

● PSF

U.S. Senate (1941-1944)

Subject File

Box 189

PSF: Senate

Senate
files

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

February 6, 1941.

Dear Ed:-

I am glad you telegraphed as you did. I, too, wonder what Governor Carr is up to. You are right about the Arkansas River Authority. Nobody is going to be hurt by it. As a matter of fact, the creation of one is really in fulfillment of an ancient promise I made to Joe Robinson nearly seven years ago.

I hope you will keep me in touch with developments in this Carr matter.

Always sincerely,

Honorable Edwin C. Johnson,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Senate

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

D. ROLAND POTTER, CLERK
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February 5, 1941

RECEIVED
FEB 5 4 54 PM '41
THE WHITE HOUSE

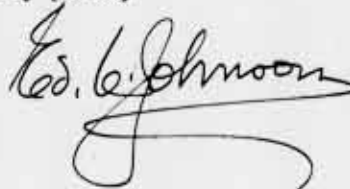
The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

Please note the attached telegram which I dispatched to the Democratic Governors of the Reclamation States today. They had been invited to an emergency conference in Denver, and I wanted them to know something of what was back of the invitation.

I was a little savage, but Governor Carr has been popping off too frequently lately, with little regard for the facts. When he called all the Governors of the Reclamation states into a conference with one hundred hand-picked water attorneys of undisclosed identity, I thought it best to let the Democratic Governors know something about the trap into which they were being led.

Sincerely yours,



ECJ:TR

INAUGURAL MESSAGE

of

THE HONORABLE RALPH L. CARR
GOVERNOR OF COLORADO

Delivered before the Joint Session of the
COLORADO LEGISLATURE
Thirty-Third Session

§

AT DENVER

JANUARY 13, 1941

To the Members of the Thirty-third General Assembly:

To the people of Colorado and to the members of this General Assembly, may I express my thanks for your support and expressions of confidence. There are many bright spots along the trail ahead. There is every reason to believe that Colorado will enjoy one of the happiest and most prosperous periods in her whole development. I accept the great honor of being permitted, as your Chief Executive, to participate in the direction of the state's government at such a time and under such circumstances.

While fully aware of the responsibilities which the office entails, I am sustained by the knowledge of your faith in me. I accept this new honor and pledge you my determination to justify it.

On behalf of the other elected state officials, may I say that they too are conscious of the obligations which have come with the honors bestowed. We go forward on a united front for the establishment of Colorado in her true place among the sisterhood of states and for the accomplishment of everything which will work for the betterment of her citizenry.

The last General Assembly gave to the Supreme Court the power to draft a new code of civil procedure. An entire new code has been drafted in conformity with that authority and is now operating. It is unnecessary for the Legislature to take any action with respect to civil procedure because of that authority granted two years ago.

Since the delivery of my message to your joint bodies on Thursday of last week, a matter of such deep concern to the semi-arid West and, particularly, to the people of Colorado, has come to my attention that I feel impelled to take a few minutes this morning to discuss it. And if the situation appears as dark to you as it does to me, then I hope that you will take action to set in motion forces which will defeat the greatest menace to state's rights and individual liberties which exists today.

Last week your attention was directed to the fact that during the year just ended, the Supreme Court of the United States in an action between Colorado and one of her neighbors announced the doctrine that each state's equitable proportion of the flow of an interstate stream was subject to the exclusive control of that state and that rights in water under state court decrees could not be re-adjudicated in federal courts. A somewhat disquieting opinion of that same court of more recent date stating that the water of interstate rivers, navigable or capable of being made navigable by improvement, are subject to the control of the Congress under the commerce clause of the constitution was also mentioned. I told you then

that I was not certain to what limits this doctrine might be extended and in what manner it might affect the water rights of Colorado and her citizens.

A definite answer to this query has already been returned in the form of a bill introduced in the Congress entitled "A Bill to Provide for Improvement of Navigation and Control of Floods on the Arkansas, St. Francis, Red and White Rivers, for the Promotion of National Defense and for Other Purposes." It provides for the organization of a federal corporation with such extensive powers over the basins of the rivers mentioned in the title that, if even only partially exercised, it would destroy Colorado's control over the waters of the Arkansas River and jeopardize every decreed water right belonging to Colorado's farmers.

While I do not care to be classed as an alarmist, nevertheless I feel that it is my duty, as the Governor of your state, with a large portion of my life work spent in studying the problems of irrigation and particularly of interstate waters, to sound a warning to the members of the General Assembly, to the people of Colorado and of every other state in the irrigation West. My warning goes further to every person in the country who clings to the belief that under our constitution there remains something of sanctity in the doctrine of state's rights.

The proposed legislation which is patterned after the Tennessee Valley Authority is similar to certain bills which have been introduced into Congress for the establishment of what have come to be called the "Seven Little TVA's." This bill differs from them only in so far as the Authority now attempted to be granted to the proposed corporation on the Arkansas and these other rivers is more extensive, and more effectively denies the rights of the states in the development of their water resources than any other piece of proposed legislation which has come to my attention.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the reasons for my concern, may I remind you that those who reclaimed the West were forced in the very nature of things to establish a doctrine concerning river flows which was different from that which had controlled in the states of their origin. The new theory was first in time, first in right.

Colorado has become one of the important agricultural states of the Union under this doctrine. To enforce it, there has been developed a comprehensive system for the allocation, distribution and administration of our river flows. Other western states have established systems generally paralleling that of Colorado although differing somewhat as to the methods of administration. Procedure has been set up for determining the relative rights of water users based on dates of use, the amount diverted and other factors. Court decrees in Colorado, and licenses and permits issued by state officials in others,

are considered as property right with titles as sacred and as valid as the title to the land on which the water is used.

Under the proposed law, irrigation rights on the upper Arkansas would be made subservient and subject to the navigable character of the lower streams. The corporation would be given absolute control over the rivers mentioned in the Act. The Authority is given powers of eminent domain, the right to require states to participate in the business of constructing projects and it may develop hydro-electric power and store water, and then sell both. There could be no development in the basins without the consent of the Authority. No dams, canals, or other structures could be built unless the corporation agreed. Nor may states even enter into compacts without the approval of the corporation.

The Reclamation Service, which is peculiarly a western institution and which for forty years has been engaged in the development of the irrigation resources of the West on the theory that the water was owned by the states in equitable proportions, will not be permitted to participate in the future development of this basin.

At the present time, a state's representatives in the Congress may protect the rights of the people who elected them. If this authority were to be set up, the only power left in our Senators and Congressmen would be to vote appropriations to carry out the plans of the authority. No longer could a Senator or Congressman rise to the defense of the people of his state.

By a decision of the United States Supreme Court, many years ago, an equitable portion of the flow of the Arkansas was held to belong to Colorado. This water has been diverted in Colorado under decrees from state courts to individual ditches. To attempt to give this federal corporation the authority to control the flow of the river would be to deny the state's ownership or its right to control its use and future development.

Water users who divert water under state decrees now would be denied the right to such water when the corporation determines that it must be released to meet navigation demands, to develop power or to be impounded for storage purposes behind some federal dam.

Our state officials who, under state laws, apportion stream flow among individual water users would act only with the consent of federal water masters, unacquainted with and unsympathetic to our irrigation practices and needs.

In short, the whole system of life within these river basins is to be altered and changed to conform with a theory of government which nullifies constitutional rights and leaves individual states stripped of everything but their names.

All future development in these great river basins would be fashioned by the Federal Authority of three commissioners selected at Washington.

Those who would question our right to oppose federal control and assert that our position is based upon partisan or political motives should recall the asserted position and attitude of this state administration toward the question of national defense.

Last week we pledged everything of our resources, material and spiritual, to the accomplishment of the policy outlined by our President. We are Americans always, but as Americans we insist upon the continuation of those rights dedicated to us under our constitution.

The control of the natural resources of the states is to be taken so that state lines may be erased, that state ownership of property may be denied and that rights of individuals may be destroyed. Argument that such control by the national government will benefit the nation generally loses sight of the fact that for a period of seventy years or more men and states have been building on a different philosophy of life, a different theory of property rights. And they believed that their actions were justified by the constitution.

The things which I am suggesting to you with regard to this proposed action are not partisan in their nature. It is true that they may be in some ways sectional. But the business of reclaiming lands, of diverting waters for irrigation and acquiring titles to property is neither Republican or Democratic in its nature nor in any other way tied up with any theory of partisan government.

Aside from the mere question of our right to divert irrigation waters so as to continue the cultivation of agricultural lands along our rivers, there looms the greater question of federal encroachment on the powers of the state. Your very right to sit here as legislators representing a separate state is questioned by the provisions of this Act. Either we are to continue to retain some semblance of state rights and state individuality, or else we are to surrender every power of self determination. In short, the development of this upper country, which has been going on for three-quarters of a century, is now to be made subject to rights of navigation in far-distant states to the end that the federal government, using navigation as the excuse, may take over control of our property, of our future development, of our very lives.

You men of the West are brought to the verge of a bloodless civil war testing your rights under the constitution.

Viewing this proposed measure from a broader basis, it becomes clear that it constitutes merely the opening wedge in a great plan to place every major river basin in the country under similar federal authority. Colorado is in the most precarious position perhaps of any state in the Union because

when the major plan has been completed, our entire state will be regulated, controlled and governed by five major river basin authorities with powers as great as those attempted to be conferred under the Act which I am discussing.

The future development of Colorado is indissolubly related to the conduct of our water rights. Agriculture, industrial development and recreation are all affected. Whether they will be retarded will be determined without reference to our state needs and plans but rather by the needs of other sections and other states.

Men took up homesteads along the Arkansas and other rivers under the belief that there were certain rights resident in the states and recognized by Acts of Congress which were inviolable. Statutes of the Congress early recognized the power in the states to distribute water among their citizens according to local customs, laws and regulations. Uniform decisions of the United States Supreme Court declared that the states owned the river flow in equitable proportions and denied claims to ownership on the part of the federal government.

And now, under a new theory of law, the federal government would deny the ownership of the rivers by the states, would make the rights of the individual subservient to a federal agency, and nullify the basis upon which our western civilization has been developed.

The thing which is happening on the Arkansas may well happen on every major river drainage in Colorado and the West. Under the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Appalachian Power Company case the power of Congress to control a navigable stream is not subject to review by the courts, but falls exclusively within the legislative powers of that branch of our government.

We must look, then, to the lawmakers at Washington for relief. We must show the Congress the facts. We must establish the injustice of this plan. Those of us who believe in Colorado and who realize that our great source of life and wealth and of future growth lies in the cultivation of the lands along her irrigation streams must realize that there is no justification for the seizure of a river basin under asserted federal authority to the absolute destruction of every theory, of every ideal, of every title, of every dream of the people who have builded a great civilization.

I am asking you as Coloradoans, as citizens, as the representatives of a great state, to investigate this proposed measure. And if you find that I am right, then I suggest by proper resolution and such other action as you may deem wise that you arouse the rest of the states of the West to a defense.

Charge to the account of

PSF: Senate

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
TELEGRAM	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT
SERIAL	DEFERRED
OVERNIGHT TELEGRAM	NIGHT LETTER
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

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WESTERN UNION

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R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

(COPY)

WASHINGTON, D. C.

FEBRUARY 5, 1941

SEND ATTACHED MESSAGE TO:

DR. HARLAN H. BARROWS, MEMBER OF NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD,
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

GOVERNOR LEON C. PHILLIPS, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

GOVERNOR H. B. MAW, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

GOVERNOR JOHN E. MILES, SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

GOVERNOR CULBERT L. OLSON, SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

GOVERNOR E. P. CARVILLE, CARSON CITY, NEVADA

GOVERNOR SIDNEY P. OSBORN, PHOENIX, ARIZONA

GOVERNOR W. LEE O'DANIEL, AUSTIN, TEXAS

GOVERNOR CHASE A. CLARK, BOISE, IDAHO

Charge to the account of _____ \$

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LETTER	NIGHT	NIGHT	NIGHT
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PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

(COPY)

WASHINGTON, D. C.
FEBRUARY 5, 1941

THE GOVERNOR OF MY STATE HAS INVITED YOU TO ATTEND A MASS MEETING IN DENVER ON FRIDAY NEXT TO QUESTION THE DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, TO INQUIRE INTO THE MOTIVES OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON REGARDING THE SPENDING OF FEDERAL MONEY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST, AND TO INSTRUCT CONGRESS AS TO ITS DUTIES. IT MUST BE BORNE IN MIND THAT THIS SAME GOVERNOR WAS THE RIGHT HAND BOWER OF THE POWER OCTOPUS AT THE LATE LAMENTED REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA, AND IS THEIR FRONT AND SPOKESMAN NOW. WHILE HE TALKS ABOUT IRRIGATION HE IS THINKING OF PRIVATELY OWNED POWER. I DO NOT HAVE THE FIGURES FOR ALL OF THE RECLAMATION STATES, BUT OUR SUPPOSEDLY WICKED AND GRASPING FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS SO GRIEVOUSLY OFFENDED HIM HAS COMPLETED, OR HAS UNDER CONSTRUCTION, IN COLORADO ALONE, AT THIS VERY MOMENT, FLOOD AND RECLAMATION PROJECTS TOTTALLING ONE HUNDRED FOUR MILLION, EIGHT HUNDRED NINETY THOUSAND DOLLARS. IN THIS CIRCUMSTANCE IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO FRIGHTEN THE PEOPLE OF THE WEST INTO BELIEVING THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS EVIL DESIGNS AGAINST THEIR BEST INTERESTS.

THREE TIMES IN ONE MONTH THIS IMPETUOUS IMPATIENT AMBITIOUS GOVERNOR HAS ATTACKED THE ADMINISTRATION, HAS THREATENED TO LEAD A MARCH ON WASHINGTON, AND HAS EVEN SPOKEN OF ORGANIZING A CIVIL WAR. TO SEE HIS NAME IN HEADLINES HE HAS MADE HIMSELF RIDICULOUS IN THE EYES OF THE TEMPERATE MEN OF MY STATE. APPARENTLY HE CANNOT WAIT FOR THE ELECTORS TO MAKE HIM A SENATOR FROM COLORADO.

Charge to the account of

CLASS OF SERVICE CHARGES	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT
NIGHT LETTER	DEFERRED
OVERNIGHT TELEGRAM	NIGHT LETTER
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Please check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a message of ordinary message.

WESTERN UNION

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

-2-

SENATOR MILLER AND CONGRESSMAN ELLIS, THE AUTHORS OF THE ARKANSAS VALLEY AUTHORITY, HAVE COURTEOUSLY INVITED THE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION FROM THE RECLAMATION STATES TO WRITE A PROVISION SATISFACTORY TO THEM INTO THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION WHICH WILL FULLY PROTECT IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION SERVICE AND DEVELOPMENT AND WHICH WILL ASSURE THE CITIZENS OF THE WEST THAT THEIR VESTED RIGHTS IN IRRIGATION WATER, POTENTIAL AND ACQUIRED, WILL BE PRESERVED. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS SIGNIFIED HIS WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT FOR SUCH PROTECTION. I STOUTLY MAINTAIN THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION FROM THE RECLAMATION STATES IS COMPETENT TO COPE WITH THIS PROBLEM, AND I HOPE THAT THEIR INTEGRITY, INTELLIGENCE, LOYALTY, AND PATRIOTISM WILL NEVER BE QUESTIONED BY ANY CONFERENCE OF WESTERN GOVERNORS.

DENVER IS A LOVELY CITY IN WHICH TO SPEND A FEW DAYS AWAY FROM YOUR ARDUOUS DUTIES, AND I HOPE THAT YOU WILL MAKE THE TRIP. JUST WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT THE DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT IS NOT CLEAR, AND JUST WHY YOU SHOULD ENLIST IN A CAMPAIGN TO IMPUGN THE ADMINISTRATION AND REFLECT UPON THE COMPETENCE OF YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS IS FOR YOU TO DECIDE. I THOUGHT YOU OUGHT TO HAVE THE REAL MOTIVES BACK OF GOVERNOR' CARR'S EMERGENCY CALL.

ED C. JOHNSON, U.S.S., COLORADO

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
FAST MESSAGE

ECJ:TR

PSF: Senate Folder

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

February 17, 1941.

My dear Tobey:-

I am sending this line to you personally, and not for publication, because you are an old friend of mine. As a rule I do not send any reply to things that have come out in the press before I receive them. As a matter of fact, you are asking for "a candid statement from me as to my intentions regarding Naval vessels", and all I can tell you in confidence is that there is no intention at the present writing. If you were in my place and I were in yours, you would probably tell me, as a Senator, that you were the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy and that you were not the seventh son of a seventh son!

Actually I am not a crystal gazer and naturally I decline to say what I would do under new circumstances in the future. Suppose between ourselves we agree to the simple fact that both of us are trying to do all we can to prevent this world from being dominated by the Axis powers, including Japan, and that both of us are doing our utmost to keep the United States out of war.

Very sincerely yours,

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

100-100000-100

EX-100-100000-100

TELEGRAM

PSF: Senate

The White House
Washington

Spoki 524 1 Ex. Gov't Rush. 7:15 p.m.

su, WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 14, 1941

THE PRESIDENT:

On Tuesday of this week Mr. Wendell Willkie testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and urged that the United States send "five or ten destroyers a month" to England. Later in that day Mr. Willkie conferred with you at the White House. On Wednesday Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox took issue with this and stated that the United States has no more destroyers to spare, and that he is against depleting the U.S. Fleet any further. Later on Wednesday Mr. Willkie issued the following statement: "Information given me by high authorities in the Government yesterday confirmed my views that we are in a position, without any injury to our Navy or National Defense, to give Great Britain immediate, effective assistance by furnishing to her additional destroyers." It has been the general understand that Mr. Willkie had reference to his White House conference of Tuesday. On Thursday you called Secretary Knox to the White House for a conference. At the completion of this conference Mr. Knox made the following public statement: "My opinion has not changed at all." The opinion which he referred to was explained by him in his testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the lend-lease bill. In his testimony before the Senate Committee on January 31, he expressed his fear that if Great Britain is defeated the British Fleet would come into German hands and be used against us and stated that he is emphatically opposed to our releasing any more of our destroyers or any other vessels to anybody. When asked about a report of a contemplated deal for the release of 20 destroyers Secretary of the Navy Knox stated: "That is the most cockeyed invention I have yet run into. There is not a vestige of truth in it." In his appearance before the House Committee he was advised that the lend-lease bill gives the authority to the President "not withstanding the provision of any other law" to give away the whole or any part of the Navy and was asked as to the advisability of an amendment to this bill prohibiting the transfer or giving away of Naval vessels. Secretary Knox then indicated that the release of further warships was so far out of the question that it would be plain silly to prohibit it by an amendment to the lend-lease bill. He said that Congress might just as well put in an amendment prohibiting the President "from going down Pennsylvania Avenue standing on his head."

TELEGRAM

PSF: Senate

The White House
Washington

9po ki Sheet 2.

The effect of these directly conflicting statements of Mr. Willkie and Mr. Knox each made after a conference with you is one of befuddlement. This morning's Washington Post reports that the White House Secretary Mr. Stephen Early, after conferring with you, intimated to the press that you and Mr. Willkie and Mr. Knox see eye to eye on the problem presented by Britain's need for destroyers. Because this matter is of vital importance to the people of America and your intentions regarding release or retention of our Naval vessels should be considered by the Senate in its consideration of the lend-lease bill and because I know that you and the Navy Department have been studying this problem for months, I feel that the Congress and the people are entitled at this time to a candid statement from you as to your intentions regarding the Naval vessels of the United States. The people of the country are becoming divided by these conflicting statements of Mr. Willkie and Mr. Knox and in the interest of National unity as well as the interest of our National security I urge you to make clear to the people and to the Congress your intentions in the matter.

Charles W. Tobey,
U. S. Senator.

PSF: Senate folder
4-41

*file
personal*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 28, 1941

Memorandum for The President:

In the event that you have been informed that Judge Eggers, Secretary to Mayor Hague, had sent a telegram to Senator Smathers in opposition to the Lease-Lend bill, urging the Senator to vote against it, you should know that Judge Eggers denies he ever sent such a message, and assured Senator Byrnes, as did Mayor Hague, that they support the bill and your program without reservation.

Sherman Minton
SHERMAN MINTON

P.S. Filenote

Private

March 1, 1941

Dear Bill:

I understand that Frank Eggers has definitely denied sending the alleged telegram. Also that he and Frank Hague have jointly stated that they are for H. R. 1776. I think this disposes of it!

Always sincerely yours,

Honorable William H. Smathers,
The United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

fcr/tmb

... SMATHERS
NEW JERSEY

February 27, 1941

PSF: Senate

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 27, 1941

RECEIVED
FEB 27 11 40 AM '41
THE WHITE HOUSE

Returned to
Sen. Sumner
of his request
Watson
3/7/41

My dear Mr. President:

I enclose herewith original telegram from Frank Eggers which reads as follows: "As one of your constituents I ask you to vote against HR 1776 Lease Lend Bill." Signed "Frank Eggers."

Mr. Eggers is the acting Democratic Leader of the State of New Jersey, nephew of Mayor Frank Hague, and the heir apparent to the leadership of the Democratic Party in the State of New Jersey.

Mayor Hague has publicly stated that he desires to pass the Democratic leadership of the State of New Jersey on to his nephew, Frank Eggers, and retire from active politics in New Jersey.

Under these circumstances, I would like to know whether I should follow your leadership as the President of the United States on H. R. 1776, or the leadership of Mr. Eggers, the heir apparent to the leadership of the Democratic Party in my State of New Jersey.

Awaiting your advice in this matter, I am

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

William E. Smathers

William E. Smathers,
U. S. S.

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

PSF: Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

March 3, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. CARTER GLASS

Thank God for the enclosed.
You are vindicated. I am hurt,
however -- there is no mention
of me!

