to Hitler. They have the influence to help build up the Hitler regime. They loaned money to the Hitler campaign, not because they cared for Hitler but because they knew it would furnish a place to sell their armaments. They betray their own country; they sell their own people's security; they coin the blood of their fellow citizens.

Capone, Dillinger on the highway, are not more heartless and bloodthirsty than the man who builds up armaments in another nation for the purpose of sending his own people to the front that they may furnish the means by which to murder them.

This magazine—this is a most extraordinary article, and I shall read only brief paragraphs from it—gives a list of the different munitions manufacturers—the Krupp people in Germany, the Bethlehem Steel Co. in this country—and, on that subject, says:

We have . . . our Colt's Patent Firearms Manufacturing Co., which supplies machine guns as well as squirrel rifles, which declared an extra dividend in 1933; our Remington Arms Co., . . . whose output of firearms and ammunition together is one third of United States production. And we have our Bethlehem Steel Co.

Bethlehem's Mr. Charles M. Schwab dismayed the cadets of West Point in 1927 by saying: "Today the Bethlehem Steel Co. has definitely abandoned any thought of ever again engaging in the manufacture of ordnance except in times of great national emergency." Such times are apparently with us now—have, in fact, been continually with us since Mr. Schwab unloosed this shaft of oratory. In the official listing of Bethlehem's products . . . you will find armor plate, projectiles, gun and shell forgings, battleships, battle cruisers, scout cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and airplane carriers, all listed as products of Bethlehem's plants—

And so forth.

Then we have a description of Vickers-Armstrongs in England. This article says:

The sun never sets upon Vickers. It has its factories in Rumania where, for greater convenience, Sir Herbert Lawrence is a director of the Bank of Rumania (and Vickers to some degree allies itself with the Czechoslovakian armament firm of Skoda). In Italy it latinizes its name to Società Vickers-Terni; in Japan it has as a subsidiary the Japan Steel Works, and thus allies itself with the Japanese armament and industrial firm of Mitsui. There are Vickers factories or subsidiary companies in Spain, Canada, Ireland, Holland . . . and New Zealand.

In other words, while the pantomime called the International Disarmament Conference is going on in Geneva, this tremendous power located in Great Britain has spread out its network into every nation in the world, and is interested in selling its armaments and is selling its armaments, fit for no other purpose than carrying on war, to all the nations with which the conference is undertaking to bring about disarmament.

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Through these industrial and financial interlockings, Vickers-Armstrongs conducts its affairs. They are profitable affairs—for as the agreement with Sun Insurance indicates, a profit of some \$4,500,000 a year is considered so unsatisfactory that insurance must be carried against it. And England's aristocracy takes pleasure in clipping its coupons. Among the more prominent shareholders of Vickers or allied concerns in 1932 were: Right Honorable Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. P., winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1925; and Sir John Simon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (but who sold out his shares last year). In 1914 the list was even more imposing. It included that lofty philosopher, Lord Balfour, . . . Lord Curzon, and also Lord Kinnaird (president of the Y.M.C.A.), three bishops, and Dean Inge, of St. Paul's. It was in that same year that Socialist Philip Snowden spoke in Parliament:

Listen to his words:

It would be impossible to throw a stone—

Says the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer—

on the benches opposite without hitting a member who is a shareholder in one or the other of these firms.

Great opportunity to disarm. No wonder the disarmament conference and disarmament have come to be a kind of an organized piece of hypocrisy. There is lying back of it, constantly in operation, the influences which work against anything in the nature of disarmament. It is not to their interest to see disarmament. They see, therefore, that nothing is really accomplished; and there, Senators, is the influence which in some way or other men must control before we will secure any success in disarmament; and, secondly, before we will have any real assurance of amity among the nations of the world.

What does a declaration of good will, such as the President of the United States announced when the recognition of Russia took place, amount to in the way of arousing friendly feeling and sentiment as against what is given out, purporting to be the actual fact, that the United States is seeking to surround Japan and to enforce her military dominance upon Japan? A more cowardly or infamous falsehood could not be circulated, and yet you can imagine what effect it has among the masses in the great nation of Japan. If the lips which publish or pronounce such falsehoods cannot be silenced—and they cannot be silenced so long as there is gain—we will not have any real amity or good will among the nations of the world.

Another paragraph or two from this article, which I trust will be very generally read, and I shall pass from it.

This article says:

France stands at the very top. She stands at the top in the amount her Government spends on armaments; at the top in the amount of arms she exports to other nations; at the top also by virtue of the billion francs she has spent to build a military Chinese wall of forts, many of them underground, along her eastern boundaries.

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We read just a few minutes ago how, at the very time France was seeking to make herself secure against the invasion of Hitler's forces, the French manufacturers were selling armaments to Hitler, and were furnishing money for Hitler's campaign. What a medley of crime!

She stands today as a queer paradox: France, the democracy, a quiet pastureland for the world's most famous peasantry, coexisting with France, the greatest military power of modern times, with an army which all but equals in number and far surpasses in equipment Germany's vast militaristic machine of 1914.

At the head of this latter France stands the figure of Gen. Maxime Weygand (vice president of the higher war council, inspector general of the army, possessor of the grand cross of the legion of honor, member of the French Academy), ruling an army (including colonials) of 650,000 men. But, despite his decorations, his medals, his orders, and the power he has, once a new war begins, to order several million men to death, General Weygand represents not the urge for war but, on the contrary, France's desire for peace—by means of "security." The French threat to the peace of the world lies elsewhere—in France. For in France, and only in France, a new situation exists: The armament-makers are no longer, like Alfred Krupp or Sir Basil Zaharoff, in his younger days, humble petitioners of government, hat-in-hand solicitors of orders—their influence is so infiltrated into the industrial, social, and political affairs of the nation that they have power in some ways beyond the state; a power so mighty that they are all but able, for their own individualistic reasons, to sweep the state along in a course of action against its own will.

They are displeased by publicity and are well able to enforce their displeasure. But we must now displease one of them and present the figure of M. Charles Prosper Eugène Schneider.

Charles Prosper Eugène Schneider is a man of many offices—the executive head of hundreds of armament firms throughout Europe. He is the president of the Schneider-Creusot Co., armament manufacturers with mines, smelters, and foundries scattered throughout France. He is director of the Bank de l'Union Parisienne, one of whose most profitable sources of business is the financing of loans for armaments. In 1920 he founded and became the president of l'Union Européenne Industrielle et Financière—a holding company capitalized at 140,000,000 francs. Through it Schneider-Creusot controls 182 French companies that manufacture heavy ordnance, machine guns, tanks, shells, ammunition, and warfare chemicals. Out of the \$300,000,000 which, at the most conservative guess, represents the annual billing of France's armament concerns, Schneider-Creusot or subsidiaries take the lion's share.

But l'Union Européenne has an even more important function. Through it Schneider-Creusot reaches out to control 230 armament and allied enterprises outside France. The greatest of these concerns is that glittering jewel in the crown of the principal ideal state that came into being in 1919 as the result of the self-determination of oppressed people. The state is Czechoslovakia, and its jewel is Skoda.

In other words, the French control the munitions manufactures of all the nations now allied with France, either directly or indirectly, in what we might call a "military alliance."

Mr. SHIPSTEAD. And they are also members of the League of Nations.

Mr. BORAH. Yes; France is for the League.

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Let me read what Lord Cecil said on the question of disarmament, speaking sometime ago.

Therein lay one difficulty. But why could concerted action toward disarmament make so little progress?

One important reason was first laid bare by Lord Robert Cecil. He said:

There is a very sinister feature to all the disarmament discussions. I refer to the tremendous power wielded against all the proposals by armament firms. We must aim at getting rid of this immense instrument in the maintenance of suspicion. Yet in 1932 the Disarmament Conference was enriched by the presence of Mr. Charles Dumont of Schneider-Creusot, president of the Schneider-controlled Banque Franco-Japonaise, on the French delegation. The British delegation was similarly benefited by the advice of Col. A. G. C. Dawney, the brother of a director of Vickers-Armstrongs, and now the political supervisor of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

If the armament business were conducted by an outlawed band of international gangsters, the problem would be simple to define. The difficulty is that precisely the opposite is the case. The armament business is a part of the most essential industries of industrialized nations—steel and chemicals. But even so the problem does not become acute until you have a nation in which the biggest part or a very, very large part of these essential industries is the manufacture of the actual munitions of war. Such is the case in France, and also in Czechoslovakia.

Also in Great Britain, also to a marked extent in the United States. And yet we talk about disarmament and peace.

I said a few moments ago that during the depression these great munitions manufacturers have enjoyed a profit of from 12 to 20 and 30 percent. That is not to be compared, however, with the profits they enjoy during a struggle in any part of the world, and particularly when it is a struggle such as that which began in 1914.

Mr. President, I venture to believe, and I have no hesitancy in saying, that when we shall have passed this bill, we will see circulated by someone interested in these munition manufactures, possibly imposing upon public men sufficiently to believe that they are true, statements to the effect that the United States, in addition to recognizing Russia for the purpose of aggression upon Japan, is completing her Navy for the purpose of attacking Japan; and against that the world must be prepared to stand, or we will drift into a situation which we and the whole world may have cause to regret.

Mr. President, I read a paragraph or two from other publications. I now read from an article appearing in the Living Age, from an article issued by the Union of Democratic Control, London. I read briefly:

While scientists, acting on the instructions of the politicians, make war more and more deadly, the armament manufacturers and the makers of material essential to this manufacture watch their profits grow. While almost every other form of industry is

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in the slough of depression, the shares of armament firms improve in value.

The Aeroplane, a paper which may be fairly described as the unofficial, and sometimes surprisingly outspoken, voice of the Air Ministry, says:

The manufacturers of both aeroplanes and engines may hope for increased turnover and profits a year or so hence when the Disarmament Conference has faded out and the program of expansion (of armaments) is allowed to proceed.

Does anyone suppose that they are listless or indifferent in seeing that the Disarmament Conference fades out? Has anyone any doubt that the inability of these nations to get together has been largely influenced by these same forces? The peoples of the world do not want to go to war. As Woodrow Wilson once said, the peoples of the nations do not make war. They desire peace. But they are not permitted to have that which they desire, because sitting on the throne of power, speaking from the source of authority, are those who make their unspeakable fortunes out of the fact that we do not have disarmament, and that we do not have peace.

I quote from an article by George Hoog, on Steel Against Peace, the following:

During the last half century many monarchies have collapsed, but monarchy itself is not dead. It has simply changed its name. We are now living under a capitalistic monarchy which, like all others, has its kings and dynasties. It even has its princes of the blood, cannon merchants, the purpose of whose industries is to fill the charnel houses of all nations impartially by means of war. They are the real aristocrats of modern times. Before the war they included four principal dynasties:

Vickers and Armstrong in England, Schneider in France, Krupp and Stumm in Germany, and Putilov in Russia. Naturally the governments treated such powerful families like aristocrats.

In fact, all governments did them honor, no matter what the nationality of these princes of the blood might happen to be. For princes demand international courtesy.

Thus Napoleon III made the head of the Krupp dynasty an officer in the French Legion of Honor. And, of course, the German Emperor had to treat the Krupps at least as well as the French Emperor did, so that William II offered one of the Krupps the title of prince. But, since Krupp was more accustomed to financial activity than to court titles, he refused the honor. However, he accepted for his daughter what he had refused for himself.

Again, this article says:

The question of the labor member of Parliament from Liverpool applied to English industrialists. Here is something about French industrialists. "We bring back from Geneva," wrote the deputy, Pierre Cot, in the Republic for February 21, 1932, "a piece of information that stands in no danger of being denied. Here it is: The House of Schneider has received orders for heavy artillery from Japan."

One of the gentlemen attending the disarmament conference was unable to bring anything home of any moment with reference to peace, but he was able to notify his associates and those in interest that he had brought home a

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large order for military supplies to Japan, and our people, our own manufacturing institutions, are now selling on a very large scale military equipment in the Orient, to both Japan and China.

Mr. President, I have no expectation whatever of any contest or conflict between the United States and Japan. I do not believe that even the munitions manufacturers can bring about such a war. Suppose, however, it should happen. Suppose such a war should come. The American soldier would be torn limb from limb, disemboweled by the munitions sold by his own compatriots in the United States to the enemy. And if war should come, even the approaching hour of conflict would not stay the insatiable greed of the men engaged in the manufacture of munitions. To the very hour when the embargo would be laid they would be selling and sending away their munitions, which munitions would be used for the purpose of enabling the enemy to destroy the American boys.

Mr. President, the thought of making profits out of war, of building fortunes out of the misery and the sorrows of the maimed, the broken in health, and the insane is revolting enough to anyone who has left in him a spark of human sympathy or a sense of decency. But to foment discord and to spread false and sordid statements, to engender bitterness and suspicion and hate and fear among nations, all that such profits may be made and enlarged reaches the dead level of human depravity. There is nothing lower in the scale of human avarice.

Mr. President, I ask permission to print two editorials from the Baltimore Sun.

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

The matter referred to is as follows:

(From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Mar. 4, 1934)

#### REPETITION

The State Department's latest announcement of American policy on disarmament repeats in weariness what President Roosevelt said with enthusiasm in his address to the heads of all nations on May 16 last.

Much water has gone over the diplomatic dams since that earlier pronouncement. Speaking through Norman H. Davis, our Government has offered to modify its traditional doctrine about the freedom of the seas as our contribution to the solution of Europe's problem of security. Europe in its turn has gone from hope to despair as a result of Hitler's disturbing influence on German policy. The Disarmament Conference, which the President sought to save by his proclamation of last May, is now concerned more with finding a formula to camouflage its failure than with concluding a treaty of positive disarmament. It is not surprising, therefore, that the State Department should be disposed merely to reiteration of what has been said before. Nor is it surprising that our policy should seem to be inspired by benevolence rather than by determination.

The negotiations of the Disarmament Conference are now in reality subordinate in importance to the question of German

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policy. It may be possible for the conference to find some way to check the rapidity of the rearmament to which the Hitler Government in Germany is dedicating its energies. But positive reduction in the forces of any of the other European governments seems out of the question in the light of the new German attitude. And as for a pact of nonaggression, do we not already have the Kellogg Pact outlawing war as an instrument of national policy? If the nations will not honor that, of what avail to create another obligation of the same tenor?

This is not to say that any blame attaches to our own Government for the impasse which exists. Washington has done its part by the Disarmament Conference time and time again. President Hoover presented a formula in 1932. Mr. Roosevelt presented another in 1933. There have been occasions when we seemed to move half-heartedly and when a little more get-up on the part of our spokesmen might have exercised a favorable influence. But, by and large, the distressing situation by which we are now confronted is due not to anything in the disarmament negotiations in themselves, but to the failure of Europe to make readjustments in the post-war system while there was yet time.

Our own intransigence on debts and reparations perhaps contributed to the failure, but our course in the Disarmament Conference is, at least, as clear if not clearer than that of any other first-rate power.

[From the Baltimore Sun of Feb. 12, 1934.]

#### TRAGIC NAVAL POLICIES

Next year or early in 1936 there should be held a new naval conference for the purpose of revising and extending the Washington and London treaties. We say "should be held" and not "will be held", for there have lately been accumulating many indications that the conference may never be called. In that event the existing naval treaties will automatically lapse and we shall then without question be treated to a spirited competition in ship construction such as the world has never witnessed. And for this, if it really comes to pass, we will have the tragic naval policies of the three great maritime powers to blame.

The British, strangely enough, have until now pursued a less aggressive course than either of their two rivals. Although the admiralty and an influential section of the press, disturbed by the huge American and Japanese programs, have been demanding new ships, the MacDonald-Baldwin government has been reluctant to encourage them. The British program has been expanded somewhat, but by no means on a scale comparable with the Japanese and American extensions. Now, however, the British are reaching the end of their patience. Spurred on by men like Winston Churchill, who is demanding that the Geneva Conference be dropped and the naval treaties be forthwith denounced, and who is said to have the support of a majority of the Conservative (Government) Party, spokesmen for the cabinet have given notice that England will increase its armaments if its latest effort—the Simon plan providing for partial rearmament of Germany and abolition of all "offensive" weapons—should fail. According to Stanley Baldwin, "If we fail, the Government will feel their duty to look after the interests of this country, first and quickly."

Meanwhile the Japanese admirals are going their perilous way quite without regard to its probable consequences. The liberal and moderate elements in Japan have been speaking out a bit more bravely of late, but this has not chastened the admirals one whit or reduced the naval budget a single yen. Though warned by business men and responsible Government officials that war will almost certainly follow if the admiralty continues along its present course, the Minister of the Navy, Admiral Osumi, has not for a moment stopped discussing the ways and means by

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which the Japanese Navy is preparing for what he calls "the extraordinary situation" on the seas. The Navy, he declares, will go ahead with its building plans, though it knows that these plans exceed the limits set down in the Washington and London Treaties.

Nor does there seem to be anything that will stop the Roosevelt administration. It is not yet clear whether the administration actually means to build all of the ships included in its present program or intends to keep most of them on paper for bargaining purposes at the 1935 conference. In either case the success of the conference is bound to be endangered, for it does not seem likely that real success can be built on a "big-stick" policy. The Roosevelt program has aroused Japanese liberal opinion to active realization of the foolhardiness of a naval race with America, but since the Japanese admirals, far from being deflected from their course, seem only the more determined to carry on with their own plans, it should be obvious that as a threat the Roosevelt program is doomed to failure.

It would be worse than futile to hold the 1935 conference with the three maritime powers in their present frame of mind. It is imperative, nevertheless, that the conference be held. Preparations should begin at once, and the first step in that direction should consist in a resolution by the three countries that in order to show they are sincere in desiring naval disarmament they will promptly call a halt to their senseless and costly building programs.

45982-9976

A. W. MACE

ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

LUDLUM STEEL CO.  
WATERSVILLE, N. Y.

PSF: Senate

ack  
1/3/15

85 South Pine Avenue,  
Albany, New York.

Dear Mr. Howe:

I do not have the privilege of knowing you personally but I feel that I know you somewhat through having read much that you have written including, "Life More Abundant", Cosmopolitan - April.

Will you do me the favor to read and to see that the President actually reads a telegram sent yesterday of which the attached is a copy? I happen to know that it was sent in great sincerity and it comes from those whose voice, I believe, the President wants to hear.

A brief acknowledgment direct to the Chairman of each group of those men will mean much to them.

So that you may know what my contact is I attach my card.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Mace

To:  
Mr. Louis McHenry Howe,  
Secretary to the President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.

Wagner-Biss



L.H.  
We have received more  
than 10,000 telegrams  
protesting Wagner Bill -  
All have been sent to Dept. of Labor.

April 25, 1934.

My dear Mr. Mace:

I am sorry to have so long delayed  
acknowledging your note. However, I feel  
quite certain that the President saw the  
message sent to him. I cannot definitely  
say however due to the fact that I was ill  
at the time your message arrived.

Very sincerely yours,

LOUIS McH. HOWE  
Secretary to the President

A. W. Mace, Esq.,  
85 South Pine Avenue,  
Albany,  
New York.

1b

# POSTAL TELEGRAPH - COMMERCIAL CABLES

RECEIVED AT

STANDARD TIME  
INDICATED ON THIS MESSAGE

TELEGRAMS  
TO ALL  
AMERICA



CABLEGRAMS  
TO ALL  
THE WORLD

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless otherwise indicated by signal in the check or in the address.

|      |                 |
|------|-----------------|
| BLUE | DAY LETTER      |
| NL   | NIGHT LETTER    |
| NITE | NIGHT TELEGRAM  |
| LCO  | DEFERRED        |
| CLT  | CABLE LETTER    |
| WLT  | WEEK END LETTER |

Form 105

COPY

March 26, 1934.

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

As representatives of the Employees' Representation Organization of a small steel manufacturing company employing over one thousand men we, meeting in full committee, desire to advise you that we consider our organization as most effective in continuing and further improving the amicable relations which have existed for years between us and the management of the Ludlum Steel Co. and that our independent and absolutely self-governing organization can best develop further benefits to us as employees. Stop. We therefore beg the privilege of protesting the enactment of Wagner Bill S2926 which would mean the ultimate wiping out of all independent Employee Representation Organizations such as ours which are now authorized under the National Recovery Act and would be destructive of other rights which we as citizens cherish Stop We respectfully ask your serious consideration of our honest and considered opinion as employees.

(Signed) Joseph P. Bover, Rolling  
Allen C. Depew, Shipping  
W. H. Vrooman, Office  
Robert J. Finn, Grinders  
Peter Scharff, Trucks  
Francis Black, Hammers  
James Corbett, Maintenance  
Antonio DeCotis, Melters  
George Adams, Chairman

THE COMMITTEE, WATERVLIET. N.Y.

Carl Swanders, Melting  
James Lascola, Grinding  
Chester Bailey, Warehouse  
Charles White, Electrical  
Milo Bailey, Mechanical  
Howard Thunnell, Hammers  
Albert Highley, Rolling  
Alfred Weimer, Office & Lab.  
Louis Holtz, Chairman

THE COMMITTEE, DUNKIRK. N.Y.

[ PSF, U.S. Senate ]

PSF: Senate

DIVISION OF PRESS INTELLIGENCE  
FOR THE  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

November 14 1934

Hon. Louis McHenry Howe  
White House

Dear Mr. Howe:

I am enclosing memorandum on the Democratic Representatives and Senators elected for the first time.

As you told me, this has been a tough assignment. You will notice that we have found no information about some of these gentlemen, but we are still on the job and I hope to have a complete report tomorrow afternoon.

I thought you would like to have these tonight.

Sincerely yours,

*Katherine C. Blackburn*  
Katherine C. Blackburn  
Director

KCB:s

MEMORANDUM ON DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATORS ELECTED

TO 74TH CONGRESS FOR FIRST TIME

ALABAMA

Representatives

(Judge) Samuel F. Hobbs Opponent was Charles R. Robinson, former U. S. District  
4th Dist., Selma Attorney for Northern Alabama. Member of Advisory Com-  
mittee of Democratic leaders appointed by state campaign  
committee to conduct Alabama campaign before general  
election. Ran on straight Democratic platform, "support  
Roosevelt" ticket.

(Major) Joe Starnes Opponent was Dr. J. C. Swann, chairman of Republican  
5th Dist., Guntersville State Committee. Member of Advisory Committee of Dem-  
ocratic leaders appointed by state Democratic campaign  
committee. Ran on straight party ticket.

ARKANSAS

John L. McClellan Announced intention of supporting New Deal.  
6th Dist.

CALIFORNIA

John McGroarty Opposed by William Evans. Support of Recovery Program;  
11th Dist. old age pension, modeled after the Townsend Plan. "I am  
firmly behind President Roosevelt...and believe that to  
support him is sufficient enough platform for anyone".

Byron N. Scott Ran on "support Roosevelt" ticket. Favors old age pen-  
18th Dist. sion. Supported by Roosevelt Democratic Club, Jefferson  
Democratic Club, and Long Beach Progress Club. Attacked  
by Republicans as "EPIC" candidate.

CONNECTICUT

(Major) J. A. Shanley Veterans' group urged nomination. Credited with wide  
3rd Dist. knowledge of New Deal and enthusiasm for Roosevelt. Voiced  
approval of Walter Lippmann's wish that Administration  
continue policy to revivify private industry. Urged con-  
tinued re-checking of New Deal. Urged strong Congressional  
committees which would represent current reaction to New  
Deal.

CONNECTICUT

(Cont'd)

(Major) J. J. Smith  
5th Dist., Waterbury

Attorney. Former member of Governor's staff. First candidate in field in his district. In original statement, said contest would be weighing in balance New Deal of President Roosevelt and affirmed strong support of President and New Deal. Defeated Republican incumbent. Supported NRA and National Housing Administration in campaign and quoted figures to prove that Administration has aided, not hurt, business. Announced support of social legislation program.

W. M. Citron  
(At large)  
Middletown

Attorney. Pledged to program supporting Roosevelt Administration. Defended public works and relief program.

U. S. SENATORF. T. Maloney, of  
Meriden

Former member Congress. Described as one of most popular men in his party, wholeheartedly in favor of New Deal. Endorsed by National Committeeman McNeil. Advocated social security program. Supported CWA bill in Congress. Voted for payment of bonus, only Representative from Conn. who did so. Hartford Times, which supported him, said he would probably have views at times which would run counter to the Administration, but in main would be expected to support it.

GEORGIAHugh Peterson, Jr.  
1st Dist., Ailey

Former member of Georgia House and Senate. Defeated Democrat incumbent, Homer Parker. Victory considered impressive since his home county was only recently made part of 1st Dist. and his opponents were seasoned campaigners. Support came from all sections of Dist., assuring him of friendly support of constituency. Newspaperman, lawyer, farmer and business man.

INDIANAU. S. SENATORSherman Minton, of  
New Albany

In campaign speeches said opposed payment of compensation to able-bodied veterans of World War as unfair to widows and orphans of men who gave their lives. Has record of 27 months war service, a year of which was over seas. Promised to work for those entitled to compensation, tho against bonus payment. Favored rights of organized labor as expressed in Section 7a of NRA. Went on record for unemployment insurance, old age pensions, greater expenditures for relief if necessary, and New Deal legislation already in effect. Said that if Supreme Court sustained objections to provisions of Railroad Pension Act they can be met by amending the Act and that "this Ad-

INDIANA  
(Cont'd)

ministration will see to it that it is amended". Defended New Deal emergency expenditures as entirely justified.

ILLINOIS

A. H. Mitchell  
1st Dist.

Backs Roosevelt and recovery. Shall "cultivate such friendly relationship for best interests of the whites and negroes without sacrificing one iota of principle or character". Hopes to further an "American citizens first" bill which would secure for Americans, born or naturalized, preference in employment over persons owing allegiance to other flags; will work to pass an anti-lynching bill; will fight against color discriminations in public employment.

A. H. McKeough  
2nd Dist.

J. McAndrews  
9th Dist.

Endorsed by Farley in telegrams, by R. F. Roper, - Secretary of Illinois Liquor Commission. "Behind the President". Previously has voted to create educational bureau and children's welfare bureau.

M. L. Igoe  
(At large)

16 years in Illinois legislature. Assistant District Attorney in Chicago. South Park Board, 11 years. National Democratic Committeeman, two years. Defends the Constitutionality of the New Deal. His platform included:

- 1 - Strict regulation of utilities.
- 2 - A comprehensive long-time school program.
- 3 - Consolidation of local governments.
- 4 - Home rule for local communities.
- 5 - Support of new laws governing insurance companies.
- 6 - Referendum for a state constitutional convention.
- 7 - Pledged liquor control to "promote personal liberty and true temperance".
- 8 - Endorsed referendum to approve the 30 million dollar relief bond issue.
- 9 - Favored a labor policy permitting workers to organize and deal thru representatives of their own choosing.

KANSAS

E. W. Patterson  
3rd Dist., Pitts-  
burg

J. M. Houston  
5th Dist.

Pledged support on "every act which I consider constructive of the New Deal". For old age pensions and unemployment insurance; hospitalization for service-connected disability cases; "promotion of mutual interests of labor and capital"; shorter working hours to provide employment; legislation to aid farmer; regulation of public utilities; continuation of relief measures as long as necessary; revision of recovery acts that they may become permanent Government policy; excise taxes and import duties sufficient to protect interests of petroleum producers.

KENTUCKY

Emmet O'Neal  
3rd Dist.

Reiterated allegiance to President Roosevelt and New Deal in campaign speeches and promised to uphold President in recovery program. Did not definitely commit himself on future legislation. Louisville Herald Post supported him on ground that he would assist President in continuation of recovery program, would be "friendly, but self-minded judge of what President proposes to legislative branch".

MARYLAND

U. S. SENATOR  
G. W. Radcliffe

Ardent New Dealer, largely because of friendship for President Roosevelt. Started career as teacher; later senior vice-president of Fidelity and Deposit Co. of Baltimore. Stressed social aspects of New Deal in campaign. Worst that opponent said of him was that he would be "rubber stamp" for President. Regional director of 10th district for FMA. Praised efforts of New Deal to improve working conditions; care of destitute and unemployed and efforts to save homes of financially distressed householders. Did not engage in any discussion of Roosevelt monetary and fiscal policies.

MAINE

S. M. Hamlin  
1st Dist., Port-  
land

First Democratic Congressman to be elected from First District for 72 years. Educator, brought up in country, later retired to country and made farm pay. Campaigned for New Deal.

MASS.

J. E. Casey  
3rd Dist.

Protege of David I. Walsh. Has campaigned with Walsh thruout the district for some years. It is described as a Republican stronghold, normally going Republican by 12,000 to 15,000 votes. Casey ran for Congress in 1926 and 1928, being defeated both times. This year he won by 444 votes. Without committing himself to special legislation when he gets to Washington, said he would be "regular".

J. F. Higgins  
10th Dist.

Favors two laws: 1.

1 - Unemployment insurance

2 - Federal old age pension

No Republican opposition. State representative six years. In Legislature instrumental in the adoption of new banking laws.

Richard M. Russell  
9th Dist.

Mayor of Cambridge.

MICHIGAN

F. E. Hook  
12th Dist.

L. Rabaut  
14th Dist.

Real estate man.

MISSISSIPPI

A. L. Ford  
4th Dist, Akerman

Lawyer. Former District Attorney. Ran on straight "support Roosevelt" platform.

Aubert Dunn  
5th Dist., Phila-  
delphia

Former District Attorney. Commander of Philadelphia Legion Post. Ran on "support Roosevelt" platform.

MISSISSIPPI  
(Cont'd)

Dan McGehee  
7th Dist.

Former State Senator. Had active support of Senator  
Pat Harrison. Strong party man.

U. S. SENATOR  
Theo. Bilbo

Campaign platform included 40 promises, considered ex-  
tremely radical. Redistribution of wealth and expose of  
"invisible forces" that control Washington among promises  
made. Expected to vote with the radicals, but to observe  
decorum of Senate during first year, at least.

MISSOURI

7

W. L. Nelson  
2nd Dist.

O. Zimmerman  
10th Dist.

C. Jasper Bell  
4th Dist.

U. S. Senate

Harry S. Truman  
Independence

Pledged, at outset of campaign, 100 per cent cooperation with President Roosevelt. Defended New Deal from attacks of opponent throughout campaign. Is considered thoroughly conservative, but went on record as favoring old age pensions and unemployment insurance as part of the Roosevelt program. He defended the AAA program and the processing tax. He has pledged himself for immediate payment of the bonus. Has splendid war record. Was retail merchant. Was county judge.

NEBRASKA

H. C. Luckey  
1st Dist.

Made strong "New Deal" campaign.

NEBRASKA (Cont'd)

8

C. F. McLaughlin  
2nd Dist.

Ran on straight "support Roosevelt" program.  
Defended AAA, relief administration.

K. Stefan  
3rd Dist.

Newspaperman. Ran on "New Deal" platform.

C. G. Binderup  
4th Dist. Minden

Ran on "New Deal" platform

H. B. Coffee  
5th Dist. Chadron

Urged tariff revision, blaming depression on deflation  
of currency begun in 1921 and tariff barriers.  
Affirmed strong support of whole Roosevelt platform.