F. D. R.

Mr. C. C. ...
THE WHITE HOUSE

P.S.F. Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

C O P Y

Bucharest

Dated March 1, 1941
Rec'd 10:18 A.M. 2d

Secretary of State,
Washington.

212, March 1, 5 P.M.

My 193, February 26, 6 P.M.

The paper which had asserted
that Senator Carter Glass and
Professor Nicholas Murray Butler
were Jews has now published a
retraction.

GUNTHER

PSF: Senate folder

4-41

CARTER GLASS, VA., CHAIRMAN	FREDERICK HALE, MAINE
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WALTER HAYDEN, ARIZ.	JOHN G. TOWNSEND, JR., DEL.
JAMES THOMAS, OKLA.	STILES BRIDGES, N. H.
JAMES P. BYRNES, S. C.	HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., MASS.
MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD.	RUFUS C. HOLMAN, OHIO
RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.	ROBERT A. TAFT, OHIO
ALVA B. ADAMS, COLO.	
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EVERARD H. SMITH, CLERK	
JOHN W. R. SMITH, ASST. CLERK	

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

March 3, 1941

file personal

THE WHITE HOUSE
MAR 3 4 09 PM '41
RECEIVED

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I confess to great pleasure in being told that the press in Buenos Aires has classified me along with you as a Jewish Freemason. I am a part of it, having acquired the Thirty-third Masonic Degree, and today am taking a secret satisfaction in the apparent fact that I have gotten ahead of you for once in a fairly long lifetime, having recently been given a formal citation by a national organization of Jews and Gentiles for my outstanding religious tolerance. How don't say that this virtue of yours is so notable as that you have not needed any formal citation as has been given Chief Justice Hughes and me only!

In any event, the cleverness of your note and the genuine enjoyment I have derived from reading it entitles you to a formal citation, and I am altogether disposed to ask it for you.

W. G.

PSF: Senate folder →

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3-5-41

file
Confidential
#189

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

Senator Pepper asked me if I would see that these papers got into your hands and not to any department, as he considered them very confidential.

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

THE FLORIDA CANAL AND THE ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY
(If Requested by the President for the National Defense)

PRESENT INDICATED SITUATION IN THE SENATE (YEA VOTE):

I. <u>If the Florida Canal only is requested:-</u>	Democrats	49;	Republicans	3,	Total	52
II. <u>If the St. Lawrence only is requested:-</u>	"	32	"	14,	"	46
III. <u>If both are requested as a joint program:-</u>	"	45	"	14,	"	59

SUGGESTED PROCEDURE TO SECURE VOTE INDICATED IN III.

1. A message from the President to Congress requesting authorization of both projects as a joint program in the national defense.
2. There are probably sufficient votes in the Florida Canal group obtainable for the St. Lawrence Waterway to obtain passage of that measure if Vandenberg, LaFollette, Shipstead et al will cooperate. This might well be arranged through Barkley and Shipstead.
3. A bill or joint resolution for the St. Lawrence will have a better chance than a treaty. The question of placing both projects in the same measure can be worked out by the leaders in the Senate. Any provision for limiting diversion of water from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi Basin should, if possible, be omitted.

AS TO THE FLORIDA CANAL:

In time of war, the Florida Canal could be utilized to substantially increase the security against enemy attack of most of the ocean shipping of the western hemisphere, including the Panama Canal traffic. It would decrease to an important extent the convoy duty of the Navy, and would increase by nearly one fifth the effectiveness of the Gulf-Atlantic merchant fleet. These permanent defensive functions justify its cost.

By levying reasonable tolls on shipping using the canal, the project would pay its operation and maintenance expense, and would return its cost to the Government within a reasonable time.. While the continued growth of Gulf-Atlantic maritime traffic has now made it a reasonable expectation that the canal could also be made to yield interest on its capital cost, this item might well be charged to the national defense.

THE FLORIDA CANAL AND THE ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY
(If Requested by the President for the National Defense)
INDICATED SENATE YEA VOTE

I. If the Florida Canal only is requested:-

DEMOCRATS: (h)Andrews, (h)Bankhead, (h)Barkley, (h)Bilbo, (h)Bone, (z)Bunker, (az)Byrnes, (h)Caraway, (y)Chandler, (h)Chavez, (h)Clark of Idaho, (h)Connally, (h)Downey, (h)Ellender, (h)George, (h)Green, (azht)Guffey, (zht)Harrison, (h)Hatch, (h)Hayden, (h)Hill, (h)Hughes, (z)Kilgore, (h)Lee, (h)McCarran, (y)McFarland, (h)McKellar, (h)Mead, (x)_____ (Miller), (y)Murdock, (h)Murray, (h)Norris, (h)Overton, (h)Pepper, (zht)Radcliffe, (h)Reynolds, (h)Russell, (h)Schwartz, (h)Sheppard, (h)Smathers, (ahst)Smith, (h)Stewart, (h)Thomas of Utah, (h)Thomas of Okla., (h)Truman, (y)Tunnell, (h)Wagner, (y)Wallgren, (ax)W.Va.
REPUBLICANS: (ayht)Johnson of Cal., (ay)Barbour, (yth)Shipstead.

Democrats, 49; Republicans 3; Total 52

II. If the St. Lawrence Waterway only is requested:-

DEMOCRATS: (z)Andrews, (zp)Bankhead, (zp)Barkley, (zp)Bone, (w)Brown, (p)Bulow, (z)Bunker, (azp)Byrnes, (aw)Clark of Idaho, (z)Chandler, (z)Chavez, (z)Downey, (w)Gillette, (zp)Hatch, (zp)Hayden, (z)Hill, (w)Herring, (z)Kilgore, (z)Lee, (z)McFarland, (zp)McKellar, (w)Murray, (p)Norris, (p)O'Mahoney, (z)Pepper, (z)Schwartz, (z)Stewart, (p)Thomas of Utah, (z)Thomas of Okla., (p)VanNuys, (z)Wallgren, (ap)Wheeler.
REPUBLICANS: (w)Ball, (w)Burton, (w)Butler, (p)Capper, (w)Gurney, (p)Johnson, of Cal., (p)LaFollette, (w)Langer, (p)Nye, (p)Shipstead, (w)Taft, (p)Vandenberg, (w)Willis, (w)Wiley.

Democrats 32; Republicans 14; Total 46.

III. If both projects are requested:- (voting for both)

DEMOCRATS: (fh)Andrews, (fhp)Bankhead, (fhp)Barkley, (fh)Bilbo, (fhp)Bone, (gt)Brown, (gtp)Bulow, (sz)Bunker, (apst)Byrnes, (afh)Caraway, (f)Chandler, (fh)Chavez, (wh)Clark, of Idaho, (fh)Downey, (fhv)George, (st)Gillette, (fhps)Harrison, (fhp)Hatch, (wat)Herring, (fh)Hill, (fh)Hughes, (sz)Kilgore, (fh)Lee, (hvs)McCarran, (fs)McFarland, (fhp)McKellar, (ax)_____ (Miller), (s)Murdock, (fhg)Murray, (fhgp)Norris, (x)W.Va., (gtp)O'Mahoney, (fh)Pepper, (fhv)Reynolds, (fhv)Russell, (fhg)Schwartz, (ahstp)Smith, (fh)Stewart, (fghp)Thomas of Utah, (fgh)Thomas of Okla., (f)Tunnell, (gtp)VanNuys, (sz)Wallgren, (agp)Wheeler, (fhp)Hayden.
REPUBLICANS: (g)Ball, (g)Burton, (g)Butler, (gp)Capper, (g)Gurney, (fghpt)Johnson of Cal., (gp)LaFollette, (g)Langer, (gp)Nye, (fghp)Shipstead, (g)Taft, (ag)Vandenberg, (g)Wiley, (g)Willis.

Democrats 45; Republicans 14; Total 59.

- a . Classification doubtful
- f. Favors Florida Canal and probably willing to trade for St. Lawrence.
- g. " " St. Lawrence " " " " " " Florida Canal.
- h. Voted previously for Florida Canal.
- p. " " " St. Lawrence Treaty.
- s. Probably not greatly interested. Would probably vote for trade on sectional lines.
- t. Voted previously against Florida Canal.
- v. " " " St. Lawrence Treaty.
- w. Reported to favor St. Lawrence.
- x. There is good reason for believing he will follow predecessor in support of Fla. Canal.
- y. Reported to favor Florida Canal.
- z. Will probably follow administration lead. Otherwise, neutral or opposed.

POSSIBLE PLANS FOR FINANCING THE FLORIDA CANAL

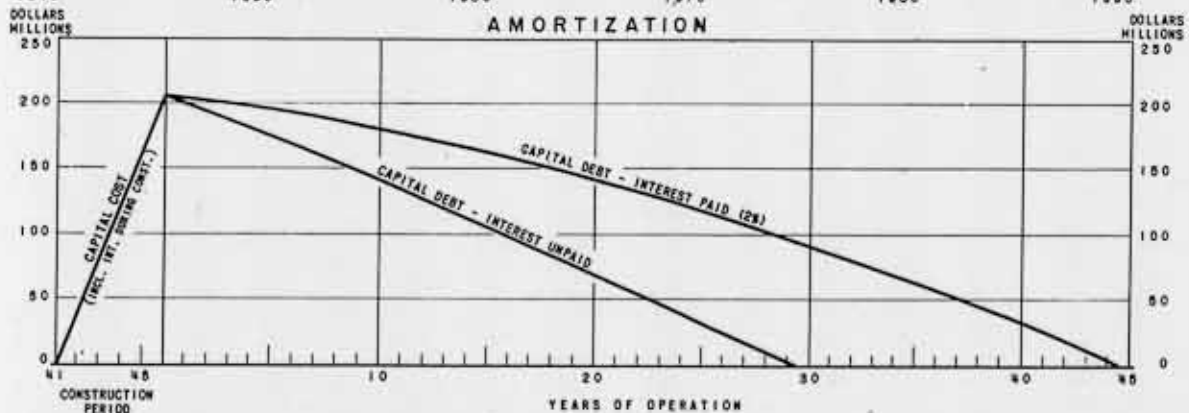
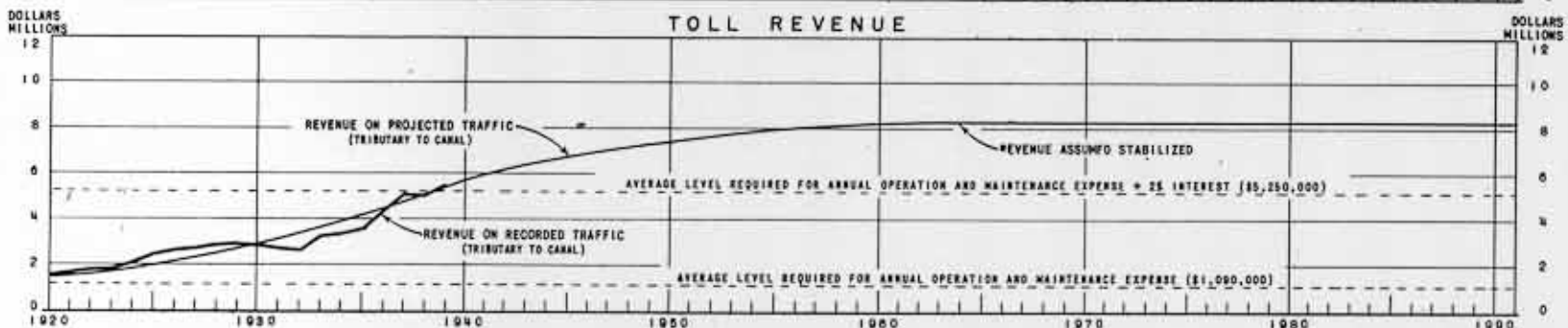
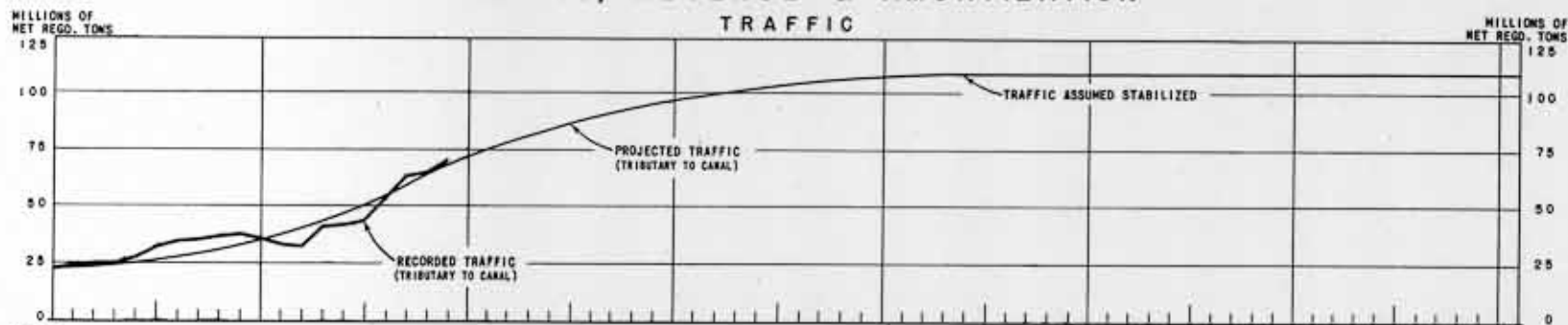
The existing available traffic for the Canal now makes it apparent that sufficient revenue in tolls may be collected from ships using the waterway to pay its operation and maintenance cost, interest on the capital investment of approximately two percent, and to amortize the total capital debt in about forty-five years.

Referring to the attached chart, it should be noted that this is based upon the eight cents per net registered ton toll allowed by the Interdepartmental Board in 1934. The Department of Commerce report on the Canal assesses a saving to ships of twenty-one and point three (21.3) cents per net registered ton. This fact, connected with the increasing traffic makes it apparent that a ten cents toll (or higher) could be borne by the traffic. This would increase the revenues of the Canal shown on the attached chart by at least twenty-five percent.

Of course, if interest on the capital invested is not contemplated, then either the tolls may be reduced or the period of amortization shortened.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has sufficient funds, already appropriated, to lend to the Secretary of War over a period of five years to construct the project and open it to navigation, including interest during construction. Repayment of this loan by the War Department or by whatever administrative agency Congress or the President might place in jurisdiction over the operation of the Canal, could begin in the sixth year after the beginning of construction. In this manner, no new appropriation, and no increase in the national debt, would be necessary in order to complete the project.

FLORIDA CANAL TRAFFIC, REVENUE & AMORTIZATION



FACTORS:

Construction Cost	\$190,000,000
Interest (2%) During Const.	10,000,000
Capital Cost	\$200,000,000
Construction Period	5 Years
Annual Oper. & Maint. Cost	\$1,000,000
Savings to ships	\$1.36 per N.R. Ton*
Toll Schedule	
Coastwise Trade	8¢ per N.R. Ton
Foreign Trade	8¢ * * *
Inland Barge Trade	30¢ * Cargo *

SOURCES:
 Reports of Chief of Engineers, U.S.A.
 * Department of Commerce
 * Department of Commerce Report

NOTE: These charts are based on the toll of 8¢ per Net Registered Ton allowed by the Interdepartmental Board in 1926. It is now apparent that a toll of 10¢ (and probably considerably more) could be borne by the traffic. This would increase by 25%, or more, the Canal Revenues here shown.

PSF; Senate folder
4-41

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM ROWE

EXCELLENT

F. D. R.

Memorandum for the President from Mr. Rowe, 3/15/41, referring to the President's memorandum to Mr. Rowe "In regard to this matter of Senator Johnson of Colorado, how would it be to have one of our friends in Colorado write me to ask whether I will confirm the next to last paragraph in this clipping? I could then reply politely that I have no comment to make. FDR". Mr. Oscar Chapman told Mr. Rowe that he would get a political leader in Colorado to write, and attached are draft of a ~~xxxxxxx~~ letter to the President and draft of reply for the President's signature. In re statement which appeared in the Rocky Mountain News of Denver, Colorado, to the effect that ~~xxxxxxx~~ Senator Johnson is not trying to climb back on the administration bandwagon, but is back, welcomed by the President.

CRISIS for April

W. C. ...
STIRNS OF SOUTH CAROLINA
By Lewis L. Redding

PSF's South Folder
4-41

On the last day of January, 1914, the national House of Representatives listened to a bit of oratory by a thirty-six-year-old member from South Carolina. Born posthumously to a penniless widow in a family that fled Ireland during the catastrophic famine caused by the potato blight in the middle 1840's, this slight, shaggy-faced Irish-American had risen far. Considering his beginnings and background, it was an ironically incongruous and insolent speech which James Francis Byrnes was delivering. Although his not remote forebears had found Byron and he, opportunity, in America, he was essentially inveighing against others to whom this country still symbolized asylum from disaster, oppression and restricted opportunity.

He indulged himself in audacious strictures against immigrants. He told how a shipload of 480, "a carefully selected class of immigrants," had landed at his native Charleston in 1808 to work in cotton mills and on the farms of South Carolina. A few years later they had all dumped from the state. Ergo, according to this descendant of refugees, immigration was a harmful failure. Ten million foreign-born had settled in the United States in the ten-year period between 1908 and 1914, inclusive, - a decade almost parallel with the period between the entry of the 480 at Charleston and the day of Byrnes' harangue to his fellow Congressman. For this product of the emigration that the foreign-born have made of America the speaking immigrant a mouce because 480 had found conditions of life and labor unattractive in the old "Swamp State."

Jimmy Byrnes did not really lament the departure of the "carefully selected cargo" (his words) of foreign-born workers. This is apparent from the pseudo-ecology of the typical boiler-Mason-Dixon-line demagogue, with which he descants upon certain migrant groups from Europe!

CRISIS FOR April

BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA

They have no capacity for assimilation with our white people. They must have some society, and we fear they would turn to the Negro race, mingle with them, and so aggravate our race problem as to make it hopeless.

Certainly it could not be said that Jimmy Byrnes had not assimilated the basic policy of the ruling class in the State his immigrant forebears had adopted: Nothing must be allowed to gnaw our Negroes; our semi-literate white labor supply must be kept cheap, contented and docile.

The ability to adopt, as protective coloration for his own safety and advancement, the modes of speech and conduct of whatever group seems at the time to be dominant in society is a distinguished accomplishment of "sly, able" Jimmy Byrnes. Capable of the courtliness of any fictional, bearded, bourbon colonel, his acquisition of these graces began at fourteen. At that age he went to work as an office boy in the Charleston law office of one Judge Benjamin H. Rutledge. To the latter - a prideful descendant of John Rutledge, a South Carolina signer of the Constitution, second Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, tavern brawler and non-planter owner of twenty-six Negro slaves, - Byrnes was much indebted. From him the young Byrnes acquired a manner and received much of the tutelage that was to serve him in lieu of the formal schooling early poverty caused him to miss. Today persons having congenial associations with him refer to his "undeniable personal charm." Still another adaptation of the early Byrnes has proved important in his career. An altar boy in the church of the faith to which his Irish mother belonged, when he entered politics, he severed connection with it and sometime later became an Episcopalian. Byrnes "on the make" did not choose to be handicapped by affiliation with a religious denomination whose communicants constituted barely 1 per cent of the white electorate of South Carolina. He would not risk casting his lot with a church whose very name excited the prejudices of his State's backward citizenry.

CRISIS for April

BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA

He plumped early for Franklin D. Roosevelt. He had known the latter since World War I, when the young Mr. Roosevelt was President Wilson's Assistant Secretary of the Navy and Byrnes was a member of the important House Appropriations Committee. The South Carolinian was taken into the councils of Mr. Roosevelt prior to his momentous first inaugural. He soon came to be regarded as a confidant of President Roosevelt and a liaison officer of the latter in the Senate. Since Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal philosophy and program called for the enactment of measures inharmonious with Byrnes' expressed social and legislative views, Byrnes appeared to embrace New Dealism. In any event, he became a highly vocal protagonist of the National Industrial Recovery Act and the economic and social objectives it comprehended. He began to acquire a reputation as an articulate apostle of a new and liberal order of things in the South and the nation.

With the luster reflected upon him in the role of favorite Roosevelt disciple and lieutenant, in June, 1935, Senator Byrnes delivered a commencement speech at the University of South Carolina. Expressing concern that the young graduates might learn more of the alphabet of the world than the "A B" they were that day receiving, (the ancient pun was his) he delivered a speech of which any liberal in New Deal ranks might have been proud to claim authorship. He did not neglect to hold up Mr. Roosevelt as an exemplar of supreme moral courage, but the main current of his speech deplored the invalidation of the N. I. R. A. by the United States Supreme Court. One sees in this speech a trenchant criticism of the failure of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution in the light of current conditions, when considering the Recovery Act. Looked at in retrospect, this criticism might be regarded as a forecast of the President's later plan to enlarge the Court - a plan which Byrnes vigorously supported. He told his university audience:

CRISIS for April

STRIKES OF SOUTH CAROLINA

The immediate effect of the decision is discouraging. . . . Many employers have reduced wages. Others have returned to the longer hours of work that prevailed prior to the enactment of the Recovery Act and have dismissed employees. Longer hours of work result in increased production; lower wages result in reduced purchasing power. The effect is necessarily deflationary.

The Senator made it clear that he stood on the side of progressivism:

An outstanding critic announces that the decision of the Supreme Court means a return to normal conditions existing prior to the N.R.A. If it does, then it means a return to unfair competition among employers; it means longer hours, lower wages, sweatshop practices, and child labor in industry and economic slavery upon the farm. It may mean a return to rugged individualism, but, so far as I am concerned, I prefer cooperation and prosperity to rugged individualism and poverty.

When younger by twenty years than at the time of this commencement address, Jimmy Byrnes had once on the floor of the House of Representatives posed this query:

No matter whether or not you gentlemen from South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina and other States of the Union favor the prohibition of child labor, I ask, are you willing to surrender the right of your respective States to enact those laws in accord with your own views on the subject?

Then this request:

I ask my colleagues on this side of the House to vote against the bill (regulating child labor).

I am opposed to the Federal government, under the pretense of regulating interstate commerce, usurping the powers of the State and fixing the hours of labor for its citizens.

Ostensibly, the South Carolina commencement audience in 1935 was listening to a statesman - a mature legislator to whom an added fifteen years in House and Senate had given not merely the prestige of a Presidential confidant. Apparently, also, the years had given him a progressive social philosophy which the young Congressman invoking State's rights to defeat Federal child Labor regulation, did not have. (Further evidence of the change to progressivism was offered in the same

CRISIS for April

BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA

speech when he declared, "today, no thoughtful person urges repeal" of the woman suffrage amendment, which he as a Congressman had opposed.)

Two summers later, when the Wage and Hour bill came before the Senate, the metamorphosis of the junior Senator from South Carolina into a social-minded progressive was seen to be temporary. He forsook the President, reverted to the earlier Byrnes and *degededly* fought the bill. There was a strong general belief that he was responding to the influence of the labor-sweating-textile industrialists in his State. Because of that, he found it necessary to say in the Senate that he was "not interested in what the textile industry thinks of it" (the Wage and Hour bill) but in the effect of the bill upon "small industries." Completely missing the obvious implications of his remarks, he explained that "until this week . . . when a group of citizens" visited him, he "did not know there were quite so many small industries in my State."

To this, Hugo L. Black, then a Senator from Alabama, and a few months later a United States Supreme Court Justice, replied:

He said a delegation of 'little men' had come up here. I wonder if they were little enough to be working in the State of South Carolina, like some I have indicated, who labor for as little as ten cents an hour and for as long as ten or twelve hours a day?

Byrnes' failure to answer this makes it appear that his interest was not as Senator Black's.

In the little fellows who are not able to come to Washington, the little people for whom we (messrs. Black and Byrnes and other framers of the 1936 Democratic platform) promised the Nation we would show our concern, those who work long hours, to the destruction of their health, at wages inadequate to support themselves and their children.

The difference in social outlook between Mr. Black and the junior Senator from South Carolina displayed in this dialogue emphasizes strongly their mental distance. This difference marks the distinction between a Senator whom the official

CRISIS for April

BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Author of New Dealism might properly elevate to the United States Supreme Court and a Senator whom he could not properly so elevate. A Senator's vote counts one among ninety-six. A Supreme Court Justice, with one vote among nine, can sway the balance by which a humanitarian measure previously approved by Senate and House would be deemed.

Appeasement of cotton mill magnates in the Carolinas, which contain more cotton mills than any other two States, has been attributed to Byrnes at other times. It was no deterrent that such appeasement involved a gratuitous slap in the face of the coal mining segment of labor. At the beginning of spring in 1937, the S. I. O., exhilarated and confident after successful skirmishes with motors and steel, was mobilizing for a drive to unionize the 450,000 workers in the Southern textile industry. It sought to "level up" the lowest labor and living standards in the nation's manufacturing network. At best, the task of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee with the taciturn, proud, pellagra-ridden workers in the Dixie cotton mills was prodigious. Having long been exposed to preachments of politicians, persons and company-controlled newspapers on the supreme glory of being white and Dixie-born, the low-horizoned native children had developed stubborn anti-Yankee, anti-foreign and anti-Catholic prejudices. These preachments had taught them that union organizer was a synonym for atheist and Negro-lover and that the latter two add up to "Com-mune-ist!" The benefits of collective-bargaining, brought by despised outlanders, conceivably might never have got a hearing against the "stretch-out" or against the starvation wages and body-breaking hours of the men, women, and children who teaded the 19,000,000 spindles in the iron plantations of the South's lint villages.

Yet, in spite of the formidable odds favoring the cotton mill owners against inroads by union organizers, Senator Byrnes went far out of his way to shield them. When the second Guffey coal bill was pursuing a placid passage through the Senate

CRISIS for April

BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA

with the purpose of formulating a previously non-existent national policy, Byrnes introduced an amendment to the coal bill to bar "sit-down" strikes, then a new labor tactic. His colleagues cut into the Byrnes amendment with epithets because of its inappropriateness to men who go down in mines and the hardship with which it would oppress miners and their families forced to live in "company houses." Byrnes then proceeded to amend his amendment twice in twenty minutes. Finally, his proposal took the form of a rider to the coal bill condemning sit-downs in all industries engaged in interstate commerce and was killed by the Senate.

In the summer of 1939, the Senate received from Byrnes a resolution to halve an appropriation for the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee. It should have been realized that the gentleman from South Carolina was conforming to a pattern from which his conduct, as distinguished from his words, had never veered. Geographical origin is not an infallible index to an individual's mental approach to constitutional liberties. However, that Mr. Justice Black, of Alabama, should occasion surprise in many quarters by his decisions vindicating the civil liberties of very humble citizens is meaningful. It reflects an estimate not uncommonly held of the average Southerner's low regard for constitutional rights. Mr. Byrnes gave point to that estimate long before he sought to stifle the Civil Liberties Committee. As a member of the House, about a year after the end of the World War, he referred to the Attorney General the writings of certain Negro editorialists in The Crisis and The Messenger, with the request that the writers be prosecuted under the espionage act. The Attorney General's judgment as to the writings differed from Byrnes'. The latter had merely overlooked the constitutional right of freedom of the press.

In the same speech in which Byrnes proclaimed his crusade to save Negroes from "radical" Negro writers, he arrogated to himself the right to junk the

CRISIS for April

BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Constitution and to advise the colored citizen that if

. . . he does not care to live in this land without political and social equality, then he can depart for any other country he wishes.

for, like a bully who thinks he has a gang at his back, he added:

v . . there are in this country 90,000,000 white people determined not to extend political and social equality to the 10,000,000 Negroes.

Looking at that, one concludes that the Senator from poll-tax South Carolina, where less than 11 per cent of the voting-age population cast ballots in the 1936 presidential election and 14 per cent in the 1940 election, was simply talking nonsense when in a radio address endorsing President Roosevelt for a third term he implied that this country could have no dictatorship because

. . . we have a free press, free speech and free elections.

One searches in vain for assurance in word or deed that James Francis Byrnes can dissociate himself from the psychotic sectionalism that is the chief stock-in-trade of Dixie demagogues and keeps the South the nation's most unregenerate political and economic problem child. He is like others among the South's shock troops in Congress. His sectionalism has two principal manifestations. One is a touchy defensiveness concerning the South - and particularly his "own beloved State" - a quickness to justify and glorify, blindly, the Dixie molds and ways of life. The second is a never-quiescent, though not always flaming, hatred and fear of the Negro.

Wading through a Byrnes speech against the anti-lynching bill one sees this defensive attitude. One learns that the South is "loyal and patriotic"; that in the years since the "War between the States", the South's men have fought for their country in Cuba and France; that the soldiers sent to the World War by the South, no, South Carolina, were the bravest of the brave; that the South is loyal to the Democratic Party, and, though poor, has always contributed to the party war chest in campaign times, besides giving its best orators to the Democratic

CRISIS for April

BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA

cause; that it required "religious prejudices, which through the ages has influenced the thoughts of mankind, to cause the South even to waver in its party loyalty"; that in South Carolina less than one-half of 1 per cent is foreign born; that lynching is caused by the "crime of rape which dethrones the reason of men"; that "in the courts of the South, the Negro has always been treated fairly," and on and on, ad nauseam, for six pages of the record.

The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 contains two clauses interdicting discrimination because of race or color. One of these clauses says:

That in the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color.

The operation of sectional prejudices of Congressmen of the Byrnes ilk has made these non-discrimination clauses a meaningless mockery. In 1941, as in 1917, Negroes are excluded from many branches and positions in the land and naval forces of the United States. In 1917, Byrnes opposed the conscription bill, but not from pacifist ideals or any high-minded fear that conscription might erode the free way of life of citizens in a democracy. He was opposed because:

Under the War Department's conscription bill they would have the right to assign a (white) boy from South Carolina to serve in Company "A," Regiment "B," by the side of a Negro from Indiana. If they did this they would not have to go to Europe for war. It is true that the Secretary of War states that in the past they have endeavored to segregate the races, and he states he presumes that in the future it will be done, but yet there is in the bill nothing that would prevent it.

Such a man as Byrnes can speak of the "superior intellect and the superior educational advantages of white men" and snugly, on every occasion coming to him as a Congressman, oppose the appropriation of money for the education of Negroes at the Federal Government's Howard University. He appealed to this same "superior intellect" for re-election in 1936 with this significant statistic: that

CRISIS for April

BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina had received \$242,000,000 in relief, A.A.A. benefit payments, etc., from the New Deal, while only \$10,000,000 of Federal taxes had been collected in the State. He would not enact a Federal law against lynching but would do away with that crime through having Negro publications "create a sentiment among their own people against the crime of rape." Once, in January, 1938, during a filibuster against an anti-lynching bill, when hate and venom had almost exhausted him, he was nearly frustrated at the possibility of defeat. In a frenzy, he cried:

The Negro has not only come into the Democratic Party, but the Negro has come into control of the Democratic Party. One Negro, whose name has heretofore been mentioned in the debate - Walter White, - secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People - has ordered this bill to pass. If a majority can bring about a vote, the bill will pass.

Lately, James Frances Byrnes has been mentioned in connection with a vacancy on the United States Supreme Court bench. What technical competence this politician has for a judicial position exacting the utmost in legal learning and general erudition is, to say the least, undisclosed. His formal schooling was meagre. His legal education was obtained as a court stenographer, riding the courts of a dusty circuit in semi-literate South Carolina. He has never been a judge or a professor of law. His active professional practice in the last thirty years has been confined to the years between his defeat for a Senatorial nomination in 1925 and his election in 1931.

What intellectual integrity and temperamental fitness he has for the post are much less than matters of mystery. Can intellectual integrity be identified with a man, who, when it will enhance his prestige, proclaims adherence to certain principles and, once secure, rejects those principles? Can a man who reacts to his prejudices against a racial minority sharply, unfailingly and passionately, as does Byrnes, be expected to don emotional poise with the donning of the black robe of the judiciary? Here is a man who as a legislator, has

CRISIS for April

BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA

stated that a citizen minority be forcibly excluded from political and social equality. Can he be trusted to adjudge issues involving the applicability of the great generalities of the Constitution to a political or social right asserted by a member of that minority? It seems impossible to answer these questions in the affirmative without a more than lurking doubt. The one clear answer is "No". By virtue of that negative James Francis Byrnes is not qualified for elevation to the United States Supreme Court.

200
PSF: Senate Follet
7-4-41
Jib
Personnel

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 18, 1941

Memorandum For The President:

Senator McKellar is in the hospital at Memphis, and much disturbed over the possible veto of S. 262, a bill regulating the warehousing, storing and reconcentration of cotton. The bill passed both Houses overwhelmingly.

I hope for good old Mac's sake you may see your way clear to sign this bill. It will be a great tonic for him.

He is anxious to get back to lead the fight, which he won in Committee, against that Pan American crowd. We are holding up that bill until he gets here, although I fear Mac is much sicker than we think.


SHERMAN MINTON

PSF, Senate Folder
7-41

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 24, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

SENATOR BARKLEY

Ed Eicher has sent me a confidential note expressing the hope that Abe Murdock be put into the vacancy on the Senate Banking and Currency Committee; that he would be excellent for this; that he is a great friend of Bob Wagner, etc., etc.

I am merely passing this along to you "without executive pressure":

F. D. R.

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APR 23 11 41 AM '41

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

April 23, 1941

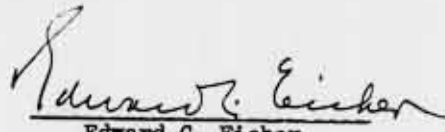
THE WHITE HOUSE
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I understand there is a vacancy on the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and that this vacancy relates to the Securities and Exchange Commission subcommittee.

Abe Murdock of Utah, one of our best friends, would be an excellent selection for that Committee. He is a close personal friend of Ben's and also of mine. I understand that Wagner is eager to have him also. Do you think a word from you to the Senate leadership would be helpful?

Needless to say, this is terribly important to us at this particular juncture.


Edward C. Eicher
Chairman

ALBEN W. BARKLEY
KENTUCKY

file
4-29-41

United States Senate
CONFERENCE OF THE MAJORITY

PSF; Senate Folder
4-41

April 28, 1941.

THE WHITE HOUSE
APR 29 9 00 AM '41
RECEIVED

Dear Mr. President:

Your memorandum concerning Abe Murdock has been received and I shall be glad to present his name to the Steering Committee in connection with Banking and Currency when they meet to fill existing vacancies.

Sincerely yours,

Alben W. Barkley

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

P.S.F. Senate Folder
4-41

Private + Confidential!

May 13, 1941.

Dear Josiah:-

I am glad you wrote me as you did, and when I am well enough to see people I hope you will run down so that we can have a talk.

I think you are right about public opinion in North Carolina -- and the same thing applies in lots of other States.

A nationally known advertising man wrote me the other day that the constant reiteration by the Wheelers, Nyes, Lindberghs, etc., that we are doing all this to save the British Empire, rather than ourselves, has had much effect. He goes on to suggest that we tell the truth, i.e., that we are not concerned with the affairs of the British Empire but are concerned with our own safety, the security of our own trade, the future of our own crops, the integrity of our own continent, and the lives of our own children in the next generation.

That, I think, is a pretty good line to take because it happens to be true and it is on that line itself that we must, for all the above purely selfish reasons, prevent at almost any hazard the Axis domination of the world.

I say this because it is a simple fact, not open to controversy, that if the Germans do dominate the world, Americans within this country and this Hemisphere are going to lose every one of the above objectives.

In regard to convoys, I wish to God I could make out what all this full-dress debate they are talking about in the Senate relates to. Why debate convoys? Why not change the subject to the maintenance by the American Army and Navy of a guaranteed aircraft route to Central Africa in 1951?

-2-

This whole thing is, of course, a matter of military and naval strategy in its relationship to the defense of the Western Hemisphere, and all that experts can do at the present time is to list a lengthy series of answers to potentialities of the future, if such potentialities were to come to pass. Frankly, I do not think that is much of a subject for laymen like you or I to waste much time about in public!

As ever yours,

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

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
THEODORE G. BILBO, MISS.
FRANCIS MALONEY, CONN.
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JOHN LEE, OKLA.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
JAMES M. MEAD, N. Y.
PRENTISS M. BROWN, MICH.
MON C. WALLGREN, WASH.

A. HANS JAMES, CLERK
CECIL E. NORMENT, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

MAY 10 1941
MAY 12 8 18 AM '41
RECEIVED

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

My dear Mr. President:

- Let me express my regret that you are indisposed and the hope that you will at once recover. And also let me say that I hesitate to write for fear that I may add to your burdens, which I know are far greater than I could bear.

It is upon my mind that there is considerable reaction amongst the people of North Carolina. They are for you, and their confidence is in you beyond that of any other - far beyond. But they are beginning to be doubtful as to the national policy.

They have fully supported your foreign policy, as you know, indeed all your major policies. But the prospect of actual war is giving them pause. They supported the Lease-Lend Bill (and all the other measures) all the more heartily because they were assured that actual belligerency by the United States would be avoided. Now they are thinking of our policies in light of the prospect that they mean war, with all that war implies - and they have enough to justify them in utterances from high official sources. They are also beginning to suspect that British influence is too strong here.

Our people will sustain war by the United States if convinced that our security demands it, but not otherwise. They do not want war; they would be sorely distressed to see their sons going into war. And they will consent only when convinced that it is absolutely necessary to the defense of their country. They prefer to think that whatever they hear arises and comes from our leaders, and by no means from any other nation.

I must add that the reaction is due in part to the strikes. Our people question whether a successful outcome of war may be hoped for so long as Labor asserts the right to strike against the national defense. And many of them will not consent to war under conditions that have existed and now exist in this respect.

JORIAN WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
MATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
THEODORE G. BELBO, MISS.
FRANCIS MALONEY, CONN.
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
JOHN LEE, OKLA.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
JAMES M. MEAD, N. Y.
PRENTISS M. BROWN, MICH.
MON C. WALLGREN, WASH.

CHARLES L. MC NARY, OREG.
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
W. WARREN BARBOUR, N. J.
RALPH O. BREWSTER, MAINE
HAROLD H. BURTON, OHIO

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

A. HIND JAMES, CLERK
CECIL E. NORMENT, ASST. CLERK

-2- The President of the United States.

It is the convoy question, following a series of steps, each more positive than that which preceded it, that now presents the issue of peace or war. No matter what we have done so far, it has soon proved to be insufficient. Generally the people are convinced that to use our warships to convoy ships to England, or elsewhere, carrying war supplies, means war, nothing less. It is this question that confronts them for the first time with the realization that aid to Great Britain means war - as the "isolationists" have contended. A certain degree of revulsion under the circumstances is natural. And when they are called upon in a Senate speech to seize a base in Africa, to occupy islands of the Old World, and it is suggested that we may make "a shambles of Tokyo", it is not unreasonable that they set about to revise their attitude. So, they are saying, it is contemplated that we shall fight the world over. Such a speech may have meant nothing, but it came along with others in such a way as to make an unusual impression. The impression is rapidly growing that public opinion is being prepared for the ordeal of war.

I have written the foregoing because after much thought it seemed to me that I should do so. Speaking for myself, let me conclude by saying that I am now as I was when I spoke for the Lease-Lend Bill: I am for defending the security of our country in our own way without regard to advices or threats of other nations. Let us be the judge as to that necessity and that way. And let us be certain that whatever we shall do shall be done solely for our own security and of our own motion. And let us be as sure as we may that our cause is just and our preparation is sufficient.

With every good wish,

Very cordially,

JWB/s

Jorian W. Bailey

Senate Folder
4-41

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN	CHARLES L. McNARY, OREG.
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.	HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.	ARTHUR H. VANDERBERG, MICH.
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.	W. WARREN BARBOUR, N. J.
THEODORE G. BILBO, MISS.	RALPH D. BREWSTER, MAINE
FRANCIS MALONEY, CONN.	HAROLD H. BURTON, OHIO
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.	
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.	
JOHN LEE, OKLA.	
LESTER HILL, ALA.	
JAMES M. MEAD, N. Y.	
PRENTISS M. BROWN, MICH.	
MON C. WALLGREN, WASH.	

A. RAND JAMES, CLERK
CECIL E. NORMENT, ASST. CLERK

file personal

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

May 15, 1941
THE WHITE HOUSE

MAY 15 1 54 PM '41

RECEIVED

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

Dear Mr. President:

Let me thank you for your letter just received, and assure you it will be held absolutely confidential.

Since writing to you on May 10th, I have received the within letter from an eminent physician. He is in touch with the physicians of our State and with a great many patients, and, of course, the physicians are in touch, to an unusual degree, with our people.

I know Dr. Haywood and have every reason to put the utmost faith in anything he may say. I wish you to read his letter because I cannot avoid the feeling that he is representing the sober second thoughts in the homes of many of our people. Undoubtedly his letter is an over statement. There are plenty of advocates of war in North Carolina.

Surely there can be but one justification for this country getting into the war as a belligerent and that justification must be clear necessity. Once the necessity is plain, we could have unity upon going into the war and upon the conduct of our warfare. And with necessity must be considered our preparedness.

I have been hearing lately that the soldiers, upon reading of strikes, have manifested a disposition to complain bitterly. This comes from soldiers recently called into camps for training. They do not think it is right to require them to serve in battle under existing circumstances. They have reason to believe they might be deprived by strikes of the necessary means of defense. And they do not like the thought of their compulsion compared with the freedom of others.

I am writing to you because of my very great concern. Night and day I am thinking over the situation and the more intensely because I am preparing a Commencement Address for my old College on the subject of "The Price of Peace".

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
THEODORE G. BILBO, MISS.
FRANCIS MALONEY, CONN.
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
JOHN LEE, OKLA.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
JAMES M. MEAD, N. Y.
FRENCH M. BROWN, MICH.
MON C. WALLGREN, WASH.

A. HANF JAMES, CLERK
CECIL E. NORMENT, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

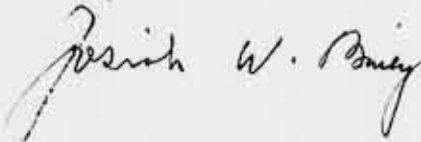
-2- The President of the United States.

I shall adhere to my position that this country must do whatever is necessary for the security of its people, but to speak my heart out, I do not think we are now prepared to go in as a belligerent or that the people are ready. They are not convinced that the domestic situation is one that will give them assurances of a successful outcome. Moreover, we will be in much better position upon the appearance of overt provocation by the Axis powers.

I am glad the convoy question is for a time out of the picture on the hill.

Please do not let me unduly burden you. I think I have some conception of your situation and burdens and I do not wish to add to them. On the other hand, I hope I may be helpful, and will be happy to see you whenever you may need me.

Very cordially,



JWB/s

JOSIAH W. BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
THEODORE G. BILBO, MISS.
VIC DONAHUE, OHIO
FRANCIS T. MALONEY, CONN.
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
JOHN LEE, OKLA.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
JAMES M. MEAD, N. Y.
JAMES M. SLATTERY, ILL.
CHARLES L. McNARY, OREG.
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR H. VANDERBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
ERNEST W. GIBSON, VT.
W. WARREN BARBOUR, N. J.
A. HANO JAMES, CLERK
ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

May 12, 1941

Senator Josiah W. Bailey,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Bailey:

As President of the State Medical Society, I have been in all sections of North Carolina this year. Nowhere, have I heard anyone favor our going to war with Germany. People are generally sympathetic with England and desire to give her all aid short of war. All seem to fear that if we enter the war that we are unprepared, that we are not united, and that our men will be sacrificed and slaughtered, and that our country will be left to carry on the fight alone in a war which we do not want, and about which our wishes have not been consulted.