U. S. Senate  
Edward R. Burke

Throughout campaign defended AAA and NRA against  
attacks of opponent, though he voted against AAA in  
House. Supported by Arthur Mullen, Democratic  
Committeeman. Defended Roosevelt Administration  
expenditures and PWA, CCC, relief program, federal  
deposits guaranty, and farm credit administration.  
Described editorially as "liberal, progressive  
Democrat". Every vote for him dubbed "vote for  
Roosevelt". Endorsed by Frank Murphy of Minnesota,  
progressive Republican, author of McNary-Haugen  
bill, as "friend of the farmer". Pledged complete  
fidelity to Administration, "its plans and policies".  
Debates on New Deal with his opponent, Robert  
Simmons, Republican, were chief feature of Nebraska  
campaign.

NEW JERSEY

E. J. Hart  
14th Dist.

Asst. corporation counsel of Jersey City. Endorsed by Standard Railway Labor organizations as "one hundred percent behind the New Deal, pledging himself to fight for and uphold the New Deal in every respect."

U.S. Senate  
A. Harry Moore

Ran on straight "support Roosevelt" platform. Attacked by Paul Block as another "Roosevelt rubber-stamp." Favors repeal of Federal gasoline tax. Strong state's right advocate but expected to go along with the Administration all the way.

NEW MEXICO

J.J. Dempsey  
At large

Attacked in New Mexico papers as "Tammany Democrat" voting in New Mexico for first time in 1932. State director of NRA. Accused of using political influence to further fortunes of his United States Rock Asphalt company, which were accused of selling material to state highway commission and being paid while other creditors had to wait for their money. "Asphalt" was made serious campaign issue. Ran on "support Roosevelt" platform. Affirmed friendliness toward labor. Promised to work to get representative from New Mexico on board to study relief needs of nation. Editorial stated that since Dempsey was pledging complete support to President and President was against payment of the bonus, that presumably Dempsey would vote against bonus payment.

NEW YORK

F. L. Pfleifer  
3rd Dist. B'klyn.

M. H. Evans  
5th Dist.

R. J. Tonry  
8th Dist.

J. A. O'Leary  
10th Dist.

J. P. B. Duffy  
38th Dist.

Favors Federal old age pension legislation correlated to state old age pension legislation. Made reservations on naval construction and restriction of war profits "because he did not have sufficient information."

M. J. Merritt  
At Large

Pledged his support to President Roosevelt and his efforts to rebuild economic conditions in next Congress.

Caroline O'Day  
At Large

Favored higher standards of wage; adequate relief at correct cost to taxpayer; powers program of benefit to consumer; sound and enlightened fiscal policy so as to encourage business; friendly foreign relations cemented by closer trade ties, especially with our Pan-American neighbors; wider opportunities for women; other measures to speed recovery. Pledged support to President Roosevelt. Quoted in newspapers as pledging herself to vote against any declaration of war. Praised CCC.

NORTH CAROLINA

G. A. Borden  
3rd Dist.

OHIO

W. A. Ashbrook  
17th Dist. Johnstown

Former Congressman who won in hard fight.

U. S. Senate

Vic Donahey

Announced in campaign that he was "as free as the four winds that blow" as far as entangling political alliances or promises were concerned. Described American form of taxation "most unscientific man ever discovered". Advocates bringing back to people, by orderly process, wealth now concentrated in hands of a few. Declared that he was for the New Deal and that he would honestly support the President. Added that he would use his voice and vote to support all "honest legislation to aid the small business man and farmer. Would like to see European debts paid. Said he had always been a progressive. In constitutional convention was member of labor group. Victory described as victory for Vic Donahey, personally, rather than of New Deal. His reiterated independence of thought and action expected to cause some concern to Democrats in Washington. Political observers point to fact that while he freely declared allegiance to President and New Deal, he added that he "will support the New Deal when he believes its policies are sound". Also pointed out that he did not commit himself on specific legislation; no one heard how he stood on AAA, inflation, etc. However, said he was for Roosevelt in 1932 and therefore refused to go to Chicago convention as one of Ohio Big Four. The platform adopted by the Democratic state convention went on record in favor of old age pensions and a state program of public works, with Federal cooperation, for benefit of the unemployed. Advocates uniform taxation for entire country. Received record plurality.

OKLAHOMA

J. Nichols  
2nd Dist.

All Oklahoma Democratic Congressmen elected on "support Roosevelt" platform. State convention went on record as demanding cooperation with national administration, encouragement of industries and conservation of natural resources. Support old age pension.

P. L. Gassaway  
4th Dist.

Josh Lee  
5th Dist.

Suggested editorially as candidate for "Brain Trust". Professor of public speaking at University of Oklahoma, who believes education should be devoted to public service.

Sam Massingale  
7th Dist.

Made strong "support Roosevelt" campaign, defending New Deal and urging loyalty to President.

P. Ferguson  
8th Dist.

Ran on "support Roosevelt" platform.

PENNSYLVANIA

J. P. Daly  
4th Dist.

All Democratic Congressional candidates from Penn. ran on straight Democratic state platform, their promises being promises to support it, the first plank of which was to support the Roosevelt New Deal. Other planks included: abolition of child labor; minimum wage; regulation of hours of labor, especially for women; old age pensions; unemployment reserves; adequate emergency relief; more comprehensive workmen's compensation laws; outlawing of sweatshops; prompt return to depositors of funds in closed banks; strengthening of anti-injunction laws to conform with Federal statutes; enactment of permanent milk control law; enactment of legislation to bring to an end exploitation of consumer by public utilities corporations; appropriate supplemental legislation to make policies of Roosevelt Administration effective.

E. J. G. Dorsey  
5th Dist.

M. J. Stack  
6th Dist.

Independent Democratic leader of 46th Ward.

James H. Gildea  
18th Dist.

Ran on straight Democratic platform.

C. E. Deitrich  
15th Dist.

Ran on straight Democratic platform.

D. Gingery  
23rd Dist.

Ran on straight Democratic platform.

C. R. Eckert  
26th Dist.

Ran on straight Democratic platform.

FEMM. (Cont'd)

Joseph Gray  
27th Dist.

Defeated Stong, who had been in Congress for two decades and who fought St. Lawrence treaty and TVA.

J. Twing Brooks  
30th Dist.

Ran on straight Democratic platform.

J. L. Quinn  
31st Dist.

Ran on straight Democratic platform.

T. L. Moritz  
32nd Dist.

Ran on straight Democratic platform.

U. S. Senate

Joseph F. Guffey

"Behind the President; supporting the New Deal" Ran on straight Democratic platform.

RHODE ISLANDU. S. SenatePeter G. Gerry

Strongly endorsed by Senator Wagner, who came to Rhode Island to speak in his behalf. Pledged his support to New Deal for both Nation and state. Pledged support to Newport in keeping it "in proper position in foreground of naval activities". Had indorsement of Machinists' Union in Newport, as well as that of William Green of American Federation of Labor, brotherhood of railroad engineers, and other labor organizations. Praised depositors' guarantee law, NRA, PWA and emergency relief program, and pointed to them as real issues of campaign. Gerry was endorsed by Payne Auxiliary of Veterans of Foreign Wars as "proven friend" of veterans. Was endorsed in radio speech by Joseph Sylvia, general organizer of United Textile Workers of America. Denied charge of Senator Hebert that lace mills of New Jersey would be ruined by Roosevelt foreign policy. Defended expenditures of Roosevelt Administration. Hebert repeatedly referred to Gerry late "conversion" to Roosevelt cause, in view of fact that he refused to give him even complimentary vote when his nomination was assured.

TENNESSEEHerron Pearson  
7th Dist.

Unopposed in Congressional race. General lack of interest reported in Tennessee campaign.

Walter Chandler  
9th Dist.

Represented case of people against public utilities. City attorney of Memphis. Unopposed in Congressional race. Received endorsement of nonpartisan committee of Tennessee American Federation of Labor.

TEXASNat Patton  
7th Dist. Crockett

Former member Texas House of Representatives and Senate and county judge of Houston County. Pledged "heartly support of progressive policies" of President Roosevelt. Pledged support to agricultural legislation; early payment of veterans' bonus; and old age pensions.

G. H. Mahon  
19th Dist. Colorado

TEXAS (Cont'd)

Maury Maverick  
20th Dist. San Antonio

Seeking \$19,538,000 for army construction projects from PWA, funds to be used for Fort Sam Houston hospital and for improvements at San Antonio aviation fields. Former County Tax Collector of Bexar County.

C. L. South  
21st Dist. Coleman

Former district attorney.

WASHINGTON

U. S. Senate

L. B. Schwellenbach

Ardent New Dealer and won seat pledging support to President Roosevelt's program. In early part of campaign stumped state in an "end poverty" campaign, somewhat like Sinclair's EPIC plan. Later, as sentiment seemed swinging against Sinclair, stressed plan less and less. Altho' many of his conservative constituents consider him a Communist, in Senate expected to temper extreme views to conform to wishes of President. A business man, though not very successful one; also lawyer. Frequently represented labor unions in court actions; attempted to establish legal right of strikers to picket. Was chairman of first Washington state power conference, called to discuss public power projects and regulation of private utilities. In campaign promised support of both Federal project at Grand Coulee and Skagit River project. A former soldier and organizer of the American Legion he favors payment of adjusted compensation to veterans. Favors national old age and unemployment insurance. Will be strong supporter of munitions investigation. Advocates taking over idle factories and idle lands as means of giving work to unemployed citizens.

WEST VIRGINIAU. S. Senate

Rush D. Holt

100 per cent Roosevelt Democrat. For the common people. Will fight for old age pensions. Give the veterans an honest deal. Believed 100 per cent in guaranteeing bank deposits. 100 per cent for honest business and wanted to see the development of hydro-electric power so that people may have lower rates. Friendly to the farmers. Promises aggressive campaign against domination of Wall Street. Waged campaign on insistent hammering at the public utilities. Militant New Deal standard bearer. "With the men and women who toil". "I can't too strongly emphasize section 7-A of the NRA. It is the most important part of the NRA." Endorsed by the State Federation of Labor. Declared would keep faith with the working man. "It is the duty of government to feed people when they are starving and can't get work". Unemployment insurance. Pledges work to assist conservation. Will seek better wage of working man. Critic of the public utilities and a specific foe of privilege interests of every kind. Consistent foe of utility domination in government.

WYOMING

P. R. Greever  
At large Cody

Campaign slogan: "Stands With Roosevelt." Lawyer. Democratic political advertisement declared that his law practice had "given him close knowledge of farmers, stockmen, retail and wholesale merchants, and the laboring man." Democratic organization urged his election with O'Mahoney as real Roosevelt supporters.

— PSF: *Senate*

(2)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*file  
private &  
confidential*

12-10-34

Memorandum for the President:

You may want to glance  
through this. It is pretty  
rough.

M.H.M.

copy sent. It is black  
and has been to Justice  
Department for the blackboard  
IS-10-34  
WASHINGTON  
THE WHITE HOUSE

PSF: Senate

JOSEPH F. GUPPEY  
223 FOURTH AVENUE  
PITTSBURGH, PA.

December 7, 1934

Hon. Marvin H. McIntyre  
Assistant Secretary to the President  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Marvin:

I take pleasure in enclosing here-  
with copy of a letter I received from Ambassador  
Claude G. Bowers, Madrid, Spain.

While the letter is not composed  
entirely in diplomatic language, still knowing  
your sentiment as I do towards a certain person  
referred to in this letter, I am sure you will  
enjoy reading Claude's comments on the recent  
election in Pennsylvania.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Joseph F. Guppy

JFG:M  
P

C O P Y

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Madrid, November 12, 1934.

Dear Joe:--

When I got your letter two days before the election and found you confident of winning, I really was heartsick. I said to myself, "Here is another candidate who hears nothing but favorable news and he will be heartbroken when the returns are in." I had no doubt that you would make great headway against the mountainous majority but there was every reason why you could not be elected. First--the normal majority; then the utter dishonesty and desperate criminality of Pennsylvania Republicans in manipulating the ballot boxes and then, the great campaign funds that would be at the disposal of Reed--with U.S. Steel, the Penn.R.R. and the Mellons backing him and, then, the fact that Reed, being the ablest man the Republicans had left in public life, it was certain that the party nationally would do its utmost for him. How any human being could hope to overcome all that was utterly beyond me. I hoped but I feared.

The first thing I did Wednesday morning was to get the returns. You were running ahead but, even then, I thought Philadelphia would hold back until it knew how many votes were required to count you out. Only on the second day was I satisfied. The result is, old man, that you have won the greatest political victory of the year - one of the most sensational in a generation and that you have the honor now of leading the old Keystone State back into the column where it always was in the days of Jefferson and Jackson.

The illustrated lectures you put out were superb - just the thing - and I am not surprised that other States borrowed the idea. One picture is worth a thousand arguments.

The filthiness of that low-down S of B Pinchot was utterly astounding. His utter dishonesty and hypocrisy is now proclaimed in trumpet tones. That he, pretending to be moved entirely by ideas and principles and posing as hostile to every ideal and principle that Reed ever knew, should have come out for Reed, is incredible. He is too low for the tribe of skunks.

But, I am most happy over the result. I know how much you wanted something of this sort - a position where you can constantly work for the Party and now you have it. The only thing that worries me is that you will be alone in Washington society which is so ~~immoral~~ immoral and seductive and one of your inexperience with the wiles of women may easily be dragged into compromising positions. Remember Gen. Eaton. Don't fall for a Mrs. Reynolds. I think I shall ask Jim Farley to chaperone you among the wild women.

Why not come over for a rest? The Rex will take you to Gibraltar in less than six days. I have a "spare room" or so for you and congratulations again. "Mine eyes hath seen the glory of the coming of the Lord." What a smashing victory - all over! Must write Jim for he is the candy kid of victory.

My wife and Pat join in regards.

Sincerely,

(s) Claude G. Bowers.

Have been reading your literature. The best double-barrel stuff in years. I used to get hell for using it - from Democrats. I notice these "Democrats" are all with the Republicans now. They always were!

PSF: *Senate*

*Guffey*  
*(2)*

*"file  
personal"*

December 12, 1934.

My dear Mr. President:

I thought you might be interested in reading copy of letter which Claude Bowers wrote to Joe Guffey. It is rather interesting, particularly his reference to Pinchot. You had better tear it up after you read it because you will note Claude was a little profane.

Faithfully yours,

*fr*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House.

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Madrid - November 12, 1934.

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First--the normal majority; then the utter dishonesty and desperate criminality of Pennsylvania republicans in manipulating the ballot boxes; and then the great campaign funds that would be at the disposal of Reed, -- with U. S. Steel, the Penn. R. R., and the Mellons backing him; and then the fact that Reed being the ablest man the Republicans had left in public life it was certain that the party nationally would do its utmost for him. How any human being could hope to overcome all that was utterly beyond me. I hoped but feared.

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My wife and Pat join in regards,

Sincerely,

(Sgd) Claude G. Bowers.

COPY

file  
Bone (Bone)  
private  
(2)

PSF: Senate

UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
DIRECTOR OF INVESTIGATIONS  
WASHINGTON

January 22, 1935

MEMORANDUM for the Secretary:

The special investigations I was requested to make early last spring were to determine the truth or falsity of the following allegations:

- (1) Fee splitting on the part of Attorney L. M. Larson with State Counsel John J. Kennett, or others.
- (2) Assessment of or contributions by employees in the Seattle office of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation.
- (3) Contributions by members of the salmon packing industry to pay campaign expenses of a United States Senator.
- (4) Land transactions by certain officials relating to land affected by the construction of Coulee Dam.
- (5) Alleged payment of \$16,000 by William Edris to Commissioner Frank T. Bell during the year 1932.

With reference to the third allegation, the investigation disclosed that during the latter part of November or the early part of December, 1932, William Calvert, now deceased, who at that time was chairman of the Pacific National Bank, Seattle, Washington, and also President of the San Juan Fishing and Packing Company, invited officials of several salmon packing companies to a luncheon at the Ranier Club in Seattle. After the luncheon, Mr. Calvert stated that he had been asked to raise a fund of approximately \$2800 to help pay the deficit in the campaign expenses of Senator Bone. Affidavits were secured from a number of those present who admitted having attended the luncheon.