I urge you as a Senator, chosen by our people, to use your influence to keep us out of this conflict.

Very truly yours,

Hubert B. Haywood, M. D.

HBH/O'D

PSF; Senate Folder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PERSONAL, PRIVATE, CONFIDENTIAL, RESTRICTED
AND SECRET

June 23, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. JUSTICE JAMES F. BYRNES
U.S.S.C.-ELECT

Help! Help! What would you
say if you were in my place?

Help me before you join the
upper classes!

F. D. R.

Letter from Secretary Ickes to the
President, dated June 18, 1941, asking
the President to send up the order
transferring Forestry to the Department
of the Interior.

Tydings Repays Jackson for Leniency by Attacking Him

Senator Who Could Have Been Made to Answer for His Law Firm's Activity Now Challenges Court Nomination

By KENNETH CRAWFORD

WASHINGTON, June 26.—That man from Maryland is in the news again. This time Senator Millard Tydings is challenging President Roosevelt's nomination of Attorney General Robert H. Jackson for justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. Mr. Tydings has notified the Senate Judiciary Committee of his opposition and has been invited to state his objections at a hearing tomorrow.

Whether the Senator will have the brass to show up and make known his real complaints against Mr. Jackson remains to be seen. Administration officials understand his grievances to be these:

¶ He once demanded that Mr. Jackson, as Attorney General, instruct the U. S. Attorney for the District of Columbia to get an indictment for criminal libel against Robert S. Allen and Drew Pearson, Washington columnists, who had offended Mr. Tydings in one of their articles. The article charged that the WPA had constructed at government expense a highway leading to Mr. Tydings' Maryland estate. Mr. Jackson refused to issue the desired instructions on the ground that Mr. Tydings, if he had a cause of action, should himself sue the columnists for libel.

¶ He says the Justice Department, under Mr. Jackson, has not always followed Mr. Tydings' recommendations in distributing Maryland patronage. The Senator, although a bitter enemy of the Roosevelt Administration and constant sniper at its policies, is at the head of the line when it passes out political jobs.

Another Charge

It seems unlikely that even the Maryland Senator will state these objections in open meeting. If he appears tomorrow, he will have to shoot at Mr. Jackson from some higher perch.

But it is a safe bet that he will not make against Attorney General Jackson the most obviously justified criticisms that could be made of him—that during his inactivity as head of the Department of Justice he never did anything to bring Senator Tydings to book under the statute making it a crime for members of Congress to accept fees "directly or indirectly" for services rendered a private client in a government case.

The law firm of Tydings, Sauerwein, Levy & Archer has habitually represented private

clients in government cases. Senator Tydings has personally helped clients of the firm and admitted receiving part of the fees.

The most flagrant case was that of the Bata Shoe Co., for which Mr. Tydings asked favors of the State and Labor Departments and from which his firm accepted fees.

Since the facts concerning the Bata case were exposed by FBI, another somewhat similar case has come to its attention. Court records show that the firm of Tydings, Sauerwein, Levy & Archer received a fee of \$140,000 for its part in settling an estate tax claim against the estate of Henry W. Breyer, Philadelphia ice cream manufacturer, who died in 1930.

Settled by Stipulation

On May 28, 1930, the firm got \$25,000 from the estate. On Dec. 21, 1930, Allan Sauerwein, a partner in the firm, received \$115,000, as the "balance in full."

The Government claimed a shortage of \$10,732,000 in the Breyer estate's tax and the estate counterclaimed an overpayment of \$105,000. The dispute was settled by stipulation and no member of the Tydings firm ever appeared in open court in the case. One of the other lawyers involved in the litigation has said that the Tydings firm was brought into the case because of the Senator's influence in Washington.

The Law Is Clear

Mr. Tydings' usual explanation when accused of using his office to promote his law business—that he has merely protected the interests of his constituents—can not be made this time. Mr. Breyer was a Pennsylvania, not a Maryland, insurance man.

The statute of limitations probably has run on the first fee paid by the Breyer estate but not on the second. The law is very clear in forbidding a member of Congress to render any kind of service to a private client in litigation involving a claim by or against the government. The law would seem to fit the Breyer case as snugly as the slipper fitted Cinderella.

Yet Mr. Jackson, as Attorney General, did nothing about it. Neither did he do anything about the Bata case. Mr. Tydings might well charge that Mr. Jackson had been remiss in failing to do something about Mr. Tydings' law practice. Maybe he will. Germany has invaded Russia, hasn't it?

How Pipelines Could Bring Oil to the East



Although the rich fields of the Southwest can produce more oil than we can use, the Atlantic seaboard is threatened with a gasoline and house-fuel shortage. Transfer of 50 tankers to Britain leaves the capacity of those remaining 250,000 a day short of eastern oil consumption.

The House-approved Cole bill, now before a Senate committee, proposes to meet this crisis in oil transportation by encouraging construction of oil pipelines. The bill gives private pipeline companies the power to condemn rights-of-way, with government aid, and authorizes the Government to step in and build pipelines itself where necessary. It costs four times as much to send a barrel of oil by pipeline as by tanker, but pipeline transmission still is cheaper and quicker than by railroad tank car.

Private companies have plans for three pipeline routes (see map above): (1) The Atlantic line, from Baton Rouge, La., to Norfolk, Va., with a capacity of 60,000 barrels a day, could probably be completed in a year. (2) The Southeastern line, from Port St. Joe, Fla., to Chattanooga and Knoxville, designed to carry 18,000 barrels a day, is under way and could be completed by next October. Both of these lines are being held up because railroad interests have blocked clearance on right-of-way.

(3) The Portland-Montreal line, handling 35,000 barrels a day, saves 2000 miles in tanker voyages and is planned for completion in 1942.

Two more ambitious projects are being studied, both of which would probably require government financial aid: (4) A line from St. Louis to the East Coast would tap the Illinois field and connect with existing pipelines in the Southwest. (5) A twin line to carry crude and refined oil all the way from Texas to New York and Philadelphia, costing more than \$100,000,000, could be set up to carry 550,000 barrels a day. Engineers say these lines could be built within six to nine months.

Oil Co-ordinator Harold Ickes yesterday asked eastern oil companies to use railroad tank cars as much as possible. Estimates

place the number of idle tank cars in the country at 20,000. And Mr. Ickes suggested that the railroads grant special rates.

One of company officials suggested, meanwhile, that New England filling stations close at 8:30 p.m. every day to curtail consumption.

Buffalo Power Group Fights Seaway Project

The Niagara Frontier Planning Board, heavily loaded with Niagara Power Co. partisans, sent its chairman yesterday to blast the St. Lawrence Seaway project. Clarence J. Hamlin told the House Rivers and Harbors committee that the Administration plan was "unsound and would seriously jeopardize" the interests of western New York. He predicted it would cost \$1,120,588,000 instead of the \$500,000,000 estimated by the Administration.

FDR Asks U. S. Rededication On Independence Day

At 5 p.m. (EDT) on the Fourth of July, President Roosevelt will speak to America over the combined NBC networks. "As the birthday of American independence draws near," he declared yesterday, "it is altogether fitting that we should rededicate ourselves to defend and perpetuate those inalienable rights which found true expression in the immortal Declaration. . . . These were the times that tried men's souls even as are these times in another crisis."

Indicted on Trust Law Charges

A federal grand jury in Chicago indicted three corporations and five of their officers. The companies make 85 per cent of the die cast pulleys in the U. S. A. The charge is getting together to fix prices. The pulleys are used in producing drills.



Attorney General Jackson . . . is challenged by Senator Tydings (D., Md.)

STANDARD FORM NO. 14A
APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT
MARCH 10, 1925

TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

FROM

RF: Senate Folder
The White House
Washington

*file
personal*

*** 10-0461

July 1, 1941.

HONORABLE WALTER F. GEORGE
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

VERY CONFIDENTIALLY, I AM ASKING SUMNER WELLES TO MEET
WITH YOU ON THURSDAY. I HAD HOPED TO SEE YOU MYSELF
BUT I CANNOT GET BACK TO WASHINGTON AND I DO NOT WANT
TO ASK YOU TO COME ALL THE WAY UP HERE IN THE HEAT.
REGARDS

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

STANDARD FORM No. 14A
APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT
MARCH 10, 1926

TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS—GOVERNMENT RATES

FROM

PSF: Senate Folder
The White House
Washington

*File
Personal*

*** 10-5481

July 1, 1941.

HONORABLE TOM CONNALLY
UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

VERY CONFIDENTIALLY, I AM ASKING SUMNER WELLES TO MEET
WITH YOU ON THURSDAY. I HAD HOPED TO SEE YOU MYSELF
BUT I CANNOT GET BACK TO WASHINGTON AND I DO NOT WANT
TO ASK YOU TO COME ALL THE WAY UP HERE IN THE SEAT.
REGARDS

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

TELEGRAM

PSF; Senate Folder

*file
Personal
taken care
by telephone*

The White House
Washington

The White House
July 2, 1941.

Personal and Confidential

For the President

Senator Jimmy Byrnes tips me off that Senator Barkley is said to feel somewhat hurt because he has not received any inquiries from you during the period of his illness. May I suggest that you telephone Alben.

He is now in Atlantic City, staying at the home of Senator Smathers, his host.

Jim feels that a telephone inquiry would help the picture and do Alben much good.

If you wish, I would be glad to telephone him at your request, voicing a solicitous and friendly inquiry concerning his health and telling him that you would like to see him when he gets back and had asked me, from Hyde Park, to do this for you.

Jimmy also tells me that he spoke to you yesterday about being sworn in Tuesday, in your office. Arrangements to this end are being made for 11:00 a.m. Tuesday morning. Jimmy is informally inviting some of his friends in the Senate, etc., to attend. Dick Whaley, his old friend and colleague, will administer the oath.

Good wishes.

S.T.E.

155pm/d

1
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file
journal*

Hyde Park, N. Y.,
July 3, 1941.



MEMORANDUM FOR
THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

F. D. R.

RECEIVED
JUN 28 1941

PSF: Senate Folder

CARTER GLASS, VA., CHAIRMAN
 JONATHAN MC KELLAR, TENN.
 CARL HAYDEN, ARIZ.
 ELMER THOMAS, OKLA.
 JAMES P. BYRNE, S. C.
 MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD.
 RICHARD S. RUSSELL, GA.
 ALVA B. ADAMS, COLO.
 PATRICK MC CARRAH, NEV.
 JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
 JOHN H. BARNHART, ALA.
 JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, WYO.
 HARRY S. TRUMAN, MO.
 EDWARD R. BURKE, MASS.
 THEODORE F. GREEN, R. I.
 FRANCIS T. MALONEY, CONN.
 DENNIS CHAVEZ, N. MEX.

FREDERICK HALE, MAINE
 SERIALD P. NYE, N. DAK.
 JOHN G. TOWNSEND, JR., DEL.
 STYLES BRIDGES, N. H.
 HENRY CAROT LODGE, JR., MASS.
 RUFUS C. HOLMAN, OREG.
 ROBERT A. TAFT, OHIO

EVERARD H. SMITH, CLERK
 JOHN W. R. SMITH, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate
 COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

June 28, 1941.

THE WHITE HOUSE
 JUN 30 9 26 AM '41
 RECEIVED

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

Dear Mr. President:

Referring to your inquiry as to whether I could introduce and put through the Senate the Reorganization Bill, I regret that I cannot do so.

As I told you ten days ago, I have been terribly embarrassed by remaining in the Senate after my nomination was confirmed. After talking with you, I announced that the day Senator Barkley returned to the Senate, I would resign. Barkley is expected to return on Monday. It will be impossible for me now to announce that I have changed my plans and will remain in the Senate to lead a fight on the Reorganization Bill. If the Bill were to be considered next week, I would feel that I could not participate in the fight. As a matter of fact, the Senate will on Monday begin taking a recess for three days at a time and continue for approximately ten days.

Because I want to take the Oath as a Justice on Tuesday, it is impossible for me to introduce the Reorganization Bill. I have advised Secretary Ickes that in my opinion the Bill will pass, and that any proposal to exempt the Forestry Service will be defeated even though it may be a hard fight. I am sure, however, that it will be necessary to convince Congressman Cochran and Speaker Rayburn that this fight should be undertaken at this time. I expect to be in Washington, and if the Bill is introduced, I will try from the side lines to help the cause.

Respectfully yours,

James F. Byrnes
 JAMES F. BYRNES.

Back

CARTER GLASS, VA., CHAIRMAN
BENNETT MCKELLAR, TENN.
EARL HAYDEN, ARIZ.
ELMER THOMAS, OKLA.
JAMES F. BYRNES, S. C.
MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD.
RICHARD S. RUSSELL, GA.
ALVA B. ADAMS, COLO.
PATRICK MCCARRAN, NEV.
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
JOHN H. BARDHEAD, ALA.
JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, WYO.
HARRY S. TRUMAN, MO.
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.
FRANCIS MALONEY, CONN.
DENNIS CHAVEZ, N. MEX.
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.
ETYLES BRIDGES, N. H.
HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., MASS.
RUFUS C. HOLMAN, OREG.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
CHAS. CURNEY, S. DAK.
C. WAYLAND BROOKS, ILL.
EVERARD H. SMITH, CLERK
JOHN W. R. SMITH, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

June 28, 1941

THE WHITE HOUSE
JUN 30 9 26 AM '41
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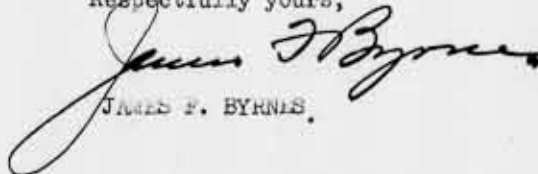
Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

With reference to the Ickes Forestry matter, my suggestion is that you send him the attached letter.

Harold, in his effort to place you under obligation, is not quite accurate. While the Lease-Lend Bill was pending, you asked about this matter and I advised you I thought it would be very unwise, and told you I did not want to sponsor it at that time. I said that if the Lease-Lend Bill was out of the way I would gladly do it and believed it could be passed. You agreed. A few days later Harold came to see me. I advised him of my conversation with you as above set forth. The next day he wrote you a letter stating he realized it might interfere with the Lease-Lend Bill and he did not desire to do that. I thought, and I am sure that I told him, it was a very splendid letter. At the same time I must say that I have never felt myself under any obligation to him because he wrote you a letter stating that he would not ask you to urge the Reorganization Bill at that time. He knew when he wrote it that neither the House Committee nor the Senate Committee was willing to consider it. I think the matter should be considered upon its merits and without regard to this history.

Respectfully yours,


JAMES F. BYRNES

JFB:ec

PSF: Senate Folder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

copy

July 11, 1941

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR

SENATOR GEORGE
SENATOR CONNALLY

I am enclosing a memorandum from the Acting Secretary of State. I wish you would give me a little unofficial and private opinion as to what you think would be the best policy at the present time -- try to put over now or hold over.

F.D.R.

Enclosure

one copy each of attached memo 6/28/41 to Mr. Welles sent to George and Connally.

SUBJECT: Proposed amendment of the neutrality act approved Nov. 4, 1939

PS F; Senate folder

August 1, 1941

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Senator Clark:

It is as I expected. I felt very certain that your remarks the other day in regard to a virtual act of aggression against the other twenty American Republics and the establishment of puppet governments therein by the United States would result in these remarks being played up and used in Europe by the Nazis and Fascists.

I said nothing about this, however.

Now, though, I think it is only right that you should know that my fears have been realized. A dispatch from Rome quotes the Italian press as alleging that your statement ends the Good Neighbor policy and represents the real opinion of the President and of the State Department. It goes on to say that your remarks amount to a frank statement made out of turn and that the statements of the President and the Acting Secretary of State are mere camouflage because they are not yet ready to assume the role of the aggressor in South America. Finally, the Italian papers plead with the Latin-American countries to take warning and abandon all cooperation with this country.

Simultaneously the German newspapers are "congratulating Senator Clark" on his "touching frankness in letting the cat out of the bag and that the real aim of the United States is not that of the Good Neighbor but of the Big Stick".

As I said before, I think it is only fair that you should know just what the result has been.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable D. Worth Clark,
The United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

fdr/tmb

Carbon Copy to Hon. Sumner Welles.

—

file

PSF; Senate Folder
3-41

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 18, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

May I thank you for your personal letter to me of August 1, in which you were good enough to call my attention to the situation which has arisen in connection with my remarks on our "good neighbor" policy.

It is a matter of extreme regret to me that these remarks have caused you embarrassment in your diplomatic intercourse with the other nations of the Western Hemisphere. As you may know, I have differed in many ways with the foreign policy which you have chosen to adopt, and have so expressed myself on suitable occasions. Nevertheless, I have studiously refrained from indulging in personalities, particularly as regards you, and I have tried to avoid saying anything which would cause you personal embarrassment in these very difficult times. I think that my remarks would have caused little trouble had not dispatches come from Berlin on the same day indicating that the United States was about to make a colony out of South America. I suppose it is unnecessary for me to tell you that I had no knowledge whatsoever of these Berlin stories until I saw them in the press.

I think you will agree with me that none of us can be responsible for the manner in which the foreign press treats statements made by us here. All of the European press today is a propaganda mechanism, and this is as much true of the British as of the German and Italian. Many of your own utterances have been warped, distorted, and twisted by the press of all European countries in such manner as has suited their own ends, and I am apprehensive as to the strength of a "good neighbor" policy which hangs by so slim a thread as to depend upon the comments of a Rome and Berlin newspaper in connection with the remarks of a more or less obscure Member of the Senate.

In fairness to you, because you were kind enough and thoughtful enough to write me as you did, let me briefly outline the reasons which prompted my remarks.

First, let us consider Canada. It has always been my thought that any "good neighbor" policy is a failure unless it is based upon reciprocity and mutuality of action. About three weeks ago, a group of Senators, representing the states bordering on Canada,

held a meeting in the Senate Office Building, at which I was present. The Governor of Maine came to Washington to confer with us. Considerable indignation was evinced at the ruling of the Canadian Government that none of its nationals could enter the United States with more than five dollars on their persons. According to the Governor and the Senators present, this has done measureable damage to the economy of many communities along the Canadian Line, and in some places has aroused bitter resentment.

At the same time, Canadian agencies are spending substantial sums of money endeavoring to lure the American dollar into Canada. Among other newspaper advertisements which they have used are those which state that there will be no rationing of gasoline for Americans in Canada. This is strangely ironic. Our own people on the eastern seaboard cannot obtain gasoline after seven o'clock, because we have given away so many of our oil tankers to the British Empire, of which Canada is presumably a part. The picture is further confused since, although Canadians cannot even bring five dollars into the United States, we are pouring seven billion dollars, largely as a gift, into the war machine of which they are likewise a part.

Again, my understanding is that we pay cash for everything we get from Canada, and in turn ship these same products or their equivalent to England under the lend-lease act. The net result is Canada gets the money; England gets the goods; and we get nothing.

Again, although Canada is at war, not a Canadian soldier can be sent outside of Canada to fight without his voluntary consent.

Again, during the last year, much needed airplanes have been taken from the commercial airlines of the United States and disposed of to England, whereas on parallel Canadian lines they refused to give up a single one of theirs until very recently, when they were compelled to do so because our own lines, having been bled white, protested so violently.

To my mind, Mr. President, this constitutes a complete breakdown of the "good neighbor" policy as regards Canada under any reasonable definition of that term. Canada says us for everything she can get, and gives nothing except under the utmost compulsion. I think it justifies my statement that insofar as Canada, at least, is concerned, the "good neighbor" policy has failed. Canada does not tax herself to maintain a navy for her defense. She declares war without consulting us, and obviously being defenseless herself, expects us to defend her. That I am willing to do, Mr. President, but

is it too ill-considered for me to suggest, even in the public press, that if we are going to assume these obligations we should have some "control" over the situation?

Now, let us take Mexico. At present, our relations are splendid and she was not included in my remarks. Nevertheless, we have been practically buying that friendship by silver subsidies and loans of one kind and another. Yet when it suited Mexico's purpose under the "good neighbor" policy, she expropriated vast oil properties belonging to our citizens. I hold no brief for these oil companies. They put their money in Mexico to make a profit, and voluntarily subjected it to the risks of the country. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of reciprocity and mutuality as a "good neighbor," I daresay little can be found to justify it in Mexico other than that for the present she is "staying bought."

Now as regards South America, let me first say that as a member of the Banking and Currency Committee, and having a great deal of confidence in Jesse Jones, I have voted in that Committee and on the Floor for every authorization for loans to our South American nations. I do not expect many of these loans to be repaid any more than so many millions of dollars of South American bonds have not been repaid to our own citizens; nevertheless, in view of the troubled international situation, in view of the gallant efforts you and your Secretary of State were making to maintain some sort of stability in South America, I was willing to give those countries some of our taxpayers' money.

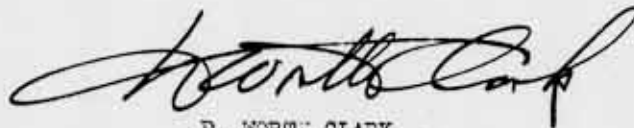
Nevertheless, for the past several years those who have purported to speak for you have deluged us with alarms about how Hitler's agents are making inroads in South America. We have heard much of Dekar and how an invasion of South America from that or some similar point was likely. I submit, Mr. President, that if these things are only partly true, then in the interest of our own safety and of our own defense, it might be well to consider a temporary "control" of strategic parts of South America. Our good neighbors should not resent this. We are defending them as well as ourselves from Hitler and Nazi-Ism. If they do resent it, would not this be a possible indication that our "good neighbor" policy has failed?