It appears from the evidence obtained that practically all those present were Republicans. Mr. E. B. Hanley, in his affidavit, said he "nevertheless felt it expedient to make the payment no matter how distasteful." Mr. P. E. Harris stated "he had always been a Republican and that he was not a supporter of Senator Bone, but did contribute \$250 to this fund being raised by the said William Calvert."

I obtained photostatic copies of the canceled checks covering a portion of the contributions. Calvert delivered the money to Mr. Roscoe Drumheller, Democratic National Committeeman for the State of Washington, and Mr. Drumheller then gave the money to Sol Haas, who was campaign manager for Senator Bone and is now Collector of Customs at Seattle, Washington. Photostatic copies of the bank records where the money was deposited have also been obtained.

The affidavit of R. M. Drumheller admits having received \$2200 from William Calvert as contributions to the campaign fund of Senator Bone. Mr. Drumheller states that he then deposited the \$2200 to the account of Sol Haas in the Peoples First Avenue Bank. In addition to the above funds, one William Edris of Seattle contributed \$400 for the same purpose.

Sol Haas, in his affidavit, admits having stated to Mr. Drumheller there was a deficit in the campaign fund of Senator Bone and that he would like to have some help to pay the bills; that shortly thereafter, or during December and January, he received \$2600 from Mr. Drumheller, which money was deposited in his personal account in the Peoples First Avenue Bank and later disbursed to take care of the Senatorial campaign expenses which had been incurred.

An examination of the reports of receipts and expenditures submitted by Senator Bone to the Secretary of the Senate showed that Senator Bone failed to report these particular contributions. Although these contributions were made directly for the benefit of Senator Bone to assist in making up his campaign deficit, I caused an examination to be made of the reports of contributions filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives to determine if through inadvertence these contributions were reported there. Such an examination failed to disclose a report of these contributions.

There have been no prosecutions under the Corrupt Practices Act of those responsible and Mr. Haas still remains Collector of Customs.

*Tom J. Glavin*  
Director.

PAT HARRISON, MISSISSIPPI  
CHAIRMAN

PSF: U. S. Senate

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

February 16, 1935.

Dear Mr. President:-

I notice in the morning papers that on yesterday Secretary Ickes, Mr. Chapman and Dr. Gruening were in conference with you, discussing particularly the Virgin Island situation. The importance of the conference was indicated by the reproduction of pictures of the distinguished trio.

You will recall my last conference with you. Since that time there has come to me certain information respecting expressions of Secretary Ickes towards me that has caused me to become absolutely and totally estranged from suggesting or contacting any parties in the Interior Department respecting any matter in which I or my constituents are interested. It presents a situation I have never believed could exist: that during a Democratic Administration a Democratic United States Senator could be placed in such an embarrassing attitude. Only the conference, magnified by the press wherein these three gentlemen were determined "to get a Democratic Judge in a Republican controlled Island" compels me to write you this note.

In my last conference I asked that the investigation made by the Department of Justice be considered. I am so busily engaged here in trying to iron out differences and help along Administration measures that I feel, and feel it keenly, that my time and my patience should not be taken and affected by the Virgin Island incident and the apparent grudge and animosity of Secretary Ickes against me. It would seem that certainly one who has been as loyal to the Administration as I have, and whose greatest desire is to cooperate, should not be placed in that attitude. In the circumstances I feel that my advice is without effect. The whole situation weighs so heavily on my heart that I have written you these lines so that you may know my feelings.

I dislike to bother you with a reiteration of the suggestions I have made, but I hope that at a very early date some favorable action may be taken that will remedy this situation and relieve me of this irritation and worry, as well as bring about a common understanding.

With highest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Sincerely yours,  


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

*File  
H. H. H. H.  
(2)*

*PSFI Senate*

*Kanzen Cam  
H.P.C.  
file  
"personnel"*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

2-20-35

Memorandum to the President:

The Senators doubtful on the prevailing wage amendment to the Four Billion Dollar Bill:

✓ Bulkley of Ohio, has been with us but now weakening.

O'Mahoney definitely opposed now but voted for it in the Committee.

Senator Murphy, Iowa, on the fence.

Loneragan, wants to go along but is being disturbed by telegrams from Labor, but little encouragement would help him.

Black is opposed and intervention would be helpful.

Bennett Clark uncertain quantity.

The above list given to me by Senator Jimmy Byrnes, who is assisting Senator Robinson, of Arkansas in the fight for defeat of this amendment. Byrnes says the vote certainly will be very close and he will perfect the list as soon as possible, phoning in additional names.

|                         |                |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Raynolds - N.C.</i>  | <i>Bulkley</i> |
| <i>M. Lill - Kansas</i> | <i>Murphy</i>  |
| <i>Johnson - Cal.</i>   | <i>Watches</i> |
| <i>Duffy - N.Y.</i>     | <i>Clark</i>   |

PSF: Senate

(2)

PERSONAL

May 2, 1935.

Dear Carter:-

I do not know that there is any use in doing anything further about the Parker Willis matter. I have not the time to go back over all the dispatches but the following are merely samples.

"April fifteenth - silver bloc's support has become indispensable to the Government and that latter's policy from now on seems to be subject to bloc's control."

"April eighteenth - According to news from Washington, emanating from political sources unusually worthy of credence, the British and American authorities are anxious to resume negotiations with a view to stabilization of currencies. The difficulty would be found in the fact that during the last two years a certain animosity has developed between President Roosevelt and Mr. Neville Chamberlain."

It is bad enough for our own people to have to suffer from columnists like Walter Winchell, Drew Pearson and Frank Kent but I do hope our good

friend Parker Willis will not join them, especially  
in the foreign field.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Carter Glass,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

REP

3-#339, From Paris, April 15, 3 p. m.

In a week-end speech Lamoureux Minister of Commerce said: "The crisis will not be remedied until a certain number of prerequisite conditions are realized which the Government should rapidly bring about: general stabilization of currencies after readjustment, if this is necessary; return to economic liberalism by progressively and simultaneously opening economic frontiers in order to reestablish the great trade currents which condition prosperity; realization of a general truce among peoples based upon the security of each so that confidence, willingness to take risks and long term understandings may begin again". Above reference to "readjustment" is also interpreted as affecting rentes.

American Treasury's refinancing measures are favorably commented upon.

Parker Willis cables AGENC. ECONOMIC silver bloc's support has become indispensable to the Government and that latter's policy from now on seems to be at least, to a certain extent, subject to the bloc's control.

STRAUS

HPD

REP

*file into  
copy  
personal*

2-#348, From Paris, April 18, 4p.m.

young revival today in purchase of French securities by Belgian interests presumably seeking a speculative boom. Bank of France statement released this noon showed net gold loss 601,000,000 francs. Exodus particularly to Belgium and to lesser degree to England was thus much in excess of influx from Switzerland and the Netherlands.

I talked this morning with Fraser of B. I. S. and Dean Jay, a Dawes trustee, who said there were no new developments in regard to Dawes loan payment other than given in B. I. S. communique which I mentioned yesterday. Jay hopes to see Schacht soon but latter is now on holiday at Badenweiler.

(GRAY) Parker Willis cables AGENCE ECONOMIQUE that "The outstanding thing on the exchange market which remains calm is the renewal of rumors concerning eventual stabilization of currencies. According to news from Washington, emanating from political sources unusually worthy of credence, the British and American authorities are anxious to resume negotiations with a view to stabilization of currencies. The difficulty would be found in the fact that during the last two years a certain animosity has developed between President Roosevelt and Mr. Neville Chamberlain."

French

CARTER BLASS, VA., CHAIRMAN  
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 ROYAL S. COPELAND, N. Y.  
 CARL HAYDEN, ARIZ.  
 ELMER THOMAS, OKLA.  
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 JOHN H. BARKER, ALA.  
 JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, WYO.  
 WILLIAM GIBBS MCADOO, CALIF.  
 HARRY S. TRUMAN, MO.

KENNEDY F. REA, CLERK  
 JOHN W. R. SMITH, ASST. CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

April 29, 1935.

(Unofficial and Confidential)

My dear Mr. President:

I have not sooner acknowledged your recent letter primarily because I considered it desirable to get hold of certain correspondence had on a similar subject more than three years ago. To accomplish this required a prolonged search of my files, some of the letters being here and others at my home in Virginia.

Necessarily, I am unable to deal with the question you raise as definitely as I should like since you have not communicated to me the exact nature of the statements alleged to have been made by Dr. Willis, and I may only conjecture to what they relate, as I have never seen one of them nor been told anything about them. However, if the reports to you concerning the Willis communications to foreign newspapers are akin to those of which the Hoover administration complained nearly four years ago, it might be well to apprise you of the result of my investigation at that time. Thus, I ask your attention to my letter of November 4, 1931, to Dr. Willis, marked A.

In response to this and subsequent letters from me, Dr. Willis replied by reciting that he had been for a number of years the American cable correspondent of the "Agence Economique," but for the period covering the complaints referred to had cabled that financial journal only upon request concerning certain reports as to inflationary conditions and prospects in the United States. Dr. Willis, in his letter to me, quoted statements from The New York Times and other responsible journals and also the Governor of the New York Federal Reserve Bank and Under-Secretary Mills, of the Treasury, as saying, "The Federal Reserve banks are in position to expand the Federal Reserve credit to their members by some \$3,500,000,000, which would mathematically form the base for an increase of as much as \$35,000,000,000 in bank credit." On the same date, The New York Journal of Commerce and other outstanding trade papers published articles in the same vein.

Senator Reed, on the floor of the Senate, had made what was interpreted in France as a threat to seize the French earmarked gold, held in trust by the New York Federal Reserve Bank, should France continue withdrawals. In his very lengthy letter of explanation, Dr. Willis incorporated the cables sent by him to the "Agence Economique," which were mild in contrast with utterances made and bills introduced in

- 2 -

Congress and with publications in American newspapers of the type mentioned.

The pretense that these cables had disturbed financial circles in Paris and caused the withdrawal of gold from this country was completely controverted by the fact that these utterances in Congress and publications in newspapers of the highest character preceded the cables and had been transmitted by the French agencies, together with the further fact that Governor Eugene Meyer, of the Federal Reserve Board, explicitly stated that some time theretofore France's chief financial agent, on a visit to this country, had apprised him of the purpose of the French government to withdraw its earmarked gold.

My investigation of the whole affair was thorough; and, although my personal relations with the governor of the New York Federal Reserve Bank were much more intimate than with Dr. Willis and my affection for him very real, I reached the conclusions set forth in my letter of February 4, 1932, to the State Department, a copy of which is attached, marked B.

After writing this letter of February 4, 1932, I took the liberty of admonishing Dr. Willis against sending further cables to any foreign newspaper while he was retained as an expert adviser of the Senate Banking and Currency Subcommittee; and my understanding was that the cables were discontinued.

It is true that Dr. Willis and I have been on friendly, but in no sense intimate, terms for many years. I felt at liberty to admonish him as I have indicated only because he had official connection with the Senate committee of which I was chairman. Not since then has Dr. Willis had any connection whatsoever with my subcommittee, nor have I, either directly or indirectly, conferred with him or asked his advice as to any provision of any banking legislation, nor has he ventured to tender advice.

Notwithstanding this complete detachment, I might be willing to remonstrate with him (even at the risk of being rebuffed) against making any communications to the foreign press that might embarrass the administration at Washington. However, just exactly how I could proceed in such a matter when your communication to me is marked "Private and Confidential" I am unable to imagine.

I am totally unwilling to believe that Dr. Willis has consciously made any statement which he believed to be untrue or lacking substantial foundation; but, even so, I see no sense now, as I could see none nearly four years ago, in sending any messages abroad which might complicate or embarrass matters at home. If you will give me permission to mention to him your complaint or have me furnished with examples of his alleged misrepresentations, I will feel at liberty to caution him, as I take it you would have me do.

Sincerely yours,

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

*Carter Hall*

- A -  
(Copy)

November 4th, 1931.

Hon. H. Parker Willis,  
Columbia University,  
New York City.

Dear Dr. Willis:

I should, perhaps, bring to your attention a complaint said to have been lodged with certain Federal Reserve authorities by representatives of the Bank of France who recently visited this country. They are said to have asserted that the recent raid on Federal Reserve gold and the recent battering in France of the American dollar were brought about by articles written by you in French and English financial journals. The statement was made that they identified you as a former secretary of the Federal Reserve Board, the responsible editor for years of the New York Journal of Commerce and now associated with a Senate committee as an expert adviser on banking legislation, which gave them a right, from their point of view, to regard your published letters as authentic and your alleged description of maladministration of the Federal Reserve System and of the desperate banking conditions generally in the United States as both authentic and alarming.

I am bringing this to your attention, not as chairman of the Senate sub-committee, but merely as your friend, in order that you may, if you think it worth while, make any representations concerning the matter that you may please. Very likely it would be better for us to talk about the matter rather than to write.

I am leaving for Virginia tonight and will be at home if you have occasion to communicate with me on this or any other subject.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) CARTER GLASS

- B -

C O P Y

February 4, 1932.

Mr. Pierre del Boal,  
The State Department,  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Sir:

I have duly received your various communications having reference to my personal conversation with General Dawes concerning certain alleged activities of Dr. H. Parker Willis, retained as technical adviser to a subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate of which I am chairman. Preoccupation with imperative legislative matters has prevented an earlier acknowledgement of these various communications.

I am now writing to express my distinct astonishment that the State Department has, without apparent contradiction, permitted the American Embassy at Paris and other agents of the Department to persist, over and over again, in the utterly inaccurate statement that Dr. Willis has any connection, whatsoever, directly or indirectly, with the Finance Committee of the United States Senate, which for many weeks has been investigating the history and problems of foreign loans. Thus the State Department, the Embassy at Paris and its agents have ascribed to certain utterances of Dr. Willis an importance which they do not deserve, based upon a statement of facts which do not exist. As indicated, for a period of nearly twelve months Dr. Willis has been working with the Senate Subcommittee, purely in a technical capacity, on a bank bill that has not the remotest concern with foreign loans, and for the provisions of which our subcommittee, and not Dr. Willis, is responsible.

As the situation presents itself to me the origin, as well as the persistence, of the criticisms which you have been good enough to forward to me is a personal feud between the Governor of the New York Federal Reserve Bank and Dr. Willis in the latter's former capacity of editor of the New York Journal of Commerce, severely critical of federal reserve administration. Incidentally, with some of this criticism I was in complete accord; with other parts I totally disagreed. The immediate recurrent outbreak of these personal animosities, as I judge from hearing both sides, relates to a recent attempt—it can not be otherwise regarded—of the Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank to control the freedom of the French press, with an ensuing effort on the part of certain French financial agents to regulate the freedom of expression in this country of cable correspondence of French financial papers. Governor Harrison protested to the

Mr. Pierre del Boal.

Bank of France against the tenor of certain utterances and against the accuracy of certain deductions in the French press. Agents of the French bank agreed to "control" the French press and asked, on the other hand, that Governor Harrison should "control" cable correspondence from this country.

The articles in the French press, as well as the cables to the French press, had reference to inflationary tendencies in the United States. Dr. Willis informs me that, in response to very definite inquiries from his Paris paper, he confirmed reports already sent abroad, as to inflationary tendencies in banking and other circles in this country. While I have taken the very great liberty of suggesting to Dr. Willis that I could see no possible good to be derived from publications of that description, either in France or in this country, I am not in a position to prohibit such articles nor have I the authority or the disposition to suppress the freedom of the press in such matters. Any attempt to do so would be futile, if not severely reactionary. Moreover, I have before me as I write unmistakable evidences of infinitely more alarming publications, widespread and persistent, in the papers of this country than in the French press concerning inflationary tendencies, all based on incontrovertible proofs.

Many measures proposed at this session by responsible Senators and Representatives in Congress would cause an incalculable amount of inflation. Proposals handed me by both government and bank authorities for incorporation in our proposed bank bill would literally open the flood-gates of inflation, if they would not certainly deprave our currency in a shocking measure. In these circumstances, mostly known to French financial agents in this country, I venture to express the utmost astonishment that the State Department or anybody else should imagine that confirmatory cables, however inexpedient and averse to my own judgment, could alarm France in any comparable sense when contrasted with the things that have been said and published and urged in this country by persons charged with making and administering laws. I am especially surprised that my former colleague in the Senate, the Ambassador at Paris, should have seriously given credence to this altogether unsubstantial supposition.

Very truly yours,

(signed) CARTER GLASS

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

April 19, 1935.

My dear Carter:-

I am writing to you in the utmost confidence about Parker Willis because I know of your old friendship for him. He is apparently employed by the Agence Economique and possibly other private or semi-private financial organizations in Europe to send them frequent reports on conditions in this country. Naturally I receive, through various sources, information in relation to what Mr. Willis is cabling to Europe.

I must tell you quite frankly that in his cables he has been guilty on many occasions of what I personally consider to be extremely unpatriotic action. Some of the things he has sent over are definite statements which are simply not true -- not borne out by the actual fact. He is also sending over by cable pure rumors which also have no basis in fact.

The net result is that in financial and business circles on the other side he is not only placing his own Government in a false light but he is also, by misstatement or the dissemination of false rumors, stirring up animosities and destroying confidence in the financial position of the American Government.

There are, of course, foreign correspondents in this country who send derogatory news,

but to have an American doing the same thing consistently rather gets under my skin, both personally and officially.

I think you ought to know about this.

Always sincerely,

Honorable Carter Glass,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

From THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM  
8th Floor, Earle Building, Washington, D. C.  
Metropolitan 3200

PSF: Senate  
File  
9/21/35  
Sen. Borah

For Release Sunday, September 22 at 10:00 P. M., EST

SENATOR BORAH DISCUSSES "OUR FOREIGN POLICY" OVER COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

(Following is a copy of an address by Senator William E. Borah, Republican, of Idaho, over the Columbia Broadcasting System Sunday, September 22, at 9:30 P. M., EST. Senator Borah's topic was "Our Foreign Policy". He spoke from his home in Boise, Idaho.)

-oOo-

We have just passed the 148th anniversary of the submission to the states for ratification of the Constitution of the United States. The sentiments called forth by the occasion took a wide range and indicated a deep interest upon the part of the people in all walks of life.

I have been all my life a student of constitutional government. I have had an opportunity for a quarter of a century to study and consider the forces which make for its failure or success, to watch its friends and its foes. I give it as my opinion tonight that the greatest danger to constitutional government, the most insidious enemy of our dual system of state and Federal sovereignty, is that intense partisanship which sometimes places party interests above country, which surrenders conscience, abdicates reason and compromises patriotism, that the party's hold may be strengthened and the party reign extended. I am <sup>not</sup> speaking now of that waste and corruption which parties too often foster and protect or of the taxes and debts which arise out of party extravagance in public expenditures. These things are bad enough. I am speaking of that partisanship which, under the lash of party interests and the insatiable appetite for political power does not hesitate to assail our most essential institutions, submerges or takes away the liberty of the citizen and rides roughshod over the national Charter itself.

Twice at least in our history - leaving aside the Civil War - the most fundamental tenets of personal liberty were disregarded or permanently imperiled, local self-government assailed, and our free constitutional government brought to the very verge of destruction through sheer partisan bigotry, if not sheer partisan madness. The most vital guarantees of the Constitution, placed there for the future security of the citizen, were tossed aside in the interest of party. One can hardly mention a principle of government which has not at some time in our history suffered by reason of irresponsible partisanship.

Every attack of any moment that has ever been made upon the Supreme Court of the United States has been made at the behest, or under the inspiration or direction of some political party for what was regarded as party advantage. In the early 1800's, the Democrats, - then passing under the name of Republicans, - began an

assault on the Court which lasted for a decade. Through the party press, by legislation, and by the threat of wholesale impeachment, an attempt was made to bring the Court under the direction and control of party policies and make it an adjunct of party power. Charges of bias and even corruption were made in connection with decisions of the Court, which decisions have since been recognized by all as sound and just and as laying a firm foundation for the nation's advancement and prosperity, and as among the surest guarantees of personal liberty.

In the 1860's and early '70's the Republican party began an assault upon the Court, unfounded and indefensible, malicious and vindictive, all in the vain effort to make the Court a part of the political machine and to compel it to serve <sup>party</sup> purposes. Bills were introduced to take away the jurisdiction of the Court in matters most vital to the personal interests of the citizen, the number of judges were changed, threatened impeachments were made. Nevertheless, the opinions about which this fight, long continued to range, are now referred to by all who have occasion to consult them or know their worth, as the very highest exemplification of the most salutary principles of free government and of personal liberty. I do not think it an exaggeration to say that, had blind partisanship had its way in that period, our whole theory of government, with its checks and balances, would have been radical and perhaps permanently changed and the conception of personal liberty, as known and cherished by all true Americans, would have been swept aside for decades, if not for all time.

We talk much in these days about dictators, here and abroad. We have had party dictatorship in this country more than once. - a dictatorship which respects neither the rights nor privileges of the citizen nor the plainest principles of constitutional law. Every political party in power in this country tends to become a dictatorship, and if it remains long enough in power with its retainers and pro-consuls, and political satraps, becomes so in fact. Those who oppose its measures or policies or decrees are denounced as renegades, insurgents, and outlaws, and are driven, if possible, into political exile. Such things can be endured and to some extent perhaps must be endured, since political parties seem to be a part of the system of free government, so long as they relate to ordinary measures or deal with passing matters. But when it comes to dealing with the very life of our free institutions, with the most vital underlying principles of personal liberty, when the Constitution itself is to be considered, it is plainly the duty of all to view these matters with less of partisanship and more as countrymen. It is not the changes which come as the result of experience and dispassionate consideration upon the part of the people which we need fear. It is the changes which are brought about and put through or defeated in the midst of party rage that we may well fear.

There has never been an hour in our entire history when our institutions or our constitutional form of government were imperiled by reason of the initiative of the

people. Every great crisis in civil government has invariably had its origin in partisan initiative, led on and directed by ambitious or reckless party leaders. We may find, as we have already found, it wise to make changes. But the time to make the change and the nature of the change should be determined free of partisan interests.

What can the people hope in the way of wise protection in the preservation of their rights and privileges from partisan leadership, when they see a political party earnestly advocating proposals as constitutional under the party administration and denouncing as unconstitutional the same measures and principles under another party's administration. Every political party, Federalist, Democratic, Whigs, Republicans, have zigzagged through our constitutional history, and their tracks out and in, going and coming, leaves one in doubt until you ascertain where their opponents are located. Partisanship has its place, but it is never a safe guide touching those things which are non-partisan, such as constitutional government and changes which it should undergo.

Few of our people, if any, fail to realize the strain which is now placed upon our constitutional system. Few, if any, I venture to believe, fail to fully appreciate what its preservation means to their children and their children's children. And, if in the consideration of those matters which will relate to the essential principles of constitutional government, we can have the untrammelled and uncontrolled judgment of the American people, the changes which may be made, or proposed and rejected, we can safely assume will not imperil our children's heritage.

What I have said will be considered no doubt as impolitic. But the soundness of my contention can not be disputed in the light of constitutional history in the United States. Whether Democrats or Republicans, when we approach the problems which involve our system of government, we are Americans! There is compensation to be found in almost all things, and it will be close to a divine blessing if this crisis leads the people to erect a constitutional "wailing wall" where all political parties may come in contrition and repentance and consider of their constitutional sins.

It seems too probable now that Europe is to have another war. While the world is struggling to break the depression brought on in a large measure by the World War, nations are maneuvering toward another conflict. While women and children are hungry and impoverished, vast profits are being realized and great sums expended for instruments fit only for the destruction of human beings. This situation also brings up the question of constitutional government. If we permit ourselves to be drawn in to another foreign war or into a policy which would engage us from time to time in the hazardous enterprise of uncovering aggressors, or chastizing supposed national

culprits, we shall inevitably experience in time a change in our whole structure of government.

The framers of our government were also the authors in the first instance of our foreign policy. They believed then, as many people believe now, that the foreign policy of a popular government should be as free from foreign entanglements as their domestic policy, that the former is as essential to the vital liberty of the people as the latter. People who are not wholly free at any particular juncture of their foreign affairs to remain neutral or to take up arms have already succumbed in practice, if not in principle, to the doctrines upon which all arbitrary governments rest. The more nearly the power to have peace or make war is under the control of the people, the more certainly will there be peace. The fateful situation in Europe tonight arises out of the fact that those who must make the sacrifice in case war comes, have no voice as to whether there shall be peace or war. If speech were free, the press uncontrolled, liberty of action upon the part of the people unrestrained, if constitutional government prevailed throughout Europe, there would be little danger of war.

During the closing days of the session, Congress passed a Joint Resolution unmistakably pointing the course of this nation in the event of a foreign war, or wars. In technical scope the Resolution is far from complete. None knew this better than those of who, as a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, gave days and even weeks to its consideration. But even so, its import and its purpose are clear and unmistakable. It plainly discloses that it is the policy of this nation to remain aloof from all foreign wars. Whatever may be the inadequacy of the Resolution in fully covering the subject with which it purports to deal, due notice is registered as to what our policy is to be. No one supposed, or should suppose, that the Resolution in and of itself will serve to keep us free from foreign wars. It is, however, a step in that direction. It plainly marks a milestone in our return to the long-established policy of this government, - "Peace, Commerce, and honest friendship with all nations - Entangling alliances with none".

It is fortunate that the purport of the Resolution has not been misunderstood or its significance underestimated abroad. Nothing contributes to good understanding between nations more than a firm and well-defined foreign policy. A weak, or uncertain, foreign policy inevitably invites contempt if not attack. If it be well understood once and for all among all nations that the United States has returned to the policy which it maintained with firmness, dignity, and success for more than a century; that we will seek within justice and honor to establish and maintain friendship with all nations; that we will neither interfere with their political affairs nor permit them to interfere with ours, with such an understanding is

bound to come greater respect from and far more cordial relations with all peoples.

The hopes entertained that the Great War was to give us a new world have not been realized. We are compelled to shape our course and determine our policy in the midst of affairs but little different from what they were when our government was organized. The weight of armaments is heavier now than at any time in recorded history, except in the midst of war. Boundary lines are yet unsatisfactory. The urge for expansion and the demand for territory are little different than 150 years ago. We should not hasten to abandon old policies once accepted as wise until we are sure conditions have changed which made those policies necessary. The traditions, policies and precepts of our country, domestic or foreign, which have become interwoven in the moral and intellectual fibre of our people, the traditions, customs, mode and standards of living, are a part of the people's wealth, an indispensable part of a nation's strength and the surest guarantees of continued national power. The test of greatness in a people has always been capacity to build the new into the old, to graft the demands of the present onto the experience of the past. It is wise to preserve as well as to create. We should not indulge in false theories or false hopes. The stakes are too heavy.

The Congress, therefore, in viewing the whole situation, declared, in the language of the Majority Leader, Senator Robinson: "We want no war. We want peace. Europe must understand we will contribute neither of our manpower nor of our wealth to her conflicts."

The foreign policy which offers peace to all nations, political commitments, express or implied, with none, may not be perfect. But it is more nearly perfect, especially for a self-governing people, than any which has yet been devised. Thus, armed with a sense of justice toward other nations on the one hand, and a sense of duty toward our own people on the other, this nation will remain at peace with all nations who want peace; and if there be those who do not want peace and will not have peace, we under such circumstances need have no fear.

(END)

From the Washington Herald Sept. 23 - 1935.

## GUARD COURT, CONSTITUTION, BORAH PLEADS

**Calls on People to Help Steer  
U. S. Out of War; Denounces  
Undermining Partisanship**

BOISE, Idaho, Sept. 22 (U.S.). A clarion call to the American people to defend their Constitution, safeguard the Supreme Court from partisan attacks and steer the nation clear of treacherous foreign entanglements, was sounded tonight by Senator Borah (R.), of Idaho.

Over a nation-wide radio network from his home here, Borah sternly denounced "the partisanship which assails our institutions, submerges the liberty of the citizen and rides rough-shod over the national charter."

### **Policy Attacked**

Asserting the probability of another European war, the former chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee branded the Administration-espoused policy of picking aggressors "hazardous" and predicted our involvement in the strife would completely change the structure of the American Government. He declared:

"The more nearly the power to have peace or make war is under control of the people, the more certainly will there be peace.

"If speech were free, the press uncontrolled, and liberty of action on the part of the people unrestrained — if constitutional government prevailed throughout Europe, there would be little danger of war."

### **Move for Peace**

Borah termed the neutrality resolution enacted near the close of the last session "a milestone in our return to the long-established policy—Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none."

He declared it fortunate the significance of the resolution had not been underestimated abroad.

Coupled with his declaration for a peace policy unhampered by political commitments was an implied plea for watchful preparedness. He declared:

"This nation will remain at peace with all nations who want peace; and if there be those who do not want peace, we under the circumstances need have no fear."

Reverting to domestic issues, Borah dipped into his well of constitutional knowledge to recall past political attacks by both political parties on the Constitution and the Supreme Court.

In the early Nineteenth century,

he asserted the Democrats, then called Republicans, launched a drive through a partisan press, legislation and threats of wholesale impeachment to make the court a party adjunct.

Again in the 1860's and 70's he charged, the Republicans beset the court with "malicious and vindictive attacks," changed the number of judges, and threatened impeachments because of judicial opinions the party found unpalatable. Borah said:

"I do not think it an exaggeration to say that had blind partisanship had its way in that period, our whole theory of government, with its checks and balances, would have been changed and the cherished conception of personal liberty swept aside."

### **DICTATOR TENDENCY**

More than once this country has had a "dictatorship which respects neither the rights nor privileges of the citizen nor the plainest principles of constitutional law," Borah declared, adding:

"Every political party in power in this country tends to become a dictatorship, but when it comes to dealing with the very life of our free institutions, with the most vital underlying principles of personal liberty, when the Constitution itself is to be considered, it is plainly the duty of all to view these matters with less of partisanship and more as countrymen.

"There has never been an hour in our entire history when our institutions or our constitutional form of Government was imperiled by reason of the initiative of the people. Every great crisis in civil government has invariably had its origin in partisan initiative, led on and directed by ambitious or reckless party leaders.

### **CAN PEOPLE HOPE?**

"What can the people hope in the way of wise protection in the preservation of their rights and privileges from partisan leadership when they see a political party earnestly ad-

vocating proposals as constitutional under the party administration and denouncing as unconstitutional the same measures and principles under another party's administration?

"Few of our people, if any, fail to realize the strain which is now placed upon our constitutional system. Few, if any, I venture to believe, fail to fully appreciate what its preservation means to their children and their children's children. And, if in the consideration of those matters which will relate to the essential principles of constitutional government, we can have the untrammelled and uncontrolled judgment of the American people, the changes which may be made, or proposed and rejected, we can safely assume will not imperil our children's heritage.

### **WE ARE AMERICANS**

"What I have said will be considered no doubt as impolitic. But the soundness of my contention can not be disputed in the light of constitutional history in the United States. Whether Democrats or Republicans, when we approach the problems which involve our system of government, we are Americans!

"There is compensation to be found in almost all things, and it will be close to a Divine blessing if this crisis leads the people to erect a constitutional 'wailing wall' where all political parties may come in contrition and repentance and consider of their constitutional sins."