It may have been brought to your attention that my quoted remarks have been severely criticized by a large part of the country's press. This criticism, however, did not contain much argument. Consequently, I was preparing a rather complete address to be made in the Senate, amplifying and justifying, if possible, my position along the lines heretofore sketched in this letter. I believe I have the facts and the data which would support it. After thinking the matter over, however, and in view of your courtesy in writing me, I have deferred this address.

- 4 -

I am Again thanking you, and with kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "D. Worth Clark". The signature is fluid and somewhat stylized, with a large initial "D" and a long, sweeping underline.

D. WORTH CLARK

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

PSF: Senate Folder

PERSONAL

August 21, 1941.

Dear John:-

That little document of well
deserved "tribute" to Pegler is grand.
The only trouble is that he is a cad
with the hide of a rhinoceros.

Always sincerely,

Honorable John H. Overton,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

JOHN H. OVERTON
LOUISIANA

United States Senate THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

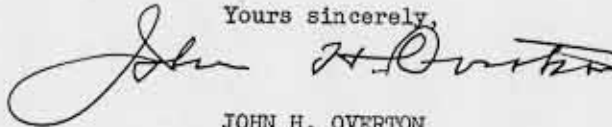
August 12th, 1941

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Dear Mr. President:

If sometime wars and rumors of war disturb you at bedtime, and you discover no diversion in Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes or the Ellery Queen's stories, I hope that you will be able to drift from wakefulness into slumber by reading the enclosed sweet and loving tribute to "that fellow", Westbrook Pegler.

Yours sincerely,



JOHN H. OVERTON

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

Remarks of
Hon. John H. Overton
Hon. Charles L. McNary
Hon. Walter F. George
Hon. Elbert D. Thomas
Hon. Tom Connally
Hon. Bennett Champ Clark
Hon. Prentiss M. Brown

in the
Senate of the United States
May 26, 1941

*Not printed
at Government
expense*

United States Government Printing Office, Washington : 1941

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SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN H. OVERTON

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, I desire unanimous consent to address the Senate on a matter of personal privilege. It is contrary to senatorial custom for a United States Senator to take notice of published criticisms of himself. Notwithstanding this custom, I shall ask the indulgence of the Senate while I depart from its traditions by making some observations in respect to a certain columnist who has recently made some comments not too flattering in respect to myself and others specifically, and in respect to all the Members of the Senate collectively. This writer was recently awarded one of the Pulitzer prizes; and, after all, he is, perhaps, entitled to the fleeting notice of the Senate.

On last Saturday, May 24, there appeared in a daily newspaper an article written by Westbrook Pegler under the long-used and long-abused caption of "Fair enough." I quote an excerpt from the article, as follows:

So, obviously, the people of the United States are stuck with President Roosevelt and with the Congress which also was elected by popular vote in the manner prescribed by law, except one Louisiana Senator, who was elected by fraud but was accepted by the Senate, nevertheless.

The excerpt just read relates to another article previously published by the same writer to which my attention has been called, and which probably appeared in many of the three-hundred-odd newspapers that give publicity to the Pegler productions. I send to the desk the last-mentioned article and ask unanimous consent that the clerk may read it to the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the article will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the article, as follows:

FAIR ENOUGH

(By Westbrook Pegler)

It is futile, of course, to propose that the statue of Huey Long, recently unveiled in the Capitol in Washington, be hurled down and smashed in solemn public ceremonies, as it should be. But every conscientious citizen who recalls the facts of Huey's evil career will regret that the Senate lacked the character

and citizenship to prevent the dedication of this insult to the people of the United States and to the Senate in particular. A small delegation of Senators attended the rites, including the two present Members from Louisiana, one of whom obtained his seat by fraud, the other as dangerous a foe to all the rights of Americans as Adolf Hitler himself. JOHN H. OVERTON was elected by Huey's crooked machine by a process which a Senate committee denounced as fraud and a vicious and abhorrent political practice. He would have been thrown out if the Senate at that time had not lived in fear of the dictator. Although fraud was found, no Senator had the courage to follow up the report with an insistent demand for OVERTON's removal, and he remained to mock by his very presence not merely the dignity of the Senate but the security of the people.

The other Louisiana Senator who attended the political obscenities that recent day when Huey Long in stone was set up to leer at the body which quailed before him was ALEX J. ELLENOR. Senator ELLENOR is as guilty as Huey was of every offense by Huey against the liberties of the citizen and the security of the American form of government. He was equally guilty, and the only difference between him and Huey was that ELLENOR lacked Huey's initiative in perfidy and ruthlessness.

He was a political straw boss for the dictator who sat in the lower house of the legislature during Huey's special sessions which wrote away the freedom of Louisiana's people and executed orders from Huey in plain sight of all present. He was a guilty party to every legislative and political atrocity of the corrupt Long dictatorship, and he and OVERTON were guilty of a grave offense against the character of the Federal courts in causing the appointment of Gaston Porterie, who had been Long's attorney general, to a seat in the district court in Louisiana.

Many of Huey's subordinate thieves and conspirators against the State and Nation have been sent or sentenced to prison, but the two Senators, OVERTON and ELLENOR, and Judge Porterie, who all ran with Huey as Goebbels, Goering, and Streicher ran with Hitler, continue to hold important office under the National Government.

OVERTON still could be thrown out of the Senate on the basis of the evidence obtained and the report made by the committee which investigated his election. ELLENOR's election was not investigated, so probably there is nothing that could be done to eliminate him, even if the Senate had the will and conscience to do so. As to Porterie's legal right to a place on the bench, there is probably no question, but his elevation was a shocking example of the abuse of senatorial courtesy.

In his case two active members of a machine so vicious that Senator CONNALLY, of Texas, the chairman of the Investigating Committee, said experts in machine politics

elsewhere could take lessons in Louisiana, were allowed to place on the Federal bench a third member of the band no better than themselves.

Incidentally, although Senator CONNALLY's words were bold in that report and in his oral comments on the floor, he did not act on his discoveries or his principles. He ducked the wrath of Huey Long by presenting the facts and saying, "they are here, and if anybody wants to file a resolution to oust any Senator those facts are available for that action."

There has been too much sentimentalism about Huey, and too many public men and writers have condoned his brutal conquest of a State on the ground that he was clever and, when it pleased him, a wag. That only made him the more dangerous.

The statue of this dictator will threaten the liberties of all the American people as long as it is allowed to stand, for it is proof that the Senate was not on guard over those liberties and was afraid to fight their enemy when Huey was alive, and to this day prefers the easier way of dealing with his memory. He stands in marble sneering at a body which flinched before a dictator.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, there are various kinds of prevaricators. There are the innocent, the malicious, the inadvertent, the deliberate, the occasional, the habitual, the half-truth falsifiers, and the unadulterated wholesale fabricators. The article read in full from the desk reveals Westbrook Pegler as the disgusting incarnation of all classes of prevaricators except the innocent. The making of awards, Mr. President, to Westbrook Pegler should not end; he is still to be knighted as the master of mendacity.

Pegler has been Pulitzerized. It is worthy of observation that Pulitzer in his early years suffered the hardships of ill-compensated toil, felt the pangs of want and hunger, knew the needs and longings of impoverished labor for a better life. Is it not a mockery that a Pulitzer award should be given to one whose syndicated columns, I am informed, have been frequently of late devoted to undertaking to blast the hopes and aspirations of organized labor? I said advisedly that "I am informed," because I long ago ceased to read Westbrook Pegler; nausea, to say the least, is a disagreeable sensation.

Pegler has been Pulitzerized; but, alas, Mr. President, the process of Pulitzerization has served only to add to Pegler's chronic putrefaction. Not only are Senator ELLENBER, Judge Porterie, and I assailed in the quoted libel, the malice of which is exceeded only by its deliberate

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falsity, but Pulitzer Pegler brings within the orbit of his grandiose hallucinations the whole body of the United States Senate. The article portrays all who have been Members of the Senate from 1932 down to this very hour as a continuing body of men who are "lacking in character and citizenship," who have lived "in constant fear of a supposed dictator," while alive and even in death, a flinching Senate devoid of courage; in short, a cowering assembly of poltroons. And Senator CONNALLY, for whose courage and patriotism we all have the highest admiration, upon whom Pegler relies as my sole senatorial critic, is unceremoniously dismissed from further consideration as a ducking Tom, "ducking from the wrath of Huey Long."

While in part it may be true, it is, perhaps, too charitable to make the observation that Pulitzer Pegler's effusions are to be attributed chiefly to a gangrened liver and a diseased brain. It must be remembered, Mr. President, that libel is Pulitzer Pegler's stock in trade. Without the spice of slander, his wares would find no market. He is the garbage man of the columnists. His appetite grows with the filth upon which it feeds until, no longer appeased by the libel of the living, the garbage peddler turns jackal and digs into the grave. He is America's outstanding representative of the perverts whom Edgar Allan Poe once described:

They are neither man nor woman,
They are neither brute nor human,
They are Ghouls—

Ghouls, ghouls.

Concerning my own tenure of office in this august body and the results of the investigation of the primary election of 1932, in which I was first nominated as a candidate for the United States Senate, Westbrook Pegler, master of mendacity, runs the whole gamut of falsification and shows in its full bloom the reputation for deceit and distortion which through years of indulgence he has so deservedly built for himself.

It would be going too far, Mr. President, to suggest that the master of mendacity might very properly have alluded to the fact that in September 1938 I was again nominated, and without opposition, as a candidate for the United States Senate by the Democrats of Louisiana, and that in the 1938 general election following my nomination I received 151,582 votes against only 250 votes cast for an opponent running as an independent

candidate. I therefore hold my present tenure of office as the uncontested and the unopposed nominee of Louisiana's democracy and by virtue of an uncontested general election in which I had an opponent, but no opposition in fact. And this absence of opposition to my candidacy in 1938 is, and was by the good people of Louisiana intended to be, the complete and final answer to the suggestion that I was on March 4, 1933, or at any other time or now, unworthy of a seat in the United States Senate. Pulitzer Pegler did not and would not say any of these things. Nor would he point out that my renomination and reelection in 1938 occurred 3 full years after the death of Huey Long, to whose alleged dictatorship Pegler ascribes my first nomination and election in 1932.

None who understand and justly appraise the man Pegler are surprised that he failed to note the following facts, which the records of the investigation of my election in 1932 unmistakably show:

That out of approximately 306,000 votes cast in the nominating primary of 1932, I received a majority of 58,529 over my opponent; that my opponent admitted that I had been nominated, and contested neither the nomination nor the election; that while, under a long-established custom in Louisiana elections, dummy candidates were used on both sides, the Connally investigating committee exonerated both my opponent and myself from participating in the use of the dummy candidate device; that the Connally investigating committee declared in its report that there was neither charge nor proof that Senator OVERTON had participated in or instigated any fraud in the election; and, furthermore, the records of the 3 investigations show that the validity of less than 500 votes was challenged, and of these only 2 were shown to have been illegally cast, without any proof of whether the ballots were for me or for my opponent.

Common decency should suggest to Pegler that he might make some comment on the statement made by Senator Logan, a member of the investigating committee, toward the conclusion of the hearings, as follows:

I have listened carefully and have never heard one man or woman say a word against the character, standing, or fitness of Senator OVERTON to sit in the United States Senate. Not a man has said it, not even Senator Broussard (OVERTON's opponent) or anyone else.

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With the deliberate intention of falsifying through concealment, putrid Pegler, M. M., fails to comment on the subsequent investigations of the 1932 election by the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and the unanimous report of this committee, submitted through its chairman, the senior Senator from Georgia (Mr. GAZON), wherein the following conclusion was reached and the following recommendation was made:

With the three hearings that have been held by the special committee and the report thereon, the study and report made by the Committee on the Judiciary, and the several hearings conducted by this committee, the Committee on Privileges and Elections is of the opinion that nothing has been presented in justifying it in proceeding further, and it so reports to the Senate a conclusion of its proceedings in this matter.

Neither does Pegler refer to the resolution submitted by the Committee on Privileges and Elections and unanimously agreed to by the Senate discharging the committee from any further consideration of the subject matter of my nomination and election.

Mr. President, for more than 8 years I have had the honor of being a Member of the United States Senate. My record, course of conduct, and character are known to my colleagues. I neither ask nor require any further vindication at their hands. But this I can truthfully say: That the only discreditable act that I have committed in those 8 years is the embalming of the name of Westbrook Pegler and of one of his infamous libels in the records of our National Congress.

Mr. McNARY. Mr. President, the able Senator from Louisiana needs no testimonial from me. However, I desire to appear as a witness to his exemplary character and to the high standing he occupies in this body.

I think we are all too busy in the day's work to follow the writings of very many commentators. Indeed, I am not familiar with the article which was just read. It is news to me. But I know, Mr. President, from observation during a number of years in the Senate, and particularly as a member of the Commerce Committee of the Senate, serving with the senior Senator from Louisiana (Mr. OVERTON), that no one has been more jealous of the rights of the Senators with whom he has served, or has been more national in his viewpoint and less provincial.

It is a pleasure to me to pay this simple and brief tribute to the man with whom

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I have served, whom I respect, and who has the respect of all his colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I should feel remiss if I did not say a word regarding this matter, and particularly regarding the senior Senator from Louisiana (Mr. OVERTON). After Senator OVERTON's election certain citizens of the State of Louisiana filed with the Committee on Privileges and Elections a long petition, containing charges full of lurid generalities, particularly against the late Senator Long. Nowhere in the petition, if it were reexamined today, could there be found any direct charge of fraud, or participation in, or initiation of fraud, or alleged fraud, by the senior Senator from Louisiana (Mr. OVERTON).

Based upon the general charges, all leveled at the then Senator Huey P. Long, there was the broad generalization made that Senator OVERTON had been the beneficiary of a corrupt political machine in the State of Louisiana.

The committee made a careful investigation into all the allegations contained in that petition. An extraordinary course was taken. A large number of witnesses furnished by the complaining citizens were brought up from Louisiana in person, and examined by the committee, of which at that time I had the honor to serve as chairman. By not a single word of testimony was there any charge of fraud, or participation in fraud, by Senator OVERTON, but again the witnesses indulged in general statements with respect to the alleged corrupt practices of Senator Huey P. Long, and again it was reiterated that Senator OVERTON was simply the beneficiary of the Long machine in the State of Louisiana. After very careful investigation the committee concluded, without a dissenting vote, that nothing had been produced affecting the election or affecting the high character and fitness of Senator OVERTON to a seat in the Senate. The committee so reported, and, as the Senator himself has said, that report was unanimously adopted.

During these years I have had occasion to know Senator OVERTON intimately, as I have known his colleague, Senator ELLENDER, and I have found Senator OVERTON to be a man of the highest sense of honor. I know of no more honorable man now sitting in the Senate, or who has within my experience as a Member of the Senate occu-

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pled a seat in this body. He has the esteem and the confidence of his fellow Senators in a high and rare degree. He has gone about his work here diligently and unobtrusively. Never on this floor or in any of the committee rooms, or in the cloakrooms, has any one impugned the honor or the integrity or the high character of the senior Senator from Louisiana.

I take it the two Senators from Louisiana are too well known to the membership of the Senate, to those who are familiar with their work and their general conduct here as Senators and as men, to require any statement on my part, but I felt that I should make this statement, and I am very happy to make it because of the great respect, the sincere and genuine respect, in which Senator OVERTON and his colleague, Senator ELLENDER, are held by the Members of the Senate.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I think the very first task that was imposed upon me by the Vice President of the United States came about by reason of my appointment as a member of a committee which went to New Orleans to investigate what was called the Overton election. I was, of course, the least of the Senators who went down there, and modesty probably should make it incumbent upon me that I keep my seat during this discussion. I cannot in fairness do that, because during the 3 weeks we were holding open hearings, most of which time I presided over the meetings, we met with people on all sides after the hearings were over, and never once did anyone suggest that the senior Senator from Louisiana (Mr. OVERTON) was not in every way a gentleman. Never once did anyone pass a slighting remark about his character. The contest was in many ways one of the most severe, and probably one of the most wicked, ever carried on in the history of our country, because the factors which had to do with that contest were factors which did not have to do with the character of the senior Senator from Louisiana (Mr. OVERTON) or with his election.

We are all acquainted with the fact that the rule of germaneness cannot always be followed, even in an investigation, and that persons like to be heard who probably do not contribute much in a hearing so far as the vital question is concerned. I think it would be found that even if the committee had elimi-

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nated every ballot which was considered doubtful or improperly cast, the senior Senator from Louisiana (Mr. OVERTON) would have won the election anyway. Probably the committee could have acted in no other way, even though it found itself called upon to condemn, and did condemn, some of the practices which were followed in that primary election.

Since that time I have known intimately not only Senator OVERTON but also Senator ELLENDER. The State of Louisiana can be proud of its representatives in the United States Senate. Senator ELLENDER acted as counsel for Senator OVERTON during the hearings over which I presided. Never once, even in the heat of argument, did Senator ELLENDER show himself to be anything but a gentleman and an advocate for justice and right as he saw them.

In those hearings it became my task to rebuke counsel on both sides, and to rebuke some of the witnesses. I signed the report. I am sure the Senate did the right thing in seating Senator OVERTON; and I am positive that if there had been any occasion for the people of Louisiana to bring anything against Senator OVERTON, it would have been brought against him at the time of his reelection.

Mr. President, I wish to speak in a general way, not about this particular incident, but about our whole scheme of Government as it relates to the press. Students of history know that about 800 or 900 B. C., in ancient China, where a sort of popular opinion kept officers of government in curb, the Chinese followed the custom of appointing for each officer two individuals who were called historiographers. One of them kept track of the official acts of the officer, and the other kept track of his private acts. Both records were kept secret until after the death of the official, when they were made public. That was the early Chinese method of restraining the officers of the government by public opinion. It worked so tremendously well that outright injustices were rare.

There was one incident which showed that an officer, no matter how hard he tried, could never dodge the guardian angels who were around him. One historiographer wrote of an improper act which an official had committed. The official knew that the historian would write of the improper act, so he had his head cut off, thinking that he could

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purge the record. Another historiographer was appointed, and immediately he wrote the fact that the official had cut off the head of his predecessor because the predecessor had written the truth about the official. That process went on through two more historiographers, all of them losing their heads. The official thus had three unjust executions recorded against him instead of one. Finally the official realized that he could not catch up with history, and that no matter what he did, it would go down in writing. This experience, plus our own experience with democratic institutions in England and America, taught men in public life seldom to answer the things said about them.

The point that should be kept in mind above all other points when occasions of this kind arise is that Thomas Jefferson, who understood our own democracy quite as well as any one else who ever lived, realized that the American democracy would last and be preserved because of the ability of persons to write about the officers of government. Thomas Jefferson made the point that the press, together with public education, would always keep our country free and democratic.

A tremendous responsibility rests upon the educators of our country; and government sees to it that only those shall teach who are competent to teach. There is also a tremendous responsibility resting upon the press of the country, but there is no agency—not even public opinion—to interpose and see that the press remains competent in its judgment.

I am wondering if a person who writes so loosely as to say that the statue of former Senator Huey Long is in marble is a man who observes very closely. I doubt very much that Huey Long's statue is in marble, and I wonder if the writer took the trouble to verify even that little detail when he wrote. Can a person be scientific in any of the things he does if he does not pay attention to that which he sees? Is a person entitled to tell the whole country that Huey Long's statue is in marble when it is not in marble?

I cannot understand why someone along the line on the editorial desks did not catch this simple error. Such errors tend to shake the public's confidence in the exactness of the press, and the public is entitled to ordinary care in these matters.

In this case the question whether the statue is of marble or bronze is of little significance. I realize that the expression was probably rhetorical, and that poetic license justifies anyone in describing a statue as being in marble when it is not in marble. There is not much to the point; but when we analyze sentence after sentence and realize that that which has gone out to the country is the thing by which Senators OVERTON and ELLENDER are to be judged by people who do not know them, I believe that a tremendous responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the man who willfully and purposely writes the names of persons and connects them up with such nouns as "thieves." The United States Senate is no place for preaching. The United States Senate, though, should be a place for thoughtfulness and deliberation.

It seems to me the press of the country has here a challenge: Just how long can the press maintain the great responsibility of being united with the educational institutions of the country in the preservation of democracy if the press does not and will not pay attention to real facts, if the press feels it is entitled to do whatever it wishes to a man in public life merely because he is in public life, realizing that there is a certain immunity because men in public life do not seek justice when they are wronged? They know it is impossible, just as impossible as it was ever to get rid of the record which the dishonest official had made in ancient China by trying to kill his historiographer.

Mr. President, I trust that my purpose in making these few remarks will be understood. Probably I should not have made them. The late Senator from Kentucky, Mr. Logan, is not here. The Senator from Texas (Mr. CONNALLY), who was my leader, is here. I have known Senator OVERTON and Senator ELLENDER since that time; and no two men in the United States Senate are more devoted to their duties and tasks or more alert to that which is of interest to the country and to their people, than are these two gentlemen.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, mention has been made of my membership on the subcommittee of the special committee appointed to investigate conditions in Louisiana in the primary election in 1932. I was not the original chairman of the subcommittee, as I recall. The late Senator Howell, of Nebraska, was the first chairman of the

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subcommittee and went to Louisiana and held hearings of considerable length. After Senator Howell's death I was designated to go to Louisiana, together with the Senator from Utah (Mr. THOMAS), the late Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Logan), and another Senator whose name escapes me for the moment.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, there were just three of us—the Senator from Texas (Mr. CONNALLY), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Logan), and the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. Carey).

Mr. CONNALLY. In the meantime Senator Howell had died, and Senator Carey, the other member of the subcommittee, did not go to Louisiana with us. He attended the hearings held by Senator Howell, but he did not attend the hearings held by the Senator from Utah (Mr. THOMAS), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Logan), and the then junior Senator from Texas.