# Congressional Record

BSF  
Senate

## SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 80

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1936

No. 14

### SENATE

TUESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1936

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Wednesday, January 22, 1936, at 12 o'clock meridian.

### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1936

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. James Sherris Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, Thou who holdest in Thy heart the secret of life and the mystery of death, harken as we pause with a bowed and sorrowing world. A noble sovereign, grandly human and just, has passed through the portals of time. He has left a heritage of wisdom, power, and goodness which reaches to the ends of the earth. Lord God of the nations, we praise Thee for his rich Christian character, for his fidelity to the right, and for the way he mastered the rub of feeling in the darkest moments of his realm. Great soul, he marked the star in the darkness, he heard the music on the waters and the still small voice in the deluge. O comfort his people we pray. As we approach our tasks, may we believe in the resurrection and in the life eternal. We wait for the breath of God. In the name of our Saviour. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Horne, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed, with an amendment, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 9870. An act to provide for the immediate payment of World War adjusted-service certificates, for the cancellation of unpaid interest accrued on loans secured by such certificates, and for other purposes.

#### EMERGENCY APPROPRIATION BILL

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado, by direction of the Committee on Appropriations, reported the bill (H. R. 10464, Rept. No. 1919) making appropriations to provide urgent supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, and for prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, which was read a first and second time, and, together with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered printed.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I reserve all points of order.

#### CORRECTION

Mr. DEEN. Mr. Speaker, the Record of yesterday, January 20, 1936, on page 722, when the Clerk called the bill (H. R. 8431) to provide for the establishment of the Fort Frederica National Monument at St. Simon Island, Ga., and for other purposes, shows that Mr. CARRIOW asked unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

As a matter of fact, it was I who made the motion, and I ask unanimous consent that the Record be amended accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the Record will be corrected in accordance with the statement of the gentleman from Georgia.

There was no objection.

#### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. PARSONS, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 6137. An act for the relief of the Otto Munch Co.

#### DEATH OF KING GEORGE V OF ENGLAND

Mr. McREYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to call the attention of the House to the death of His Majesty George V, known throughout the world as a great ruler, very much beloved by his people, and respected throughout the world on account of his clean life. I offer the following resolution, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

#### House Resolution 409

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the United States of America has learned with profound sorrow of the death of His Majesty George V, and sympathizes with his people in loss of their beloved sovereign.

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to communicate this expression of sentiment of the House of Representatives to the Government of Great Britain.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of King George the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 14 minutes P. M.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, January 22, 1936, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

612. A letter from the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, transmitting a report and recommendations from the Federal Coordinator of Transportation, with comments upon his recommendations; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and ordered to be printed.

613. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting the report of the Secretary of the Treasury on

the War Finance Corporation (its liquidation) covering the period from January 1, 1935, to December 31, 1935; to the Committee on Banking and Currency and ordered to be printed.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XXII.

Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: Committee on Appropriations. H. R. 10464. A bill making appropriations to provide urgent supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and for prior fiscal years, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1919). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. TAYLOR of Colorado: A bill (H. R. 10464) making appropriations to provide urgent supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and for prior fiscal years, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. CARMICHAEL: A bill (H. R. 10465) to legalize a bridge across Second Creek, Lauderdale County, Ala.; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ARENDS: A bill (H. R. 10466) granting an increase of pension to Mary Warman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CHAPMAN: A bill (H. R. 10467) for the relief of Charles M. Haggan; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. CHRISTIANSON: A bill (H. R. 10468) granting a pension to William S. Morrison; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CROWE: A bill (H. R. 10469) for the relief of Frank P. Boyd; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HESS: A bill (H. R. 10470) to correct the military record of Arthur E. Roberts; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LEE of Oklahoma: A bill (H. R. 10471) for the relief of Earnest B. Carleton; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LORD: A bill (H. R. 10472) granting a pension to Rose S. Wood; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LUDLOW: A bill (H. R. 10473) for the relief of Homer J. Williamson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ROBISON of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 10474) granting a pension to Molly Akin; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SCHNEIDER of Wisconsin: A bill (H. R. 10475) granting a pension to Carrie Washburne; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STARNES: A bill (H. R. 10476) for the relief of J. H. Richards; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WERNER: A bill (H. R. 10477) granting an increase of pension to Frew W. Fox; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WIGGLESWORTH: A bill (H. R. 10478) granting a pension to Sarah M. H. Nickerson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10479) granting a pension to Berth L. Wade; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10480) granting a pension to Dora B. Mann; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 10481) granting a pension to Mary Spear; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ZIMMERMAN: A bill (H. R. 10482) granting a pension to Charles C. Bray; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

9699. By Mr. ARENDS: Petition of 141 patrons of star route 35136, in the State of Illinois, asking that legislation be enacted by Congress to increase the compensation of star-route contractors for the extension of their contracts, etc.; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

9600. By Mr. CRAWFORD: Petition of 41 members of the Orleans (Mich.) Methodist Episcopal Church, asking Congress to enact the Copper bill (S. 541); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

9601. By Mr. FEIFER: Petition of Buskwick Democratic Club, Inc., Brooklyn, N. Y., concerning the neutrality policy; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

9602. By Mr. RICH: Petition of Harry L. Ryder and others of Williamsport, Pa., protesting against the Copeland food, drug, and cosmetic bill in its present form; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

9603. By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts: Petition of the Cambridge (Mass.) Federation of Teachers, condemning the Kramer bill to make it a crime to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

9604. Also, petition of the Cambridge (Mass.) Federation of Teachers, opposing the Tydings-McCormack bill; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

9605. By Mr. THOMASON: Petition of Midland County, Tex., farmers and businessmen, regarding operations of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; to the Committee on Agriculture.

9606. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Chapter 152, Railroad Employees National Pension Association, to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

The Public Printer shall furnish the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as follows, and shall furnish gratuitously no others in addition thereto:

To the Vice President and each Senator, 88 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each 20 copies; to the Secretary, for office use, 10 copies; to each Representative and Delegate, 60 copies; to the Clerk and Doorkeeper of the House, each 20 copies; to the Clerk, for office use, 10 copies, and for use of the Members of the House of Representatives, 50 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, for the use of the Senate, 20 copies; to be supplied daily as originally published, or in the revised or permanent form, bound.

To the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, and Delegate there shall be furnished two copies of the daily RECORD, one to be delivered at his residence and one at the Capitol (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 183, p. 1426).

There shall be reserved by the Public Printer from the quota of each Member of Congress and Delegate one copy of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in unstitched form, to be delivered to each Member or Delegate; and there shall be furnished to each standing committee of Congress one copy, which copies for Members and committees shall be bound promptly in paper when each semimonthly index shall be issued and shall be delivered without delay (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 184, p. 1427).

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# CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

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(Streets northwest unless otherwise stated)

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate—  
JOHN W. GARNER, The Washington

President pro Tempore—KAY BATTMAN, Nevada, 3838 Foxhall Road

Adams, Alvin H., Colorado.....The Wardman Park.  
Austin, Henry P., Arizona.....1802 K Street.  
Austin, Warren B., Vermont.....The Mayflower.  
Bachman, Nathan L., Tennessee.....779 Connecticut.  
Bailey, Josiah W., North Carolina.....The Mayflower.  
Bankhead, John H., Jr., Alabama.....2400 Sixteenth Street.  
Barbour, W. Warren, New Jersey.....78 Kalorama Circle.  
Barkley, Alben W., Kentucky.....2122 Cleveland Avenue.  
Benson, Elmer A., Minnesota.....The Wardman Park.  
Bibo, Theodore C., Mississippi.....The Wardman Park.  
Black, Hugo L., Alabama.....The Wardman Park.  
Boone, Homer T., Washington.....2121 Connecticut Avenue.  
Borah, William M., Idaho.....The Dodge.  
Brown, Fred H., New Hampshire.....1901 Wyoming Avenue.  
Bulkeley, Robert J., Ohio.....Shenandoah Court.  
Burlew, William J., South Dakota.....Shenandoah Court.  
Burke, Edward B., Nebraska.....1901 Wyoming Avenue.  
Byrd, Harry Flood, Virginia.....The Shoreham.  
Byrnes, James P., South Carolina.....The Shoreham.  
Capper, Arthur, Kansas.....The Mayflower.  
Cassway, Balthus W., Arkansas.....2348 Colorado Avenue.  
Cary, Robert D., Wyoming.....The Wardman Park.  
Chaves, Dennis, New Mexico.....Woodley Park Towers.  
Clark, Bennett Champ, Missouri.....4822 Quebec Street, Spring Valley.  
Connally, Tom, Texas.....The Shoreham.  
Coolidge, Marcus A., Massachusetts.....The Shoreham.  
Copeland, Royal S., New York.....The Shoreham.  
Cottigan, Edward P., Colorado.....113 Maryland Avenue NE.  
Cousens, James, Michigan.....2012 Massachusetts Avenue.  
Davis, James J., Pennsylvania.....2012 Massachusetts Avenue.  
Dickinson, L. J., Iowa.....2843 Allendale Place.  
Disterich, William H., Illinois.....The Wardman Park.  
Donahy, Vic, Ohio.....The Broadmoor.  
Duffy, T. Ryan, Wisconsin.....The Broadmoor.  
Fletcher, Duncan U., Florida.....2101 Connecticut Avenue.  
Frazier, Lynn J., North Dakota.....5629 First Street, Takoma Park.  
George, Walter F., Georgia.....The Mayflower.  
Gerry, Peter G., Rhode Island.....2122 K Street.  
Olson, Ernest W., Vermont.....The Wardman Park.  
Glavin, Carter, Virginia.....The Raleigh.  
Gore, Thomas F., Oklahoma.....The Raleigh.  
Grueter, Joseph F., Pennsylvania.....2340 Kalorama Road.  
Hale, Frederick, Maine.....1001 Sixteenth Street.  
Harrison, Pat, Mississippi.....2280 Cathedral Avenue.  
Hastings, Daniel O., Delaware.....The Shoreham.  
Hatch, Carl A., New Mexico.....The Shoreham.  
Hayden, Carl, Arizona.....110 Maryland Avenue NE.  
Holt, Bush D., West Virginia.....123 Maryland Avenue NE.  
Johnson, Hiram W., California.....123 Maryland Avenue NE.  
Keyes, Henry W., New Hampshire.....111 N. Alfred St., Alexandria, Va.  
King, William H., Utah.....The Westchester.  
La Follette, Robert M., Jr., Wisconsin.....2244 Cathedral Avenue.  
Latta, J. Hamilton, Illinois.....The Mayflower.  
Logan, M. M., Kentucky.....Dupont Circle Apartment.  
Lomenagan, Augustine, Connecticut.....2101 Macomb Street.  
McAdoo, William Gibbs, California.....The Shoreham.  
McCartan, Pat, Nevada.....3014 Morrison Street.  
McGill, George, Kansas.....The Westchester.  
McKellar, Kenneth, Tennessee.....The Willard.  
McNary, Charles L., Oregon.....The May-Adams.  
Maloney, Francis T., Connecticut.....The Willard.  
Metcalf, James H., Rhode Island.....The Willard.  
Minton, Sherman, Indiana.....The Willard.  
Moore, A. Harry, New Jersey.....The Shoreham.  
Murphy, Louis, Iowa.....The Wardman Park.  
Murray, James E., Montana.....The Wardman Park.  
Neely, Matthew M., West Virginia.....The Willard.  
Norbeck, Peter, South Dakota.....The Kennedy-Warren.  
Norris, George W., Nebraska.....Woodley Park Towers.  
Nye, Gerald P., North Dakota.....3832 Gramercy Street.  
O'Mahoney, Joseph C., Wyoming.....The Wardman Park.  
Overton, John H., Louisiana.....The Wardman Park.  
Pope, James F., Idaho.....The Northumberland.  
Radcliffe, George L., Maryland.....13 Edgely Road, Baltimore, Md.  
Raynolds, Robert B., North Carolina.....The Plaza.  
Robinson, Joseph T., Arkansas.....100 Maryland Avenue NE.  
Russell, Richard B., Jr., Georgia.....The Park Central.  
Schwellenbach, L. B., Washington.....1814 Nineteenth Street.  
Sheppard, Morris, Texas.....1113 East Capitol Street.  
Shipstead, Henrik, Minnesota.....The Wardman Park.  
Smith, Ellison D., South Carolina.....The Wardman Park.  
Stefwer, Frederick, Oregon.....7825 Orchid Street.  
Thomas, Hilbert D., Utah.....2127 Devonshire Place.  
Thomas, Elmer, Oklahoma.....1661 Crescent Place.  
Townsend, John G., Jr., Delaware.....The Shoreham.  
Trammell, Park, Florida.....2633 Sixteenth Street.  
Truman, Harry S., Missouri.....The Sedgwick Gardens.  
Tydings, Millard E., Maryland.....The Wardman Park.  
Vandenberg, Arthur H., Michigan.....The Wardman Park.  
Van Nuys, Frederick, Indiana.....1901 Wyoming Avenue.  
Wagner, Robert F., New York.....The Shoreham.  
Walsh, David I., Massachusetts.....The Carlton.  
Wheeler, Burton K., Montana.....2737 Jocelyn Street.  
White, Wallace H., Jr., Maine.....2440 Tracy Place.

### OFFICERS OF THE SENATE

Secretary—Edwin A. Halsey, 1524 Ingraham Street.  
Sergeant at Arms—Charles W. Jurney, 100 Maryland Avenue NE.  
Secretary for the Majority—Leslie L. Bime, The Westchester.  
Secretary for the Minority—Carl A. Lozier, 1738 Kenyon Street.  
Chaplain—Rev. Edmarie Thomas Phillips, D. D., 2254 B Street.  
Deputy Sergeant at Arms—J. Mark Trice, 4000 Cathedral Avenue.  
Chief Clerk—John C. Crockett, The Mandata.

## UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

(In Capital)

|                               |                           |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Mr. Chief Justice Hughes..... | 2225 B Street.            |
| Mr. Justice Van Devanter..... | 2101 Connecticut Avenue.  |
| Mr. Justice McReynolds.....   | 2208 California Street.   |
| Mr. Justice Brandeis.....     | 2208 Connecticut Avenue.  |
| Mr. Justice Sutherland.....   | 1228 Wisconsin Street.    |
| Mr. Justice Butler.....       | 2340 Wyoming Avenue.      |
| Mr. Justice Stone.....        | 1401 Thirty-First Street. |
| Mr. Justice Roberts.....      | 2101 Connecticut Avenue.  |
| Mr. Justice Cardozo.....      | 2101 Connecticut Avenue.  |

### OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT

Clerk—Charles E. Moore, Cathedral Mansions, South.  
Deputy Clerk—Reginald C. Dahl, 1228 Wisconsin Street.  
Deputy Clerk—Hugh W. Barr, 4781 Connecticut Avenue.  
Marshal—Frank Key Green, 2324 Newark Street.  
Reporter—Ernest Kiesel, 2707 Morrison Street, Chevy Chase.

### UNITED STATES JUDICIAL CIRCUITS—JUSTICES ASSIGNED— TERRITORY EMBRACED

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| <b>First judicial circuit</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |  |
| Mr. Justice Brandeis. Districts of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Puerto Rico.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |  |
| <b>Second judicial circuit</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |  |
| Mr. Justice Stone. Districts of Vermont, Connecticut, northern New York, southern New York, eastern New York, and western New York.                                                                                                                                                                                                           |  |
| <b>Third judicial circuit</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |  |
| Mr. Justice Roberts. Districts of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, middle Pennsylvania, western Pennsylvania, and Delaware.                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |  |
| <b>Fourth judicial circuit</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |  |
| Mr. Chief Justice Hughes. Districts of Maryland, northern West Virginia, southern West Virginia, eastern Virginia, western Virginia, eastern North Carolina, western North Carolina, and eastern and western South Carolina.                                                                                                                  |  |
| <b>Fifth judicial circuit</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |  |
| Mr. Justice Cardozo. Districts of northern Georgia, southern Georgia, middle Georgia, northern Florida, southern Florida, northern Alabama, middle Alabama, southern Alabama, northern Mississippi, southern Mississippi, eastern Louisiana, western Louisiana, northern Texas, southern Texas, eastern Texas, western Texas, and Canal Zone. |  |
| <b>Sixth judicial circuit</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |  |
| Mr. Justice McReynolds. Districts of northern Ohio, southern Ohio, eastern Michigan, western Michigan, eastern Kentucky, western Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, middle Tennessee, and western Tennessee.                                                                                                                                        |  |
| <b>Seventh judicial circuit</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |  |
| Mr. Justice Van Devanter. Districts of Indiana, northern Illinois, eastern Illinois, southern Illinois, eastern Wisconsin, and western Wisconsin.                                                                                                                                                                                             |  |
| <b>Eighth judicial circuit</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |  |
| Mr. Justice Butler. Districts of Minnesota, northern Iowa, southern Iowa, eastern Missouri, western Missouri, eastern Arkansas, western Arkansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota.                                                                                                                                                   |  |
| <b>Ninth judicial circuit</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |  |
| Mr. Justice Sutherland. Districts of northern California, southern California, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, eastern Washington, western Washington, Idaho, Arizona, and Territories of Alaska and Hawaii.                                                                                                                                         |  |
| <b>Tenth judicial circuit</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |  |
| Mr. Justice Van Devanter. Districts of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Kansas, eastern Oklahoma, western Oklahoma, northern Oklahoma, and New Mexico.                                                                                                                                                                                                |  |

## COURT OF CLAIMS

(Pennsylvania Avenue and Seventeenth Street. Phone, District 9642)

|                                    |                        |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Chief Justice—Fenton W. Booth..... | 1752 Lambert Street.   |
| Judge—William B. Green.....        | 2400 Sixteenth Street. |
| Judge—Thomas S. Williams.....      | 3414 Cardfield Street. |
| Judge—Benjamin H. Littleton.....   | The Northumberland.    |
| Judge—Richard S. Whaley.....       | The Shoreham.          |

## OFFICIAL REPORTERS OF DEBATES

### SENATE

|                                   |                                   |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| James W. Murphy.....              | 7 Princeton St., Chevy Chase, Md. |
| Percy E. Budlong.....             | 1308 Gallatin Street.             |
| Daniel H. Lloyd.....              | Olney Dale, Md.                   |
| John D. Rhodes.....               | 1427 Madison Street.              |
| James B. Wick.....                | 3472 Park Place.                  |
| Fred A. Carlson.....              | 2320 Plymouth Street.             |
| Edward V. Murphy (assistant)..... | 3539 B Street.                    |

### HOUSE

|                                     |                                    |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Reuel Small.....                    | 521 Butternut Street.              |
| Allister Cochran.....               | 2638 Wooding Place.                |
| H. B. Weaver.....                   | 1348 Ingraham Street.              |
| W. L. Fenstermacher.....            | 19 Quincy Street, Chevy Chase, Md. |
| Chas. L. Whitman.....               | 4830 Linnean Avenue.               |
| P. S. Milberg.....                  | 2229 Oliver Street.                |
| Charles H. Parkman (assistant)..... | 1003 Taylor Street NE.             |

*File  
Senate (S) Dr  
#36*

PSF: U. S. Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

[1935]

1/21 - 10 A

File ✓ F. D. D. 2 -

Sen. <sup>Duncan</sup> Fletcher called in person and said:

"I want to have Mac bring the matter to the attention of the President or I would be glad to see the President at any time if he wants to see me, to draw his mind to these thoughts:

- 1 - With reference to the members of the Board of Governors of the Fed. Res. System, he should be very careful to select men who believe in the public control of credit. That is the vital thing and accords with the Dem. platform and his (the President's) views as I understand them in the past. There should be public control of credit.

I don't think he should select a man on that Bd who doesn't believe in that if he can avoid it.

That's all I say about that -- its vital. If he should get the wrong man on the Board, all the good that can be accomplished by the Act of 1935 will be gone.

- 2.- The Appropriation Bill is now pending before the Sub-Committee of the House. They have finished hearings on it, particularly the appropriations for rivers and harbors of 129 million dollars. The breakdown of that covers six projects which the President adopted and on which he began work and to which he allocated funds.

Included in those six projects is the Florida Canal.

Now, the Republicans are endeavoring to make political capital and they are doing it purely for political reasons, on the claim that the President had no authority to adopt any Federal projects and that only Congress can do that, and they seek to emphasize this claim

WASHINGTON  
and WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

-2-

and make this political move to discredit the Administration by defeating the appropriation.

It is therefore very important that the President get behind this Sub-Committee on Appropriations in the House and insist that they stand by the Administration and support the President -- demand it -- because some of these Republicans are giving the impression -- and it may influence some Democrats -- that the President has plenty of money out of the Joint Resolution with which to carry on these projects and therefore does not need any appropriation.

The President is standing on absolutely firm ground and in a sound position. This Joint Resolution gave him full authority to do exactly what he has done, that is, designate these projects, start work and now come before Congress to ask for the appropriations, just as he would in the case of Federal projects, rivers and harbors, canals, etc., and that is what he is doing now, and these Republicans are trying to defeat the appropriation as a means of discrediting the Administration. Vandenberg with his resolution, which he knows won't get anywhere, is merely laying the ground."

K

vah.

PSF: Senate

WHARTON, Flora,  
Regent, Old Towne Chapter,  
Daughters of the American Revolution,  
Logansport, Ind.  
January 25, 1936

Writes the President in behalf of the above organization asking for his attitude towards the speech of Rexford G. Tugwell made in California which has been criticized by Senator Lester J. Dickinson of Iowa.

See 1-Miscel.

J

1/26/36  
ack'd 2/26/36  
M.D.D.

Trenton N.J. PSF: Senate

2/19/36

~~Sen. Post~~

Dear Mr. Roosevelt

After listening to U. S. Senator  
Lester J. Dickinson talk to the young  
republicans over the radio Wed. evening  
I sent you my comment on his speech as below

Mr. Dickinson

After listening to your talk to the  
young republicans Wed eve 2/19/36 I must say  
that it certainly was uninteresting and I am  
sure that after they listened to you quoting  
figures your voice became calloused to  
them the same as it did to me, but still  
I understood the inward hate that you have  
for the president the most honorable friend  
of the working man and woman and hungry  
children, you certainly did try to relieve  
yourself of some of that inward burning hate,  
and at the same time try to make the working  
men and women you were talking to believe  
you were saying something for their good,  
if you wanted to quote figures why didn't  
you start with telling them what the  
government debt was when Roosevelt took  
office and what it is now

you certainly made it in your own favor  
and I am sure that if there was a working  
man or woman in your audience that  
approved of your talk they would have  
to be simple, you couldn't avoid saying  
how bad the rich felt about paying  
you and none of your other republican  
speakers have said you could do a better  
job, don't forget we listened for four years  
that prosperity was around the corner?  
think Amos + Andy were the only ones  
that knew where it was they said it was  
around the corner and up two alleys,  
but it took our friend President Roosevelt  
to find it, and he is going to stay right  
there with the working man and woman  
support and also the support of the  
unemployed the man who gave labor  
100% protection to organize our friend  
Honorable F. D. Roosevelt.

John J. Whearty  
401 Greenwood Ave  
Trenton N.J.

[1936]

file  
personal PSF: Senate

RAILROAD INVESTIGATION

(1) Wheeler's Committee -- Interstate Commerce of the Senate -- has voted to ask for \$100,000 for its railroad investigation. The Committee has previously been allotted only \$25,000 to break ground. The full amount is needed -- anything appreciably less may even be wasted in an inadequate job. Barkley, Donahey, Wagner and others of the Committee are strongly in favor of the investigation. Attached hereto is a commendatory Scripps-Howard editorial.

(2) Wheeler does not want to talk to Byrnes (Audit & Control) until Byrnes has been "talked to". Certain statements of Byrnes to the effect that Byrnes will not approve anything approaching \$100,000, have weakened Wheeler's determination to hold out for the full amount in the trading which Wheeler must ultimately undertake with Byrnes. In other conversations, however, with representatives of railroad union labor supporting his primary, Byrnes has given such representatives indications that under pressure Byrnes would not hold out too hard against the full \$100,000.

(3) In view of the weakening position of both Wheeler and Byrnes, it may be advisable to invite Wheeler, Barkley, Donahey and Wagner to a conference to discuss the investigation -- stiffen Wheeler's courage with the unity of Barkley, Donahey and Wagner (who are eager to hold such a conference) -- and then after a few more days of union pressure have further weakened Byrnes, "talk to" Byrnes for the full \$100,000 before Wheeler speaks to Byrnes.

Wash. Times - April 28, 1936

### AN INTELLIGENT INQUIRY

AS WITH our national debt, when you talk about the railroads you talk in terms of billions. And the railroad industry, so important to our nation, is in a bad way—has been for a long time. It is not merely desirable, it is necessary, therefore, that the Government, on which rests the responsibility for regulating this vast utility, find the heart of the financial, as well as the operating, trouble.

Therefore, we think the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee is wise in voting, as it has, for an additional \$100,000 to continue the investigation, which already is in progress, into railroad financing.

The Government's stake—which means the taxpayer's—as well as the private investor's, is tremendous.

It has loaned the railroads thru the RFC 400 millions and thru PWA 200 millions—additional to some 30 millions loaned some 15 years ago, and still owing.

Further, various reorganization plans call for more large loans. For example, the Western Pacific wants 10 millions on top of 3 already owed; the St. Paul, 24 millions to be added to 15 now "on the cuff."

Some 89 railroads are in bankruptcy or receivership, representing a total mileage of over 70,000.

And, to get the picture in the large, there are invested in the railroad industry 27 billions, of which 3 billions represent life insurance investments and a billion and a half mutual savings bank investments.

A public that has put that much into one basket is entitled to know something about the conditions of its eggs.

PSF  
Senate

File Norris

May 4, 1936.

Letter to Senator Norris from David Lilienthal about  
Chairman Morgan opposing his re-appointment. Explains  
their differences of opinion in re-T.V.A. Encloses  
his letter to Morgan and his reply.

SEE--Tennessee Valley Authority-Special File-Drawer 2--1936.

*PSF Senate*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Full Senate*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
May 11, 1936.

MEMORANDUM FOR

SENATOR BYRNES

Dear Jimmy:-

I am worried about the Interstate Commerce Committee not getting enough money for its railroad investigation. They have only had \$25,000 to break ground - and I honestly believe the full amount is needed to do an adequate job.

We have come to the point in this whole railroad problem that if we are to save the railroads permanently, we must have a final and authoritative investigation. Joe Eastman has accomplished many excellent results as Coordinator but he cannot obviously handle the many other points of information which are necessary.

Next year I feel very strongly that we shall have to take action.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

-2-

Will you talk with Bert Wheeler and Joe Robinson about it? I hope that the investigation can go ahead full speed, and I am sure that we can afford the full necessary amount - it would be money well spent.

F. D. R.

file  
private

PSF

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

file Senate

Mr. President

The term of Mr. Lilienthal  
expires next Mon. He  
should be reappointed at  
once to avoid any delay.  
It might be delayed in  
Senate several days -  
if Mr. Morgenthau resigned & V  
would leave the J.C.A.  
helpless

May 14-'36

G.W. Morris

TO BE PLACED IN PRESIDENT'S PRIVATE  
FILES. HAD NOT BEEN SIGNED ON  
MAY 25th.

rb

*"file  
private"*

PSF: U.S. Senate

*May 24, 1936*  
*Sen. Finance 2-36*

May 24, 1936.

My dear Mr. Chairman:

In continuance of our conversation the other day I feel that it is only right that I should give you my definite conclusion relating to amendments proposed by the Senate Finance Committee to the House of Representatives Tax Bill.

In my message early in March I stressed the need for additional revenue to replace outlawed taxes and I fully recognized the right of the Congress to select the type of new taxes. At the same time I pointed out that nearly all of this additional, permanent revenue could be obtained by stopping the very grave avoidance of surtaxes which is now so widespread under existing law. I said:

"Since stockholders are the beneficial owners of both distributed and undistributed corporate income, the aim, as a matter of fundamental equity, should be to seek equality of tax burden on all corporate income whether distributed or withheld from the beneficial owners. As the law now stands our corporate taxes dip too deeply into the shares of corporate earnings going to stockholders who need the disbursement of dividends; while the shares of stockholders who can afford to leave earnings undistributed escape current surtaxes altogether."

To attain the principle of fundamental equity in taxing corporate income, I made this suggestion:

"The rate on undistributed corporate income should be graduated and so fixed as to yield approximately the same revenue as would be yielded if corporate profits were distributed and taxed in the hands of stockholders."

I must be frank in telling you that my study of the Finance Committee's proposed plan leads me to believe that it does not in any effective way incorporate either of the fundamental suggestions outlined in my message. ~~The~~ does not raise sufficient revenue. Equally important, it increases the taxes on corporate earnings which now go to stockholders and still permits those stockholders who can afford to leave earnings undistributed, to continue the practice and escape surtaxes, except to an almost negligible extent.

In other words, the amendments increase very heavily the taxes of those who now pay full taxes and do not prevent the avoidance now practiced by people whose earned income ought to, but does not, pay the proportionate share of taxes contemplated by this and by former Congresses.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Pat Harrison,  
Chairman,  
Senate Finance Committee,  
Washington, D. C.

*not signed as yet  
on 5/25/36*

*B. B.*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

My dear Mr. Chairman:

In continuance of our conversation of the other day, I feel that it is only right that I should give you certain broad conclusions on the amendments to the tax bill proposed by the Finance Committee.

In my Message, I invited attention to the basic principles which should underlie tax legislation enacted to provide the additional permanent revenue needed at this time, pointing out that this revenue could be obtained by stopping the avoidance of surtaxes now widespread under our present tax system. I said:

*Insert*

"Since stockholders are the beneficial owners of both distributed and undistributed corporate income, the aim, as a matter of fundamental equity, should be to seek equality of tax burden on all corporate income whether distributed or withheld from the beneficial owners. As the law now stands our corporate taxes dip too deeply into the shares of corporate earnings going to stockholders who need the disbursement of dividends; while the shares of stockholders who can afford to leave earnings undistributed escape current surtaxes altogether."

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"The rate on undistributed corporate income should be graduated and so fixed as to yield approximately the same revenue as would be yielded if corporate profits were distributed and taxed in the hands of stockholders."

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TELEPHONE  
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| NL  | NIGHT LETTER       |
| NM  | NIGHT MESSAGE      |
| LCO | DEFERRED CABLE     |
| NLT | NIGHT CABLE LETTER |
|     | RADIOGRAM          |

Form  
16

NA2 13 NM=WAUPACA WIS 11

THE PRESIDENT=

HYDEPARK NY=

1936 AUG 23 AM 7 14

*file  
personal PSF  
Hill Senate  
Drawer 2 36*

HAVE AUTHORIZED SENATOR LAFOLLETTE TO SIGN MY NAME TO CALL  
FOR PROGRESSIVE CONFERENCE=

G W NORRIS.

Telephone Your Telegrams to **Postal Telegraph**

RICHARD B. RUSSELL, JR.  
GEORGIA

**United States Senate**

WASHINGTON, D. C.



COMMITTEES:  
APPROPRIATIONS  
NAVAL AFFAIRS  
IMMIGRATION  
MANUFACTURES

*file personal*

Atlanta, Georgia  
September 15, 1936

*PSF  
file Senate*

Dear Mr. President:

I deeply appreciate your personal note.