A great deal of misapprehension occurred in the public mind as to the scope and jurisdiction of that investigation. Most of the press and most of the people seemed to think we were in Louisiana investigating Senator Long. Senator Long had been elected 2 years earlier, as I recall. Senator OVERTON was a candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1932; so these charges were filed attacking Senator OVERTON and calling for an investigation. Pending the investigation, Senator OVERTON was elected in the general election without any opposition whatever.

There was also confusion in the public mind that the contest pending before the special committee was an election contest. It was not an election contest in any sense of the word, the Committee on Privileges and Elections having jurisdiction of any contest that might have been filed. So the special committee's jurisdiction really extended only to one point, and that was whether or not the committee should be able to develop facts showing that in the primary Senator OVERTON had been guilty of such acts of corruption or moral turpitude as would unfit him and make him unworthy to be a Senator of the United States. That really was the only competent question that the committee was appointed to investigate, because we could not investigate an election when nobody had yet been elected in a general election, and under the decisions of the courts and under the precedents of this body the Senate has no jurisdiction over

a primary election, except that if in a primary election a candidate is shown to have committed some act of corruption or some illegal act which disqualifies him to be a Member of the Senate—just as he might be convicted in a court somewhere of an act of corruption or an act of moral turpitude—the Senate could find that that disqualified him as a Senator.

The Senate committee filed a very voluminous report. We filed 3,000 pages of printed hearings that were available for the use of the press and the Senate. On January 11, 1934, the report of the committee was filed in this body, and following that, beginning about the 15th of January, a very comprehensive and rather voluminous debate took place in the Senate with respect to the report of the committee, participated in by the present senior Senator from Louisiana (Mr. OVERTON), the then Senator from Louisiana, Mr. Long, the Senator from Texas, and quite a number of other Senators.

As to the conduct of Senator OVERTON, as revealed by the investigations and the hearings, the report of the committee on page 19 says this—and it is true, and was not challenged when the committee's report was submitted—

There was no charge made by the complaint filed with the committee that Senator OVERTON personally participated in any fraud or with guilty knowledge approved any fraud.

In the primary of 1932. I quote further:

There was no probative evidence produced before the committee that Senator OVERTON personally participated in or instigated any fraud, unless the inference were indulged that being the beneficiary of whatever frauds would result from the employment of the dummy candidate device by the organizations supporting his candidacy he was chargeable with knowledge thereof. We cannot indulge such an inference in the face of the fact that there was neither a charge nor evidence to that effect. All of these matters occurred in the primary. Thereafter Senator OVERTON was elected in the general election without opposition.

It appeared in the debates—quoting from the debates in the Senate—that Mr. Rightor was one of the leaders of the faction opposing Senator OVERTON, and I said on the floor of the Senate, as shown on page 701 of the RECORD of January 16, 1934, in answer to a suggestion by the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. ROBINSON):

Mr. CONNALLY. Exactly. I want to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that this first hearing in New Orleans in October 1932

took place a few days after the primary, but before the general election. No contest was filed with the committee by Senator Broussard for the seat in the Senate or for the nomination, and Mr. Rightor—

Mr. Rightor was a protagonist of the opposition faction—

did not intend to say, "title to a seat" at that time, because the general election had not taken place. What he referred to, of course, was the question whether or not Senator OVERTON's title to the primary nomination was clean. After the committee had had the first hearing, the general election in November occurred, and Senator OVERTON was elected in the general election without any opposition whatever.

The statement was also made that Senator Broussard made no contest of the nomination in the State courts of Louisiana; and, as I recall, no contest was filed here against Senator OVERTON until after the general election, and no candidate ran against him. He was elected without opposition.

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

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.
Mr. CLARK of Missouri. It is a fact, is it not, that former Senator Broussard never even contended at any stage of the proceedings that he had been elected?

Mr. CONNALLY. He never contended at any stage of the proceedings that he had even been nominated.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I meant to say, "nominated"—or elected either.

Mr. CONNALLY. He specifically stated that he had not been nominated, and admitted that Senator OVERTON had been nominated. He was undertaking to show that there was fraud in the election, but Senator Broussard personally exculpated Senator OVERTON of any act of corruption or misconduct in that particular primary election.

In the RECORD of January 16, 1934, page 707, in a colloquy with the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. OVERTON) the Senator from Texas said:

I may say to the Senator on that point that quite a number of witnesses testified, if he will recall, that they made no charge against him personally—

Many of the witnesses specifically went out of their way to say "We make no charge against Senator OVERTON"—

that the only charge they made was that he was running with the Long crowd. That was the chief charge of some of the witnesses, that he was the Long candidate. I state that

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for the Senator's benefit, that there was some evidence by a number of witnesses who said, "We know Senator Overton, and we have no charge to make against him, but he is just running with Huey Long and the wrong gang."

I think the Senator from Utah will verify the statement that repeatedly, both on the stand and privately, those who were hostile to Senator Overton politically specifically stated that they had no complaint as to his character, his integrity, or his conduct. They made no charge of corruption or wrongdoing against him, but they said, "He is running with Huey Long; he is running with the wrong crowd." We were not investigating Senator Long, who had been elected 2 years previously, but we did investigate political conditions in Louisiana, and those who may care to do so will find that the committee excoriated many of the political practices in Louisiana, including the use of so-called dummy candidates, but both groups did the same thing.

There were three political organizations in Louisiana. The committee found that all three of them were adopting practically the same methods and the same processes, and we condemned those methods and those processes. But there was not one group who could stand up and declare themselves clean and point the finger of scorn at the other group; and specifically there was no testimony, not even a hint, that Senator Overton personally had participated in any fraud or in any political chicanery or in any wrongdoing of any character whatever. Even those bringing the charges never intimated anything of that kind.

His antagonists, of course, were bitter against Senator Long and they were after Senator Long, but we were not investigating Senator Long; we were investigating the election of Senator Overton, particularly the primary election, because there was nothing to investigate in the general election, as Senator Overton had no opponent at the general election and was overwhelmingly elected. But even as to the primaries, as I now recall—I do not find the statement in my hasty examination of the report—we stated in the report that if all the ballots which had been objected to by the opponents of the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. Overton) had been thrown out and rejected, he would still have had a very substantial majority. I will ask the Senator from Utah if that is not true?

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Mr. THOMAS of Utah. I think that is true.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is the way I recall it, that we reported that if we had had jurisdiction over the primary and had gone into that phase and had rejected and thrown out all the ballots which the opponents of Senator Overton said should be discarded Senator Overton would still have been nominated by a very substantial majority.

Mr. President, the report of the committee in this case covers all these aspects, and any Senators who are in the Senate now but who were not then in the Senate will find the report of the committee, I think, quite interesting, as well as the debate which took place in January 1934.

In the meantime, of course, Senator Overton has served in this body with distinction, and has, in the meantime been renominated and reelected by his constituents. I want to say that as a result of my association with Senator Overton in the investigation in Louisiana and here on the floor of the Senate, I have the highest regard for his probity, for his unimpeachable character, and his very unusual ability. I think he has rendered his State and his country a very high class of public service, and is now rendering a very high class of public service. Neither, in all the heat, in all the passion, and in all the bitterness of this interparty row, these factual quarrels in Louisiana, nor on the floor of the Senate, have I ever heard any man, even the bitterest witnesses in Louisiana, ever impute to Senator Overton any act of corruption or wrongdoing; but, on the other hand, his bitterest political enemies willingly and voluntarily testified to his high character and standing. The only complaint they had to make was "Well, he is running with Huey Long, and, therefore, the Senate ought to throw him out."

The present junior Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER), who was not then a Member of the Senate, was counsel for Senator Overton in that investigation. A part of the time the Senator from Texas left the chair and became a sort of prosecutor on the other side of the table from Senator ELLENDER, not with any idea of becoming a partisan, but for the purpose of developing thoroughly the facts, since we had no attorneys representing the Senate, though we had a disloyal employee or one in whom we did not have confidence. So I took over the examination of the witnesses across the table

from the junior Senator from Louisiana. I want to say for him that in his conduct of those investigations I know of no act lacking in ethics, no act of any wrongdoing. He conducted himself as any other capable and honest lawyer of character and standing would conduct himself.

So, for both the senior Senator from Louisiana and the junior Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENDER), I want to say that I have the utmost confidence in their character and standing, and I think that this record will amply demonstrate that there is no ground whatever for attaching even a suspicion of corruption or wrongdoing to the senior Senator from Louisiana (Mr. Overton) in the election of 1932 in which he was first nominated as a candidate for United States Senator.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. BROWN. As I recall, this investigation took place in 1933.

Mr. CONNALLY. Beginning in the fall of 1932, and we wound it up in 1933.

Mr. BROWN. As I understand the press of New Orleans, where the investigation took place, very fully covered the hearings of the committee; the right of publicity was given to what was said.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct.

Mr. BROWN. And Senator ELLENDER appeared as counsel for Senator Overton. Senator ELLENDER was not then a United States Senator.

Mr. CONNALLY. He was not then a Member of the Senate.

Mr. BROWN. And after this full publicity had been given, Senator ELLENDER became a candidate for the United States Senate in 1936, was it not?

Mr. CONNALLY. That is my recollection.

Mr. BROWN. And was elected without any question.

Mr. CONNALLY. He was elected.

Mr. BROWN. Then, of course, as I think the Senator has very well pointed out, with all this publicity before the people of the State of Louisiana, who, after all, are the final judges in this matter, a subsequent election was held in 1938, in which the senior Senator from Louisiana (Mr. Overton) was overwhelmingly renominated and reelected.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator from Michigan.

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Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point for just one statement?

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Since the matter of publication of what the witnesses said and what was going on in the hearings has been mentioned, I think it should be pointed out that for 2 full weeks our hearings were conducted over the radio, and the people all over the South were able to hear every question that was put and every answer that was given. I believe that was probably the first time a Senate investigation has been conducted over the radio.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I wanted particularly to emphasize, in connection with the full knowledge the people of Louisiana had of this situation, that the press of New Orleans was anti-Overton during the time the hearing was going on.

Mr. CONNALLY. That is correct.

Mr. BROWN. And the reports of the proceedings of the committee which went out were probably pretty strongly against the Senator from Louisiana. Nevertheless, the people of the State, when they had an opportunity to express themselves, both in the election in 1936 of Senator ELLENDER, who belonged to the same political faction, and in the reelection in 1938 of Senator Overton, were able to penetrate and find out what the truth was.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator from Michigan. That is quite true. I do not know that all the papers of New Orleans were anti-Overton, but I am sure all but one were, and possibly that one also was. At any rate, ample publicity was given to the hearings in the headlines in the newspapers almost daily, and the committee was raked over the coals and vilified and abused and denounced because it did not bring in a report ousting Senator Long, when we had nothing on earth to do with Senator Long except as he was connected with the primary of 1932.

Mr. President, in conclusion allow me to say that the committee investigating this affair at that time, as I briefly suggested a moment ago, did find a very bad set of political conditions in Louisiana; but we found that all factions were participating in them and doing the same

thing. We did denounce the system which was then in vogue of levying assessments on State candidates for election purposes. We denounced the practice of having dummy candidates. Again, however, the practice of having dummy candidates was adopted and used by all factions and all groups.

I cannot go through the entire report at this time; but some Senators who were here at that time will remember that the matter was quite fully discussed on the floor by a number of Senators. The committee found that the only jurisdiction we had, since it was not an election contest, was to determine whether or not Senator Overton had been guilty of any fraud or corruption or moral turpitude which would disqualify him and make him unworthy to be a Senator of the United States. On the face of the record

there was no hint by anybody, not even by his bitterest opponents, that such was the case; so we submitted 3,000 pages of hearings and our report to the Senate for the Senate's consideration, and for the use of the Committee on Privileges and Elections in case a contest should be filed after Senator Overton's election in the general election. When that was over, as I now recall, the Senate's action was absolutely unanimous; not a single Senator challenged the findings of the committee or the action which the committee took with respect to the case.

It seems to me that to drag the matter out here now, after the expiration of 7 years, to try to resurrect and reenact things which have long since passed away, is unworthy; and I doubt the wisdom of paying even the attention which has been paid to them today by the Senate.

PSF: Senate Folder
4-41

file
personal

September 26, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. TOM CONNALLY

The enclosed is what might be called a rough draft on the subject of "The American Doctrine of Freedom of the Seas".

It is all right for you to use but I think it should not be credited to the State Department, as it is not fully complete and is really only a memorandum. However, I think you will find it useful.

I also enclose a rough memorandum which I have dictated myself, which covers another phase of the subject of arming ships. It happens to come from my own knowledge of what my ancestors -- Roosevelts and Delanos -- did with their own ships.

F. D. R.

(Enclosures)

A draft
of the Amer. Doctrine of Freedom of the Seas in
in Speech Material Folder

PSF: Senate

September 26, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. TOM CONNALLY

It must be remembered that throughout the earlier days of America -- indeed up to the time of the War Between the States -- the arming of privately-owned merchant vessels was a very different problem from later days. In Colonial days, and through the earlier days of the Republic, arming a vessel to repel attack was a very simple thing. A small number of brass or iron cannon on each side of the ship was sufficient to put off many privateers or pirates.

These cannon were articles of commerce -- not modern guns which call for special ammunition and special gun sides and special knowledge to handle. In the old days any ship owner could buy cannon at shops on the waterfront. In the old days any merchant captain could train his crew in a few days to serve these cannon and fire the round shot ammunition from them.

Therefore, the arming of merchantmen in the old days was not considered a government task, and it was in accordance with international law that the ship owner could do the job himself if he wanted to. As is well known, the early American ships which went into dangerous waters -- the West Indies or the Indian Ocean or the South Pacific -- always carried guns, and there are many accounts of the successful putting off of pirate vessels or privateers in those waters.

All of this was done with the full knowledge of the Government of the United States -- and it is a matter of fact that the Government often sold their own guns to ship owners for the use of the latter.

This was in complete conformity with the American policy of the right of ships to sail the seas in freedom from attack.

I am disgusted with recent editorials and cartoons which imply that we have no obligation to protect ships flying the Panama flag. There is no question that today

b2

Deliberately

FOR THE COMMITTEE

FOR APPROVAL

freedom of the seas includes very definitely the protection of this Western Hemisphere and all of the twenty-one Republics therein. All these Republics have ships which fly their national flags on the seas -- with the sole exception of Bolivia and Paraguay, which are inland countries. It is even possible that Paraguay has ships on the ocean which sail down the Rio Plata..

F. D. R.

PSF: Senate Folder
4-41

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

October 9, 1941.

Dear Jim:-

I note that you have quoted some material relating to the Catholic Church in Germany and the deliberate effort of the Hitler regime to sabotage and destroy it.

Myron Taylor has just come back from Rome and has shown me the three enclosed articles. I can attest to the genuineness of them because of the source from which they were obtained. They have been made public and are, therefore, usable in the Senate or in any American paper or magazine. I think they are of extreme interest, and I think that the sermon by Bishop Clemens in Meunster is a splendid and brave thing.

I also enclose extract from a speech of the Soviet Ambassador in London at a luncheon of the American Chamber of Commerce. This, too, can be treated as public.

Please let me have them back for my files.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable James M. Mead,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

(Enclosures)

JOSIAH W. BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
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HAROLD H. BURTON, OHIO

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

File Personal

PSF; Senate

October 15, 1941

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

Dear Mr. President:

In accordance with your request, I am herewith returning the articles which were enclosed in your letter of October 9.

Thank you for sending them to me.

Respectfully yours,

Jas. M. Mead
Jas. M. Mead

odk

Enclosures put in Myron Taylor's folder 1-41

6315

PSF: Senate Folder

JOSEPH W. BAILEY, N. C., CHAIRMAN
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 A. HANO JAMES, CLERK

United States Senate
 COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

October 10, 1941.

THE WHITE HOUSE
 OCT 13 11 45 AM '41
 RECEIVED

File

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

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of October 9
 and the inclosures. I shall return the papers
 shortly.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely and respectfully yours,

Jim Mead
 Jas. M. Mead

ck

*PSF: Senate Folder
4-41*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 31, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR SENATOR BARKLEY:

PRIVATE

The more I think of this problem the more I believe Arkansas is entitled to this place. It has not had a member of the Circuit Court for forty years and the only incumbent was a carpetbagger from the North.

This from the Clerk of the Court points out that Arkansas during the last year had forty-two cases and Iowa only twenty-eight. It would be inequitable to give Iowa two judges and Arkansas none.

Don't you really agree with me?

F.D.R.

Copy of letter from E. E. Koch, Clerk, United States Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit, St. Louis, Mo., 4/21/41 to Shields M. Goodwin, of Little Rock, Ark., giving list of number of cases coming from the several states in the Circuit, the Board of Tax Appeals, The National Labor Relations Board and several other Boards which ~~was~~ were filed during the fiscal year ending 6/30/40, and indicating 42 for Arkansas.

PSF: Senate O'Daniel's Remarks

Excerpts from O'Daniel's opening speech

~~Sen. O'Daniel~~
Sen. O'Daniel
1941

The President is a great man but he is weakened by being surrounded by a gang of pussy-footers who make politics their business and ~~men~~ who could not manage a peanut wagon of their own successfully.

The old long-whiskered mummies in Congress know they are safe from the draft.

I sent a copy of my anti-strike bill to every Congressman and Senator from Texas. Why haven't they done something besides talk? Just the minute I strike that Senate floor in Washington I'll introduce that bill and when it is passed there will be no more strikes in the United States without these wild-eyed agitators paying a heavy penalty. And if it is not passed I will call the honor roll of Congress like I called the honor roll in Texas.

And there will be a lot more new faces in Congress after the next election.

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personal*

*PSF: Senate Folder
4-42*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1-5-42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Senator Bankhead of Alabama
asked me to deliver this message:

"I hope the President will
not allow Senator Byrd and his gang
of anti-New Dealers to destroy such
outstanding New Deal measures as the
Youth Administration, the CCC, and
particularly Farm Security. They
opposed these measures when they were
proposed, and they are trying now to
destroy them."

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

PSF; Senate folder

PRIVATE *file*

February 20, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

BOB LAFOLLETTE

Dear Bob:-

I am really concerned by a report that you are planning to make some kind of a speech asking that we withhold Lend-Lease aid from the British until they grant India independence.

As an old friend, I am asking you not to do this for the following reasons:

1. We are at war and the United States itself will be less safe -- less likely to come out with a whole skin if Britain loses the war or is successfully invaded. This is very simple to prove by mathematics and geography.
2. I do not think that you or I would like it if someone in the British House of Commons were to offer a Resolution that Britain give no cooperation to the United States in this war unless the United States immediately granted freedom to Puerto Rico.
3. Very confidentially, the matter of independence for India is being discussed both in India and in London, with the probability that at the end of the war concrete progress will be made. I happen to know that there are two phases which you should know confidentially:
 - (a) That the Indian people themselves are working on several different plans and are still rather badly split and need a little time to work things out.
 - (b) That most of their leaders would regard a demand on our part as a backward step and harmful to

-2-

their cause rather than helpful.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's visit is a far more practical way of working out this internationally difficult problem.

F. D. R.

PSF: Senate

February 18, 1942.

MEMORANDUM:

TO: Miss Grace Tully
FROM: David K. Niles *Dave Niles*

Senator Bob LaFollette, in the next few days, is going to make a speech, unless he is headed off, denouncing the British and demanding that we withhold lend-lease aid until they agree to give India independence, and I suppose other parts of the domain. This is apparently the new party line. I have labored with him, trying to point out that this is no time to rock the boat nor to kick the British when they seem to be down and that it is playing the Nazi game of divide and conquer, but I guess I "ain't" so good.

It is all part of the anti-British campaign which is spreading throughout the country, stimulated by our enemies, and I think Bob LaFollette's attitude reflects the strong feeling in his own State. Only recently I received a letter from a friend of mine in Milwaukee, from which I quote: "Some recognition should be taken of the unbelievably bitter anti-British expressions one hears everywhere. I could name endless incidents, including booing at news reels."

As the President knows, Bob LaFollette is very sentimental, as well as emotional. I would respectfully suggest that if the President has a few minutes in the next day or two to see this bozo, just talking generalities but not referring in any way to my memo, it might ward this thing off. Bob, when he is thinking straight, is sentimental about the President and if it got into his consciousness sufficiently how this might add to the President's burdens I feel reasonably certain that it would make an impression.

I do hope that the President will crack this anti-British propoganda in his speech next Monday night. Churchill did it pretty well on Sunday but I think that is going to be one of the propoganda fronts in this country that we have got to meet head on.

If you need any further evidence as to what a screwy world we live in let me add that Senator Lodge called me yesterday and asked me to come to see him and in confidence told me about this new line of LaFollette's. Lodge says that he too tried to talk Bob out of it. Funny, isn't it?

7
PSF: Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 26, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR

DAVID K. NILES.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

F.D.R.

Transmitting copy of letter which the President received from Sen. Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., 2/20/42, the original of which has been retained for our files, in re report received by the President as to the Senator's intention to "make some kind of speech asking that we withhold Lend-Lease aid from the British until they grant India independence".

PSF: Senate Folder
4-42

WALTER F. GEORGE, GA., CHAIRMAN	ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
J. WALSH, MASS.	ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
W. W. BARKLEY, KY.	ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
JOHN CORNALLY, TEX.	JAMES J. DAVIS, PA.
JOSIAH W. BAILEY, N. C.	HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., MASS.
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MD.	JOHN A. DANAHY, CONN.
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.	ROBERT A. TAFT, OHIO
PETER G. GERRY, R. I.	
JOSEPH P. GUFFEY, PA.	
FRENTISS M. BROWN, MICH.	
CLYDE L. HERRING, IOWA	
EDWIN C. JOHNSON, COLO.	
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.	
WILLIAM H. SMATHERS, N. J.	