I had such a good issue that I could not lose, and I believe if the campaign had run a week longer we would have carried every County in the State.

It was a matter of regret to me that I could not be with you at Charlotte, but I am sure that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you in the near future.

Sincerely,

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

PSF  
File Senate  
- Brown 2/31

September 19, 1936.

Dear George:-

I feel as if I had not seen you for years and this is just a line to tell you, first of all, how very happy I am in your candidacy and how happy I am in the splendid support you are giving to liberal action. You will note that Woodrow Wilson often spoke of liberal thought. I go one step further in calling it liberal action - and by gosh we are getting results, aren't we?

Last night I was on the train coming back from Cambridge and did not hear your splendid radio address but this morning I have read it. Thank the Lord for it and you. You have the same old punch and the same old clarity. More power to you!

Your affectionate friend,

Honorable George W. Norris,  
McCook,  
Nebraska.

DURIGAN U. FLETCHER, FLA., CHAIRMAN  
CARTER GLASS, VA.  
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ALVA B. ADAMS, COLO.  
PETER NORRICK, S. DAK.  
PHILLIPS LEE GOLDBERG, MD.  
JOHN G. TOWNSEND, JR., DEL.  
FREDERIC C. WALCOTT, CONN.  
ROBERT D. CAREY, WYO.  
JAMES COUZENS, MICH.  
FREDERICK STEWER, OREG.  
HAMILTON F. KEAR, N. J.  
WILLIAM L. HILL, CLERK

PSF  
**United States Senate**  
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY



Santa Barbara, California,  
October 3, 1936.

PERSONAL

Dear Frank:

One of our newspapers quoted me as saying  
in a speech: "California will give twenty-two  
electrical votes to Roosevelt November next."

I didn't say it - I said "electoral" - but  
we'll deliver the "electrical" and the "electoral"  
vote both to you in November!

Cordially yours,

The President,

The White House,

Washington, D. C.

WGM/ad

PSF  
Senate

October 6, 1936

Dear Carter:

I am awfully sorry, as I need not tell you, to hear that Mrs. Glass is ill. Do please give her my very warm regards, and tell her that I am counting on that vote of hers on November third. I do hope that she will very quickly be better.

I am off to the West on Thursday or Friday, and with somewhat mixed feelings I am inclined to think that so far as I am concerned the election prognostication is favorable.

I get back to Washington the nineteenth or twentieth for two or three days, and if you are here do run in to see me.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable Carter Glass,  
United States Senator,  
Lynchburg,  
Virginia.

MAL/RB/mwd

PSF  
Senate  
Dinner 2-36

October 7, 1936.

Dear Jim:-

Many thanks for your letter. You are right about the campaign not yet being won.

I expect to spend one day - October fifteenth - in Michigan, and I hope that I shall see you at that time, if only for a few minutes. It would help me if you were seen with me!

As soon as election is over I hope much that you will be in Washington and that we can then have a good talk.

I think you could legally go on the Maritime Commission as soon as your term expires. One of the many good reasons that makes me want you for Chairman is that you do not know the first thing about water shipping, naval construction or design! Neither do I but I have to approve or disapprove every known variety of technical undertaking.

I look forward to seeing you the fifteenth.

As ever yours,

Honorable James Couzens,  
Birmingham,  
Michigan.

JAMES COUZENS  
MICHIGAN

PS F: Senate

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



Birmingham, Michigan,  
September 25, 1936.

Dear Mr. President:

It is over a week since Hall called and handed your very delightful and interesting letter to me. Hall said to let it rest a while and this I have done but the more I think about it, the more I am convinced that my original decision was right. There is so much that I could say about your letter that has no connection whatever with the Chairmanship of the Maritime Commission that I think I will have to wait until I have an opportunity to chat with you. We have a home in Washington and will probably be there about election time. Soon thereafter, I may have an opportunity to visit with you when I can tell you face to face how much I appreciate the very nice things you have said about my political history.

I do want to emphasize, however, that the election is not won and I think there is a lot of work to be done. Great headway could be made among the women by pointing out your good neighbor policy and your endeavor to keep us out of foreign conflict. Then again, some simplified form has to be adopted for ridiculing our national debt. I told Hall that I wanted to be helpful in your campaign and I still do.

Now so far as the Chairmanship of the Maritime Commission is concerned, I do not know the first thing about water shipping, naval construction or design, yet if I were to be chairman, I would have to assume the responsibility of the decision of your so-called experts. Then again, if I remember correctly, a member of Congress has to be out of office one or two years before he can be the beneficiary of any act that was passed while he was a member of Congress. However, that is something also that can be looked up later.

I am very anxious to see you and whenever the spirit moves, do not hesitate to have me come in.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

*James Earl Ray*

The President  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

JC:LS

PERSONAL

September 17, 1936.

Dear Jim:-

Hall has been with me here in Washington while the returns were coming in. I need not tell you that you were a good sport because you were a lot more than that -- you lived up to your own ideals. Actually, your run was a feat unprecedented in political history and will always be remembered.

What I want to convey to you in very simple terms is that you and your ideals and ability must not, because of a political system, be lost to the country. As you are aware, one of the most difficult problems before us is that of American shipping. Ever since the mail subsidies of the eighteen forties, when the Merchant Marine legislation was passed, shipping has gone through ups and downs but always more or less the victim of party politics or of shipping lobbies.

Today I am confronted with constituting a Maritime Commission under the new bill, which, although not perfect, is very definitely a step in the right direction, giving powers to this independent Commission which are far greater than any previously granted. In fact, this new Commission can put our sea borne trade back on its feet in an honest way.

It had been my hope that I could avoid appointing the Maritime Commission until after election. But because of one of the provisions

in the Act it is necessary to appoint at least three out of the five members, in order that they may organize and receive applications from existing mail contract lines before September thirtieth. I am, therefore, appointing three men or four men, at least one from the Army and one from the Navy, and these appointments will be understood to be temporary and for organization purposes only.

What I need and what the country needs is a fearless Chairman of this Maritime Commission, who will take the responsibility in setting up and putting through a new and permanent Mercantile Marine policy. Experts on engineering, ship design, ship management, etc., can be hired, but a Chairman with the capacity and the courage I seek cannot be hired; he must be drafted. That is why I want you on the first of January to undertake the task of heading the Maritime Commission. I would ask you to serve at once but I cannot do this under the Constitution until your term of office as a Senator has expired.

In sending you this note by Hall, I can only reiterate that irrespective of party affiliations the country needs you in public service, and I cannot conceive of any higher or more important duty than getting the Maritime Commission started under real leadership and under auspices that will be considered neither political nor tinged with any special interest.

I have emphasized courage because it will take courage to end many abuses which have grown up in the shipping industry in the past. You have that courage.

My warm regards,

Faithfully yours,

Honorable James Couzens,  
Detroit.

C O P Y

PERSONAL

*File Senate  
Drawer 2-32*

September 8, 1936.

Dear Jim:-

It is one of the fine things about public life that every once in a while the usual rules of the political game are not followed! Your announcement is not only fine in itself but it is especially so because it came without solicitation or suggestion on my part or on that of any member of the Democratic organization.

Frankly, I was just as much taken by surprise as, I imagine, Brother Landon was. I want you to know that I appreciate not alone what you have said and done but also your manner of doing it -- for you have shown a very deep courage based on conviction and may lost your Primary as a result.

Perhaps you have not seen this typical vile editorial in the Chicago Tribune which came to me the other day. I do not give a continental under which party label you or I may happen to enroll ourselves but I do know that very fundamentally you and I have the same ethical standards.

Always sincerely,

Honorable James Couzens,  
Detroit,  
Michigan.

PS F: Senate

**United States Senate**

WASHINGTON, D. C.



Lynchburg, Virginia,  
October 7, 1936.

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

Dear Franklin:

Mrs. Glass charges me to express to you her deep appreciation of your kind note to me of recent date and to tell you that you may confidently rely on her vote at the election November third. A Presbyterian's promise is as good as gold used to be and you may be sure that Mrs. Glass' vote will help swell the majority which Virginia will certainly give you. Mrs. Glass has been seriously ill, but is very gradually regaining her strength. I have not left home since seeing you last, except on one or two imperative occasions; and whenever I am away, am always in a disturbed state of mind.

My own health is not particularly good, since this infernal arthritis persists, and none of the numerous physicians consulted seem to be able to do anything with it. Should I be able to get to Washington when you return, I will endeavor to drop in to see you.

With cordial regards and best wishes

Sincerely yours,

*Center Glass.*  
—

26F  
Hall Senate  
November 2-36

October 26, 1936.

Dear Boss and Hiram:-

I have purposely refrained from bothering you during the past weeks for I have known what a very horrid three months you both have gone through. It is good to know that you are both getting on so well, and sometime after election it would be grand if you would come down and have a quiet supper here with me.

Things seem to be going extraordinarily well in every State except Vermont and Maine, though I am frankly a little worried about George Morris' chances in Nebraska. It would be a tragedy if he did not come back.

Apparently California remains safe but, of course, any statement by you, Hiram, would put the finishing touches to the picture, not only in California but in Oregon and Washington.

My affectionate regards to you both.

Always sincerely,

Honorable and Mrs. Hiram W. Johnson,  
122 Maryland Avenue, N.E.,  
Washington, D. C.

JOE T. ROBINSON, CHAIRMAN

PSF: Senate

file

**United States Senate**

CONFERENCE OF THE MAJORITY

Little Rock, Arkansas  
November 30, 1936



My dear Mr. President:

It was very gracious of you, just before leaving for Buenos Aires, to send me your message of Nov. 21.

It is perhaps needless to assure you again of my heartfelt gratification at the overwhelming endorsement accorded your Administration in the November election. In my judgment, a considerable part of it is attributable to your personality and to the esteem in which you are held as an individual, as well as the approval of your general policies respecting public affairs.

I shall hope for and expect a continuance of that very agreeable association and cooperation which has heretofore marked our relationship.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

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

Joe T. Robinson

MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX., CHAIRMAN  
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.  
J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.  
MARCUS A. COOLIDGE, MASS.  
M. M. LOGAN, KY.  
ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, N. C.  
NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN.  
P. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.  
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH  
SHERMAN MINTON, IND.  
LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH, WASH.

VICTOR RUSSELL, CLERK  
C. H. TOLBERT, ASST. CLERK

*BF Senate*  
*U.S. Senate '33-'36*  
**United States Senate**

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

December 2, 1936.



Dear Mr. President:

I cannot tell you how deeply I appreciate your kind and gracious communication of November 21 in reference to my reelection. I deem it a privilege that cannot be measured in human terms to continue to serve with you in the public interest.

Again I wish to congratulate you on the marvelous tribute to yourself<sup>to</sup> which your wonderful majority gave such undoubted testimony. It is to date the outstanding electoral triumph in American history.

Truly your friend,

*Morris Sheppard.*

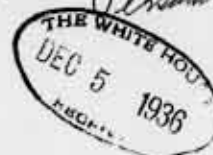
President Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.

*PSF*

**United States Senate**

WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 4, 1936



My dear Mr. President:

I want to thank you for your kind note congratulating me on being elected to the United States Senate from Florida.

I shall look forward to happy associations with you in the future and trust that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you on your return from your trip.

With kindest good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

*C. Andrews*

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

J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL., CHAIRMAN  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y. DANIEL O. HARTINGS, DEL.  
FREDERICK VAN HUTE, IND. JAMES J. DAVIS, PA.  
KEY PITTMAN, NEV.  
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.  
JOSEPH C. MARON, CLERK

*PSF*  
**United States Senate**

COMMITTEE ON  
EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE  
DEPARTMENTS

December 7, 1936.



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

My very dear Mr. President:

Your letter of November 21st of congratulations seems to have gone to my city of Chicago. It now finds me here. This is belated acknowledgment, but from the soul of one who feels the success of yourself makes for the welfare of the country.

I reciprocate your expressions of congratulation. Dear wishes to you. -

May I add my congratulations as to what I feel has been the effect upon the world of your trip to South America.

Yours sincerely,

*J. Hamilton Lewis*

JOSEPH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN  
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.  
NARCIS A. COOLIDGE, MASS.  
M. M. LOGAN, NY.  
EDWARD R. BURKE, ILL.  
LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH, WASH.  
ELMER A. BENDSON, MINN.  
ROSE MCCONNELL LONG, LA.  
ARTHUR GAPPER, KANS.  
JOHN S. TOWNSEND, JR., DEL.  
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MASS.  
ERNEST W. GIBSON, VT.

United States Senate  
COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS

Raleigh, N. C.,  
December 10, 1936.



*PSF Senate*

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

My dear Mr. President:

I thank you with all my heart for  
your message of November 21st concerning my re-election.

You may be interested to know that you ran  
ahead of me in North Carolina by about 50,000, and that I ran  
ahead of our candidate for Governor by about 60,000 and re-  
ceived the greatest majority ever given a candidate for a  
major office in this State, except yourself. I consider that  
I was running pretty well to keep in striking distance of  
you and I recognize that the 50,000 vote difference is about  
right.

I rejoice in your re-election and it gave  
me much happiness to canvass this State for you. The fact is,  
one of the most agreeable experiences of my life is to make a  
speech for you in North Carolina. Whenever I would go to fill  
an appointment and asked the boys what I should talk about,  
they would say "Tell 'em about Roosevelt."

I am enclosing a little clipping from the  
Charlotte Observer, which I think you will enjoy. You must  
bear in mind that the word "hoped" denotes two very fine verbs.  
The negro is much more capable at expressing himself than the  
white man and sometimes I fear that education will destroy this  
priceless gift.

I am hoping to see you soon and work  
earnestly with you. If you will put up a battle to balance  
the budget, you will find me fighting very hard with you.

I think your visit to South America was  
just another one of your amazing series of strokes of genius, -  
the time, the place, the man and the message altogether.

JOSEPH WILLIAM BAILEY, H. C., CHAIRMAN  
RUSO L. BLACK, ALA.  
MARCUS A. COOLIDGE, MASS.  
M. M. LOGAN, KY.  
EDWARD R. BURKE, ILL.  
LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH, WASH.  
ELMER A. BENSON, MINN.  
ROSE MCCONNELL LONG, LA.

ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.  
JOHN B. TOWNSEND, JR., DEL.  
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE  
ERNEST W. GIBSON, VT.

**United States Senate**  
COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS

-2- President Roosevelt

With every good wish for the happiness  
of yourself and Mrs. Roosevelt, I am,

Very cordially yours,



JWB-s  
Enc.

BY THE EDITOR

**A** WAY DOWN IN THE LOWLANDS OF South Carolina the other night where stop had been made to be gassed, an old negro approached, decrepit, and weakened in voice, limped out of a country store and sidled up to the car.

And without a solitary word of introduction, he started out:

"Well, boss, we put him in, didn't we?"

Assuming, of course, that he meant what he did mean:

"Do you think the country did the right thing when it put him back in charge of things in this country?"

"It shore did, boss—he hoped us."

And with that latter phrase, the ignorant old negro man probably did a better piece of election interpretation than the LIPP-MANNS, KENTS, SULLIVANS, metropolitan editors, FARLEY, or even Mr. ROOSEVELT himself.

"He hoped us!"

Gratitude had more to do with it than any other factor, perhaps!

That and AL SMITH plus Mr. HOOVER, from whom the country long ago decided preferred to hear nothing more.

\* \* \*

PSF: Senate ~~1~~

*file  
personal*

Copy for the President

From letter to Mrs. Roosevelt from June  
Hamilton Rhodes:

"I am back of the President 100% for doing  
something and fast. That Wheeler has never  
done anything but be a pain in the neck.  
Does the President know that one time Wheeler  
hung in effigy and ran out of his own town?  
Sometimes I think I could bear to see him  
swing in reality."