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

CHRISTIE B. KENNEDY, CLERK

February 20, 1942

My dear Mr. President:

Your memorandum came to hand this morning. The report you received as to my intentions to "make some kind of speech asking that we withhold Lend-Lease aid from the British until they grant India independence" was somewhat garbled in transmission.

It is correct to the extent that it reflects my grave concern over the failure of the British government to make it clear that it is not fighting to maintain its colonial empire and extraterritorial rights in China or elsewhere.

My concern is based on two grounds. First, I cannot believe much enthusiasm stirs in the breasts of the people of Asia so long as there is no clear-cut statement on post-war policy. Second, with all the hard knocks which are in store for the people of this country, the failure of the British government or our own to make it clear that we are not sacrificing American lives and treasure for the maintenance of the British colonial empire or its extraterritorial rights, as well as our own, will, I fear, have a very adverse effect on the morale of our people.

I have not intended to make any move in connection with Lend-Lease because that would be in the nature of duress and, in my judgment, premature. I did intend to speak on the subject urging a clarification of the policies of the British and of our own government.

Do you object to my following the latter course? Naturally, a request from you at any time could never

fail to receive my most sympathetic consideration.
At a time like this, it carries even more weight.

You may not know that Mr. Upton Close devoted most of his NBC broadcast to this subject last Sunday. Today, Mr. Walter Lippmann has a long article on the whole question of United States and British policies in Asia. I very much doubt that debate on these questions can long be postponed.

I shall, however, defer initiating debate on this subject for the time being, in the hope that there will be prompt clarification of British and of our own policy. But I cannot promise silence for long because I feel that failure to make at least our own position clear vis-a-vis Asia is fraught with grave consequences at home and abroad.

Sincerely yours

Robert W. La Follette

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

*file
personal*

PSF: Senate Folder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 29, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I spoke with Mr. Crim this morning about the Senator Byrd questionnaire. I understand because it went into more than just the garage and White House proper, that Mr. Crim referred it to Mr. Early because they also asked about publicity, etc. Mr. Early suggested that the whole thing be sent to the Director of the Budget for reply.

"Off the record", someone in Budget called Mr. Crim and said that the he (the latter) had called Senator Byrd and Senator Byrd was very much upset at the temerity of one of his employees sending such a questionnaire to the White House. He then asked to recall the request. So the story ended!

G.

PSF: Senate Folder
4-42

Private

May 5, 1942.

Dear Carter:

I am afraid that I am the only one to be blamed in regard to the twenty-five acre tract owned by the Sherrill family. I am dictating this from recollection but here goes for what it is worth:

A long time ago -- seven or eight years ago -- I heard that the owners were talking of putting up a subdivision on the property, and I made an inquiry about the capacity of Arlington Cemetery. I came to the conclusion that any new larger war in which we had many losses would probably come close to taxing the capacity of Arlington Cemetery -- especially because we have to take into consideration that most of the World War veterans, who wish to be buried there, are still alive!

Therefore, in order to prevent a new and expansive development of the property for housing purposes, I tried to buy the property for the Government, to be added to the Cemetery. However, the figure was, in my judgment, altogether too high and the matter was dropped.

As I remember it, the Park and Planning Board had nothing to do with it.

A few months ago I heard that the owners were talking of putting a big apartment house on the property and vacant space for temporary housing projects in and around the Capital was becoming a real problem. The use of this twenty-five acres for a housing development would mean housing several times the number of people who could be taken care of in an apartment house, and the housing would come down after the war, permitting the land to be used at a later date for cemetery purposes.

I honestly believe the Government ought to own the land not only for use in this emergency, but for later incorporation into the national cemetery.

129
APR 2 1941
I am sympathetic with the problem of the County in losing the land out of the County's taxable assets. However, there are thousands of cases into which this same problem enters, but in most cases use by the Federal Government actually increases County values and brings more people to the County in the long run. In this particular case, the transfer to the National Government will bring a lot more people into Arlington County at once -- though I am forced to admit that if later on it is used as a cemetery, the later occupants will contribute only head stones!

Handwritten signature

- 2 -

I am sympathetic with the problem of the County in losing the land out of the County's taxable assets. However, there are thousands of cases into which this same problem enters, but in most cases use by the Federal Government actually increases County values and brings more people to the County in the long run. In this particular case, the transfer to the National Government will bring a lot more people into Arlington County at once -- though I am forced to admit that if later on it is used as a cemetery, the later occupants will contribute only head stones!

As ever yours,

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

Copy to Mr. F. A. Delano

F. Senate

Department of Justice Investigation Clears Senator Walsh, Barkley Says

WALSH, from Page 1.

to discuss any future action, he might take.

Beckman Admits FBI Questioning

Outlining the case slowly and deliberately, Mr. Barkley said the New York Post had charged in its July 1, 1942, issue that a member of the Senate frequently was seen in a "house of degradation" in Brooklyn. Gustave Beckman, alleged operator of the house, was convicted in Brooklyn for an offense Barkley said was "too loathsome to mention in the Senate or in any group of ladies and gentlemen."

The New York Post story said, Mr. Barkley went on, that a member of the Senate had been observed in the place talking to an alien suspected of being a "spy in behalf of the Nazis." A few days later, he said, the New York Post named Mr. Walsh as the Senator involved.

Mr. Barkley said a purported affidavit signed by Beckman was used as the basis of the New York Post's story. The Democratic leader said Beckman subsequently made statements to Department of Justice agents that Walsh was not the man who came to his house and identified the picture of another as being the man who did visit the place.

The New York Post published today a further affidavit from Beckman saying that on May 15 and 16 he was questioned by the FBI at length and that the FBI "wanted me to identify someone else as Mr. Walsh."

(The affidavit continued in part: "They showed me a picture of a man called 'Doc.' They wanted me to agree that this 'Doc' was the man and let it go at that. They questioned me for about six or seven hours.

"They had a stenographer present when I was questioned. It was finally agreed to put down in writing that 'Doc' was the man I called Mr. Walsh. They (The FBI) insisted upon it. What else was I to do but agree to it and sign such a statement? But I know that the 'Doc' they wanted me to identify as Mr. Walsh and the Mr. Walsh who visited my home are two different people.

"The FBI asked me to sign the statement. Even though I knew it was untrue, I signed it. There was nothing else I could do."

While Mr. Barkley said he was not prepared to commit himself on a future course in the matter, his statement brought immediate demands from Senators Wheeler

(Democrat), of Montana; Clark (Democrat) of Missouri and Nye (Republican) of North Dakota that the Senate bring before it those responsible for what Mr. Clark called a "filthy conspiracy to smear a member of this body."

Mr. Wheeler asserted that the Senate ought not to let the matter drop.

Mr. Clark said Morris Ernst, attorney for the New York Post, ought to "come before the bar of the Senate and respond to questions about how deeply he is involved in this conspiracy."

Story Reported Brought Here First

Disclaiming personal knowledge of the matter, Mr. Clark said he had been informed "by a very reputable newspaperman, whose information is usually correct, that Mr. Ernst brought the story to Washington and went to the White House with it in an attempt to interest the highest authority in Washington in an effort to smear the Senator from Massachusetts."

"To the credit of the President and his advisers," Mr. Clark went on, "Mr. Ernst's suggestions were entirely rejected."

Thackery's statement also said: "The New York Post does not now nor has it ever believed in secret trials or the use of the Department of Justice as a private detective agency even in behalf of the Senators...."

"The Post will have more to say later about the unfounded and amazing charges of conspiracy made by Senator Clark of Missouri, who must have known he was making them under the protection of the official immunity granted to him by virtue of the fact that he made those statements on the floor of the Senate where he could not be held legally accountable for them...."

Ernst Retient

Dorothy S. Backer, publisher of the New York Post, said that Thackery's statement also expressed her view as publisher.

Ernst said that his law firm had "no statement to make."

Mr. Clark said the Senate ought to summon Walter Winchell, "the radio commentator who disgraces the uniform of the United States Navy by appearing in his Navy uniform to try to smear members of Congress." He said Winchell, in a radio talk, "undertook to smear not only the Senator from Massachusetts but three other members of the Senate whose names happen to begin with 'W.'"

Mr. Barkley's report, Mr. Clark continued, had made it "perfectly obvious that there has been subornation of perjury" in the Beckman trial, "to which the trial judge himself, in view of the statement from the trial judge quoted in the

New York paper, must have been a party."

Wheeler said that a New York Post story quoted Judge Samuel Leibowitz as telling Beckman, after his conviction, that if Beckman uncovered the whole alleged spy ring the court would give him extreme

leniency, otherwise the judge would give him the maximum of 20 years.

"If this man does not make a statement telling what Judge Leibowitz and the New York Post wants, he will be given 20 years," Mr. Wheeler declared.

Probe Clears Sen. Walsh, Barkley Says

POST 5-21-42
'Never Slightest

Foundation' for N. Y. Article, He Asserts

By the Associated Press

Democratic Leader Barkley of Kentucky, told a hushed Senate yesterday that a thorough investigation by the Justice Department had completely exonerated Senator David I. Walsh (Democrat) of Massachusetts of an "unjustified, malicious, degrading charge" that Mr. Walsh visited a house of ill-repute in Brooklyn and could be accused of "conspiring with alien enemies" there.

Walsh Noncommittal

Displaying documents furnished to him by Attorney General Biddle, Mr. Barkley said there was "never the slightest foundation" for statements published in the New York Post that Mr. Walsh had been a frequent visitor to a "house of degradation" in Brooklyn. The majority leader said there were reports soldiers and sailors were "plied with liquor" there in order to obtain from them information on ship movements.

In New York, Ted O. Thackery, editor of the Post, said in a statement that the paper's only aim was to "arrive at the truth openly and publicly" and that it would "continue to demand a full public Senate investigation."

The Senate was crowded, with Walsh one of the few absent. Reached by reporters later, Mr. Walsh had no comment and declined

See WALSH, Page 4, Column 5.

PSF: Senate folder
4-42

October 19, 1942

Respectfully referred to the
Director of the Office of Economic
Stabilization.

By direction of the President:

M. H. McINTYRE
Secretary to the President

hm

Letter from Sen. Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., 10/12/42, to the President,
with enclosed memorandum entitled "A Program for Agricultural Labor",
together with copy of the President's reply of 10/17/42 to Sen. LaFollette.

October 17, 1942

My dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter of October 12, 1942, and for your very interesting memorandum concerning the agricultural labor situation. The suggestions which you have made, following the very exhaustive investigation of this subject by your Committee, deserve careful and earnest consideration.

I am asking Director Byrnes, Secretary Wickard, and Paul McNutt to study your memorandum and to give me a report on the subject.

Sincerely,

Honorable Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

SECRETARY OF THE ARMY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
OCTOBER 14, 1942

SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 14, 1942

Memo. for Hon. James F. Byrnes:

To prepare a reply.

F. D. R.

How often to material PSF: Senate files 1-42

United States Senate

File Personal

MEMORANDUM

12/8/42

W. H. C. J. B. B.

PROBLEMS OF INTEREST

1. The farmers are demanding price, gasoline, oil, and labor adjustments.
2. The northeast petroleum situation must be relieved by better use of existing facilities fast. *Bargue*
3. Government personnel, especially in peace time agencies must be reduced by F. D. R. *Sumner*
4. An improved national and state organization must be set up, and maintained. *Walker Flynn*
5. Leon Henderson - 1-2-3.

6. Jim Farley }
 Y. D. Kelley }
7. Jewish
- Selman - Relief
 - Rosenman - advisor
 - Rosenbergs - M.P.C.
 - Margandman - Texas
 - Perkins - Labor
 - Sgt Josephs - O.P.A.

Les Crowley - Real -

Jack Bennett - Job

PSF: Senate ~~Gen. Curtis T.~~
3-42

December 21, 1942

Dear Prentiss:

You make me very happy and I know
you will do a wonderful job.

Merry Christmas to you and yours.

Always sincerely,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Honorable Prentiss M. Brown,
St. Ignace,
Michigan.

fdr/tmb

PRENTISS M. BROWN, MICH., CHAIRMAN
ARLEY, N. C.
ALLENDER, LA.
HUGHES, DEL.
STEWART, TENN.
MRS. M. TURNELL, DEL.
LOYD SPENCER, ARK.
JOSEPH ROBIER, W. VA.
W. LEE O'DAMEL, TEX.
H. B. STRAIGHT, ASST. CLERK

PSF: Senate

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS

RECEIVED
DEC 18 9 13 AM '43
U.S. SENATE

December 17, 1943

My dear Mr. President:

Before leaving today for northern Michigan, where we are always sure of a "white Christmas," I send you this note.

As you know I desired to go home and return to private life, where my Michigan people evidently want me. When you told me at lunch Tuesday that you felt I had some qualities that could serve your Administration, I told you of some suggestions that had been made to me by some of your top executives and stated where I thought I could best fit in the Administration. I still think my suggestion would enable me to serve you and use my experience to the best advantage. I am dubious about this Price Administrator job and as you know have resisted it as strongly as I could. However, there is growing in me the feeling that the job is a challenge.

After going over the matter and listening to my good friends, Justice Byrne and Don Kennedy, I am convinced that in time of war I can not say no to the Commander-in-Chief. I will serve the country wherever and whenever you assign me.

Sincerely yours,

Prentiss M. Brown

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

— Roberta Barrows has noted
hm

PSF Senate folder
4-43

(sent out 1/6/43)
hm

PERSONAL

December 30, 1942.

Dear Jim:-

That "Open Letter", which was published in the Christmas issue of the Apollo News-Record, seems to me typical either of extraordinary ignorance or of a deliberate effort to throw more sand into the gear boxes and thereby slow up our great effort to win a war of self-preservation.

I did not say that the three day shutting off of gasoline purchases came because "of an unexpected demand for gasoline by our armed forces in Africa". I did say that this unexpected demand was one of many contributing causes. The first statement is untrue. The second is true.

I suppose that most people in the Northeast understand by this time that the primary cause of oil shortage in this area is a lack of transportation which is caused by a shortage of shipping. To put it into the language of a child's primer, this shortage is due (a) to the use of shipping for our Army, Navy and Marine Corps and those of the United Nations, together with the necessity of keeping other nations who are fighting with us from folding up through starvation and lack of other supplies; (b) the other reason is that, as in the first World War, enemy submarines are taking a tremendous toll of our ships, even though we are building more merchant tonnage than ever before -- probably a maximum. As a result we seem to have turned the corner and have begun to increase the total needed tonnage.

I should much like to have the man who wrote the article tell me either how to decrease submarine sinkings or to build more ships. I think he owes that to his Government.

In regard to investigations into "the failure of our military leadership to properly supply our troops abroad", I suppose the writer of the article assumes that in a world-wide war it is humanly possible to forestall all future needs.

-2-

Perhaps the writer would care to tell me, or the Military and Naval Staffs, how this can be done. I think he owes that to his Government.

If he would care to come to see me, I would be willing to tell him, confidentially, of certain unforeseen and unforeseeable events which made a few quick shipments, over and above estimated needs, necessary.

Perhaps you would care to come down and see me so that I could tell you of certain military facts which cannot be made public for obvious reasons. I should be glad to see you.

With all good wishes for the New Year,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Honorable James J. Davis,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
DECEMBER 29 1942

DAVID L. WALSH, MASS., CHAIRMAN	JAMES A. DAVIS, PA.
MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD.	HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.	W. WARREN BARBOUR, N. J.
RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.	ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.
HOMER T. BONE, WASH.	RALPH O. BREWSTER, MAINE
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.	
PETER G. GERRY, N. I.	
CHARLES D. ANDREWS, FLA.	
GUY M. BELLETTE, IOWA	
ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.	
SCOTT W. LUCAS, ILL.	
JAMES M. TUNNELL, DEL.	

JOSEPH W. MCINTYRE, CLERK

*anked
12/30/42*

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

PSF: Senate
DEC 29 8 35 AM '42
RECEIVED

December 28, 1942

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

Dear Mr. President:

Ever since the recent gasoline crisis took place on the eastern seaboard, I have been requested by a number of interested parties to inquire into the circumstances which brought about that condition.

Typical of the many inquiries which I have received is "An Open Letter" which was published in the Christmas issue of the Apollo News-Record. This article says in part that you issued a statement to the effect that this situation developed because "of an unexpected demand for gasoline by our armed forces in Africa".

Then the article goes on to say that since I am a representative of the people of the state of Pennsylvania, I should "move to inquire as to whether that is what the commander in chief of our armed forces did say, and if he was quoted correctly, to immediately institute a searching inquiry into the failure of our military leadership to properly supply our troops abroad".

Since this is an issue which reflects a deep public interest, I am passing this information on to you, in the hope that you will either acknowledge or refute the remarks attributed to you, and that you will favor me with your explanation of the circumstances which prevailed at that time, and with your appraisal of the action taken with regard to those circumstances.

Your reply will be sincerely appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

PSF: Senate folder 4-43
File Personal

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 8, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR

Hon. James H. Rowe, Jr.

For your information.

F. D. R.

Enclosure

Copy of the President's letter
to Senator Barkley 1/8/43

January 8, 1943

Dear Alben:

I do not know whether you will be disappointed or not in this Supreme Court matter. Personally, I would not be. I had really thought a lot about sending your name up but two things happened. First of all, there was no question that your ability, learning and liberality fitted you in every way for the Court. The other consideration, however, tore me apart because of the fact that you are such a very old and close friend of mine.

It related to the fact that the country really needs you just where you are -- a good, hard-hitting, yet just, leader of democracy -- democracy both with a large "d" and a small "d". You are a sort of balance wheel that has kept things moving forward all these years -- and that's that. I had to come to the conclusion that there are nine Justices but only one Majority Leader in the Senate -- and I can't part with him in that capacity.

Affectionately yours,

fdr/tmb

Honorable Alben W. Barkley,
The United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

c/c to Hon. James H. Rowe, Jr.,

Department of Justice
Washington

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

January 6, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR GRACE TULLY.

Dear Grace:

Thurman Arnold

You have two judicial nominations. The first has, of course, not been cleared politically.

The other, that of Thurman Arnold to the Court of Appeals, has been cleared, on a strictly confidential basis, with Senator Maloney.

It has not been cleared with the Democratic National Committee. I understand both nominations are very secret. I am sending this message to you because I don't think anyone else in the White House knows about them and it is not my business to tell them.

It was essential to clear Arnold's nomination on a confidential basis with Senator Maloney, particularly because the White House did not clear a recent Customs Court nomination with the New York Senators and the Senators are growling a bit. I gathered from my conversation with Senator Maloney that Senator Barkley will be disappointed he was not nominated. Maloney said he understood why, that the President needed him in the Senate. I merely pass on as a suggestion the thought that Barkley will probably need a bit of "battering up". Barkley is sick and tired and terribly upset by McKellar's persistent refusal to speak to him. If the President told him next Monday how much he loved him, it would help. Merely a suggestion.

(I am glad I ain't President!)

J. R. P.

James Rowe, Jr.



ALBEN W. BARKLEY
CHAIRMAN

file

United States Senate
CONFERENCE OF THE MAJORITY

February 9, 1943.

Dear Mr. President:

This will acknowledge receipt of your gracious letter about the Supreme Court appointment.

I sincerely hope that nobody bothered you in my behalf. I refused to consent to any effort on the part of any of my friends to bring my name to your attention in connection with it.

Your letter was generous regarding my work in the Senate, although, in truth, I cannot place so high an appraisal upon it.

Cordially yours,

Alben W. Barkley

The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,

The White House,

Washington, D. C.

PSF: Senate folder 4-43

RECEIVED
U.S. HOUSE
FEB 11 8 30 AM '43

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file

February 19, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks if the
President would go if Madame
Chiang says she will go?

No-

Edith Helm

Frederick Brown Harris, D. D.

PSF: Senate folder
4-43

UNITED STATES SENATE
Office of the Chaplain

February 18, 1943

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Enclosed is the copy of a letter I am sending to Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

If it would fit in with your plans for her for this coming Sunday, it would mean more than I can express to you, to the Christian cause of America, if she would attend Foundry Church for the eleven o'clock worship service. As she happens to be a Methodist this would be a devotional gesture which would be carried around the world. To have her sit in the pew already having been occupied by yourself and the President and Prime Minister Churchill would make that pew forever historical because of its connection with world leaders of democracy in this crisis.

You have been very gracious to us at Foundry. Mrs. Harris and I were so sorry that we were not at the Letts Building the Saturday night you made the call there to see what we are doing through the Saturday Night Service Party for our armed forces. That was one of the few nights we have missed in a whole year.

I shall be so grateful to you if you will do what you can to persuade Madame Chiang to attend Foundry, which happens to be of her own denomination, on this coming Sunday morning.

Yours respectfully,

(signed) Frederick Brown Harris

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Senate folder
4-43

file → CONFIDENTIAL

March 12, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR

ALBEN W. BARKLEY

Just in case you may want to use the information in relation to the length of time it sometimes takes for Senate confirmations to go through (in connection with McKellar's proposal), I have just checked up and find that on January eleventh I sent six names to the Senate relating to Regional Offices of the War Manpower Commission. No action has been taken two months later.

On February eighteenth I sent four other nominations to cover Regional Offices of the War Manpower Commission. That was about three weeks ago. No action has been taken.

On February twenty-second I sent two more similar nominations.

In the field of Postmasters, I sent up a lot of names on February fourth, which have not been acted on five weeks later.

It appears to me that it is almost inevitable that there will be very great and probably further delays if the Senate has to act on thirty or forty thousand more nominations than go to it today.

F. D. R.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR

R. F.

Will you let me have a list of the names sent to the Senate which have remained there without action by the Senate for two weeks or more?

F. D. R.

PSF: Senate

NOMINATIONS SENT TO THE SENATE WHICH HAVE REMAINED
THERE WITHOUT ACTION BY THE SENATE FOR
TWO WEEKS OR MORE
March 11, 1943

	<u>Nomination Date</u>
Stephen S. Chandler, Junior, of Oklahoma, to be United States district judge for the western district of Oklahoma, additional position.	February 1, 1943
Honorable James V. Allred, of Texas, to be judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, vice Honorable Rufus E. Foster, deceased.	February 18, 1943
Julius E. Hilgard, of Montana, to be United States Marshal for the district of Montana, vice William W. Crawford.	February 18, 1943

WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION

John Bradley Haight, from the State of Indiana, to be area director, at \$5,600 per annum, in the Indianapolis area office of the War Manpower Commission.	January 11, 1943
Louis Bloch, from the State of California, to be program control technician, at \$5,600 per annum, in the San Francisco regional office of the War Manpower Commission.	January 11, 1943
John D. Kingsley, from the State of Ohio, to be Program control technician, at \$5,600 per annum, in the Cleveland regional office of the War Manpower Commission.	January 11, 1943
Reuben B. Resnik, from the State of Texas, to be field supervisor, at \$5,600 per annum, in the Dallas regional office of the War Manpower Commission.	January 11, 1943
George P. Williams, from the State of Georgia, to be senior housing and transportation specialist, at \$4,600 per annum, in the Atlanta regional office of the War Manpower Commission.	January 11, 1943
Harry H. Hansborough, Junior, from the State of Kentucky, to be area director, at \$4,600 per annum, in the Louisville, Kentucky, area office of the War Manpower Commission.	January 11, 1943
Alexander C. Martin, Junior, from the State of Texas, to be principal manpower utilization consultant at \$5,600 per annum in the Dallas regional office of the War Manpower Commission.	February 18, 1943
George W. Caylor, from the State of New York, to be senior manpower utilization consultant at \$4,600 per annum in New York regional office of the War Manpower Commission.	February 18, 1943

	<u>Nomination Date</u>
John D. Howard, from the State of Texas, to be area director at \$4,600 per annum in the Beaumont area office of the War Manpower Commission.	February 18, 1943
Wallace P. Studencki, from the State of Indiana, to be field supervisor at \$5,600 per annum in the Chicago regional office of the War Manpower Commission.	February 18, 1943
Frederick Foote, from the State of Minnesota, to be program control technician at \$4,600 per annum in the Minneapolis regional office of the War Manpower Commission.	February 22, 1943
George A. Selke, from the State of Minnesota, to be field supervisor at \$5,600 per annum in the Minneapolis regional office of the War Manpower Commission.	February 22, 1943

POSTMASTERS

<u>CALIFORNIA</u>		
Long Beach	Howard K. Goodwin	February 18, 1943
<u>COLORADO</u>		
Arapahoe	Ethel A. Pfost	February 4, 1943
Castle Rock	Flora G. Hier	" " "
Kirk	Velma M. McNair	" 18, "
Stratton	Marie E. Greenwood	" 4, "
Walsenburg	George S. Niebuhr	" 18, "
<u>CONNECTICUT</u>		
Stafford Springs	Albert F. Ricci	February 18, 1943
<u>IOWA</u>		
Buffalo Center	Hans E. Eiel	February 4, 1943
Keswick	Rita A. Thomas	" 4, "
Lone Tree	Michael R. Griebel	" 4, "
Marengo	Rollin J. Gilchrist	" 4, "
Melrose	Gertrude C. Ward	" 4, "
Modale	Pearle M. Nelson	" 4, "
Nodaway	Rose A. Stalder	" 4, "
Ocheyedan	Joe H. Kout	" 4, "
Onslow	Carroll O. Lightfoot	" 18, "
Red Oak	Clayton P. Norris	" 18, "
Scranton	Orlow L. Goodrich	" 4, "
Shannon City	Gladys G. Ayers	" 18, "
<u>KENTUCKY</u>		
Hardin	Donald B. Hughes	February 4, 1943
Kuttawa	W. Randolph White	" 4, "
<u>LOUISIANA</u>		
Broussard	T. Lucien Ducrest	February 4, 1943
Fisher	Flavia H. Wootton	" 4, "
Good Pine	Doris F. Williams	" " "
Kaplan	Maurice Primeaux	" 18, "
Newllano	Edgar O. Joynes	" 4, "
Simmesport	Leo L. Ehrhardt	" 4, "
<u>MAINE</u>		
Eliot	Christine G. Davis	February 4, 1943
Raymond	Bertha M. Plummer	" 4, "

Nomination
Data

<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u>		
North Oxford	William Bacon	February 18, 1943
Petersham	William B. Barnes	" 18, "
<u>MICHIGAN</u>		
Bellaire	Simon F. Blake	February 18, 1943
Carrollton	Helen E. Daly	" 18, "
Clawson	Marian A. Cleary	" 18, "
Haslett	Mary Elliott	" 18, "
Indian River	Helen B. Martin	" 18, "
Maple Rapids	Nellie I. Blemaster	" 18, "
Minden City	Anna C. Kulish	" 18, "
Port Hope	Hallie C. Bunting	" 18, "
Powers	Elizabeth J. Shannon	" 18, "
Prescott	Byron O. Gillies	" 18, "
Rogers City	Lawrence D. Larke	" 18, "
<u>MISSISSIPPI</u>		
Camden	John S. Rimmer	February 18, 1943
Cary	Ethel P. Weissinger	" 18, "
Duncan	Brooksie J. Holt	" 18, "
Jackson	Aubrey C. Griffin	" 18, "
Lake Cormorant	Roy Scott Barber	" 4, "
Oakland	Carson Hughes	" 18, "
Pope	Alice L. Robertson	" 4, "
Port Gibson	James Vertner Gage	" 4, "
Vaughan	Royal C. Hayden	" 18, "
Water Valley	Annie K. Mauldin	" 18, "
<u>MISSOURI</u>		
Bevier	John L. Thomas	February 18, 1943
<u>NEBRASKA</u>		
Oakland	Vera B. Baugh	February 18, 1943
<u>NEVADA</u>		
Beatty	Charles E. Merkel	February 18, 1943
<u>NEW JERSEY</u>		
Berkeley Heights	Michael A. Nigro	February 4, 1943
Brigantine	S. Herminah Smith	" 18, "
Crosswicks	Grace V. Willard	" 4, "
Gibbsboro	Edward M. McIntyre	" 4, "
Gloucester City	Louis C. Parker	" 18, "
Landisville	Georgia A. Barth	" 4, "
Marlton	Edward J. Wagner	" 4, "
Monmouth Junction	Annie Lester	" 4, "
Mount Ephraim	Jeremiah B. Beaston	" 4, "
Northvale	Salvatore Verde	" 4, "
Riverton	Mervil E. Haas	" 4, "
Roseland	Smith Kennedy	" 4, "
Stone Harbor	Edward J. Lennon	" 18, "
Stratford	Ethel B. Carr	" 18, "
Woodcliff Lake	Anthony J. Savarese	" 4, "
<u>NORTH DAKOTA</u>		
Marmarth	John F. Leonard	February 18, 1943
<u>OHIO</u>		
Aurora Station	Mary P. Mowl	February 18, 1943
Austinburg	Albert D. Owen	" 18, "
Avon	Charles T. Wilford	" 18, "
Camden	Harold Q. Overholser	" 18, "
Columbia Station	Agnes M. Jones	" 18, "
Fayetteville	Earl J. Brulport	" 18, "
Georgetown	Leslie O. Campbell	" 18, "
Grove City	Myrtle I. Grant	" 18, "
Manchester	Samuel E. Fleming	" 18, "
Petersburg	Karl S. Schiller	" 18, "
Seaman	Thomas F. Short	" 18, "
Windham	Hugh M. Parker	" 18, "

		<u>Nomination Date</u>
<u>OKLAHOMA</u>		
Camargo	Frank Ferguson	February 18, 1943
Choctaw	Gladys M. Walker	" 4, "
Dill	Verna Russell	" 4, "
Jefferson	Louia M. Amick	" 4, "
<u>SOUTH DAKOTA</u>		
Agar	John H. Evans	February 18, 1943
Springfield	Mary L. Gaynor	" 18, "
<u>WISCONSIN</u>		
New Glarus	Viola Klassy	February 4, 1943
Wild Rose	Howard J. Merryfield	" 18, "

ALBEN W. BARKLEY
KENTUCKY

file

United States Senate
CONFERENCE OF THE MAJORITY

March 29, 1943.

U.S. WHITE HOUSE
MAR 30 8 30 AM '43
RECEIVED

Dear Mr. President:

Your recent memorandum concerning the delay in securing confirmations by the Senate in connection with the Manpower appointments has been received.

I appreciate fully the force of your suggestions in this regard. I am opposed to the McKellar bill, however, regardless of these particular delays, but I am glad to have this reminder of the situation with reference to these particular appointments.

Cordially yours,

Alben W. Barkley

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

COPY

PSF: Senate folder

CONFIDENTIAL

March 23, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SPEAKER
SENATOR BARKLEY
SENATOR McNARY
CONGRESSMAN McCORMACK
CONGRESSMAN MARTIN (Joseph)

When I heard of the proposed trip overseas of the Truman Committee of the Senate, I took up with General Marshall the question of visits of Congressional Committees to the various fields of war action and I am sending to each of you, in great confidence, a copy of General Marshall's reply.

In other words, there is no question of the Army's (and the Navy's) complete accord with having a small number of Members from both Houses visit the fronts. But there is involved the serious question of transportation. I might add to what General Marshall says by calling your attention to the fact that every visit to the front by any civilian -- special planes or plane, etc. -- does take the place of officers, men or munitions which would otherwise use the plane or planes.

Therefore, I greatly hope that the last paragraph of the confidential letter to me from the Chief of Staff can be made the guiding spirit of things both in the Senate and the House.

F. D. R.

Orig. copies filed - Congress folder + copy of Gen. Marshall's memo is filed - Marshall folder

COPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

March 19, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

With reference to the proposed trip overseas of the Truman Committee, it is understood that the Committee proposes to make these trips into foreign theaters as an extension of the investigation of the defense program which it has been pursuing in the United States. It does not propose to concern itself with military or naval strategy or tactics. Appropriate departments and agencies of the Government will be consulted in preparing plans for these several missions. I am also informed that the delegation on this first mission will be limited to three or possibly four Senators.

So far as this particular Committee is concerned it is believed that the members will keep within bounds and that the visit will tend to satisfy Congressional curiosity or doubts as to conditions in the theaters visited, and I should be in favor of the plan. However, it is probable that a similar Committee from the House will be moved to propose similar visits, and quite possible that Senator Chandler's Subcommittee may also propose such visits.

If it could be arranged through the leaders on the Hill that not more than one Committee from each House will be accorded the opportunity for such visits and that the size of the visiting Committee be restricted to four members it would greatly simplify the problem for the Army, and presumably for the Navy.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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DOD DHE 4200.9 (4/27/78)

Date - 10-11-66

Signature - *Carl S. Spicer*

S/ G.C. MARSHALL
CHIEF OF STAFF

CONFIDENTIAL

*file
per mail* PSF; senate folder
4-43

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

May 1, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Senator Barkley said to ask you to give him a chance to speak to you before you appoint a successor to the present Surgeon General of the Army.

He also asked that this be kept from "the military".

MHM

PSF: *Kenale folder*

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HARRY L. HOPKINS

Five Senators

October 12, 1943

71

In case the President should possibly want to make some off-the-record statement at the press conference today about the statements of the five senators, I am sending you herewith a memorandum which may be of some possible use.

Oscar Cox

Attachment

file → ~~SECRET~~

Let me make some observations, off the record and as background material, for you on the trip of the five senators.

Before they left, some of them had some positive notions about the Pacific part of the war. As you know, they spent most of their time in the Pacific. If you will look over their statements, you will see that most of what they had to say was about the Pacific. Perhaps it was only natural that they did not see the whole war—the one war—in its proper perspective.

Now, to be more specific: Senator Lodge has said that, if the Russians would let us use their bases in the Pacific, a million American lives would be saved. Now you know enough about geography and strategy to know that you can't have bases without protecting them. To protect such bases requires more than merely a few divisions. It also requires a large and uninterrupted supply line, and, if you will look at the map, you will know what that means. If Russia supplied us with the bases, it would mean that she would be fighting on two large fronts. We have not yielded to the political urgings for a second front. We will proceed on that when and where we think the offensives will be successful—we will not unnecessarily lead our boys to slaughter. We can't expect Russia—in view of what she is doing to the Germans on the Western Front—to yield to political clamoring here for a second front for her.

We should not prematurely build up the hopes of our forces or embitter them against our Allies by such statements. This Government is not blind to the problem of bases in the Pacific. If anything can be done in good and sufficient time, we will try to do it.

Part of the same over-emphasis on the Pacific phase of the war is the statement by Senator Chandler that a major offensive should be launched against the Japanese in the Pacific while attempts are made to crush Germany by bombing. He also feels that we should give General MacArthur more support or get rid of him.

Now you realize that we are not fighting one war in the Pacific, another in the Mediterranean, a third from England, and other wars from other places. This is one war. You know, for example, that, as we cleared the Mediterranean, we released British men-of-war for the Pacific, shortened the supply lines to the Indian Ocean, and otherwise aided the Pacific and Far Eastern part of the war.

I can also assure you that Mountbatten, Stilwell, Auchinleck, Chennault, Wavell, General Somervell, T. V. Soong and others are not in the Far East merely to play Mah Jong.

Furthermore, the American people and the American strategists certainly would not have wanted us not to recapture North Africa, Sicily, Corsica and parts of Italy from the Nazis. The American people-- and those who know the strategy of this one war--certainly would not want us to stop moving forward in Italy. The American people who see the war in its proper light would not want to see the great Russian advances stopped--a result which might well follow if we and the British

limited ourselves only to bombing Germany and didn't use our land, air and naval forces to fight the Nazis out of Italy and other places in Europe.

The views of the five senators on grand strategy are interlarded with logistics and supply questions relating to the Pacific part of the war--and in curiously inconsistent and incomplete ways. Senator Brewster says that 30,000 trucks are being shipped to Australia in a year, while the United States gets along on 15,000 new ones a year.

You might be interested to know that no supplies--trucks as well as other materials--are sent to Australia without the approval of General MacArthur. In one breath, some of the senators say we don't give General MacArthur what he wants. In the next, they are saying, in effect, that we are giving him too much.

The second flaw in the Brewster truck statement is that he assumes the trucks are "civilian". The trucks are "civilian" only in the sense that they are not of military design--a design which is more expensive than the "civilian". These trucks are used for vital war transport--albeit by civilians in some cases to move necessary war materials. Moreover, about 12,000 civilian trucks in Australia have been commandeered by the Australian Army for straight military transport. Australia does not have the kind of railway system we have. They have many different kinds of gauges, less rolling stock and less track. Also, General MacArthur has requisitioned many of their coastal boats which formerly carried much of the traffic. Therefore, it is far more dependent than we are on trucks for getting supplies to airfields, munitions plants and other war installations.

The third flaw in Brewster's statement is that his basic figures are wrong. In the two and a half years that the Lend-Lease program has been in effect, we have shipped Australia a total of 21,135 trucks--not 30,000 a year. In this same period, we have made available for use in the United States a total of about 750,000 trucks for civilian use. Of course, in addition to these trucks, many military trucks have been made available during this same period for use in the United States. In this connection, it might be noted that we started out with a much larger number of trucks than Australia and that Australia is now, and has been for some time, a more direct base of military operations.

In itself, the truck statement is not of major importance, but it shows how important it is to have a proper perspective and to get one's facts--and all the relevant facts--straight.

Still on the Pacific part of the war, some of the senators say that the British don't want a strong China and others say that the British have a huge reserve of armed troops, mostly native, which is not being used in the war.

The British obviously would not have some of their best top people, such as Mountbatten, Wavell and Auchinleck in India and the Far East if they did not mean business. The fact that the troops in India haven't been shooting the enemy very much up to now is no more relevant than the fact that large numbers of U.S. troops in England have not yet been shooting the enemy very much.

Strategic plans cannot be executed merely by pushing a button. Troops, equipment, transport, supply lines and other necessary resources

must be effectively lined up before a successful offensive--an offensive without too much unnecessary slaughter--can be launched. Despite what Senator Chandler says, there are many roads which lead to Tokyo--and the Allies are not neglecting any of them.

Some of the senators have taken the position that the building of the Burma Road--and I assume they also mean any attempts to retake and rebuild it--is an extravagance.

No one who thinks about the subject would say that the Burma Road is the only road to the heart of Japan as a supply route or otherwise. All roads that lead to Tokyo will be used in varying degrees--some for supply routes, some for moving troops, some for naval operations and some for airfields and air bombardment. What might theoretically be an extravagance in peacetime may well be a necessity in wartime. If the use of the Burma Road--as well as other land, sea and air routes--will help us to defeat Japan, it should and will be used. Particularly those senators who state that we are not doing enough in the Far East or are not helping the Chinese enough ought to be the first to urge the use of the Burma Road--as well as all other routes--to break the power of Japan.

Some of the senators say we are not sending enough aid to China--even though some think the Burma Road operation is an extravagance.

The problem of getting supplies to China is largely one of transportation. We are doing everything we can by air transport to get supplies to China. But we are also exercising every human effort to get supplies to China by every other possible route. But aid to China does not--and

should not--consist only of supplies sent to China. General Chennault and General Stilwell are engaged in operations intended to aid both China and ourselves. There are other plans, too, jointly worked out by the Chinese, the British, the Australians, the New Zealanders, and ourselves and other allies in the Pacific and Far East which have not failed to take account of the Japanese.

Some of the senators tell us that a correct picture is not given of the part played by our armed forces in the Pacific. Consciously or unconsciously, all of the senators are over-emphasizing the Pacific phase of the war for a variety of reasons. But aside from that, we do understand what our boys go through in the jungles and islands of the South Pacific. We will do everything possible to appreciate the part they are playing, get mail to them as fast as possible, see that as much news as possible reaches them from home and otherwise show that they are far from forgotten men.

Not completely disconnected from the news treatment of the work done by our forces in the Pacific is the criticism by the senators that the Associated Press, the United Press, the International News Service and other U.S. news gatherers abroad don't do as good a job as Rueter's.

I never thought that our great press services and newspapers needed the help of this Government to gather news anywhere, but if they do need any help, I would be sure--as one friend to another--that they know how to ask me for such help. And, as one friend to another, perhaps I might know how the Government, by its enterprise, can and will help private enterprise.

Also some of the senators think that some of our men abroad--particularly in the Pacific--should be relieved and brought home more often. They don't feel that any more strongly than I do for all of our soldiers abroad. But we are fighting a tough, hard war and we haven't the shipping and resources to do all of the things that need to be done. We can hardly use our ships for an offensive and carry out offensives in the Pacific and elsewhere by bringing our men home and using our ships to bring them home. But whatever can practically be done, in the light of the strategy of the war, to relieve our men abroad will be done to the full measure of my ability.

I have limited myself to taking up the major parts of the statements of the five senators about the Pacific part of the war. If you will go over the full list of their statements, you will, I am sure, be as surprised as I was about how large a part of them deal with the Pacific.

At some later date, I may take up the few remaining parts of their statements.

*file
Personal*

*PSF; Senate folder
4-43*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 5, 1943.

Dear Tom:

It is grand! Heartiest
congratulations!

But why, oh, why did you
let Nye vote for it?

F.D.R.

Honorable Tom Connally,
United States Senate.

TOM CONNALLY, TEXAS
CHAIRMAN

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

December 28, 1943

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

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you deeply for your note expressing your pleasure on the passage by the Senate of Senate Resolution 192.

With respect to your regret that I permitted () to vote with us, have to say that we were forced to accept that situation or have () number 2, with us which probably would have been more unfortunate. The two blanks never vote alike.

I am Wishing you and your family a Happy New Year,

Sincerely,



PEF Sent
THE WHITE HOUSE
DEC 29 8 31 AM '43
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BSF Senate folder 4-04

January 19, 1944.

Dear Joe:-

I am delighted to have that copy of
President Harding's Inaugural Address. Out
of the mouths of babes and sucklings, et.,
etc., etc.!

I hope to see you soon.

As ever yours,

Honorable Joseph C. O'Mahoney,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

PSF; Senate

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JAN 18 8 46 AM '44
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WALL DOXEY, MISS.	
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JOHN W. R. SMITH, ASST. CLERK	

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

January 17, 1944

The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

It may be that the Inaugural Address of President Warren G. Harding has escaped your recent attention. I think it has some significance in the light of current discussion of your recent message to the Congress. Indeed, it may be the peg upon which you can hang a press conference. I am, therefore, taking the liberty of enclosing a copy herewith with two paragraphs marked on page 6.

Sincerely yours

Joseph C. O'Mahoney
Joseph C. O'Mahoney

P.S. May I express my appreciation of your action in renominating Harry Schwartz to the National Mediation Board.

INAUGURAL ADDRESSES
OF
PRESIDENT
WARREN G. HARDING
AND
VICE PRESIDENT
CALVIN COOLIDGE

PSF: Senate

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SENATE
OF THE UNITED STATES

ON

MARCH 4, 1921



PRESENTED BY MR. MOSES MARCH 7, 1921.—Ordered to be printed

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1921

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS
OF
PRESIDENT WARREN G. HARDING.

MY COUNTRYMEN:

When one surveys the world about him after the great storm, noting the marks of destruction and yet rejoicing in the ruggedness of the things which withstood it, if he is an American he breathes the clarified atmosphere with a strange mingling of regret and new hope. We have seen a world passion spend its fury, but we contemplate our Republic unshaken and hold our civilization secure. Liberty—liberty within the law—and civilization are inseparable, and though both were threatened we find them now secure, and there comes to Americans the profound assurance that our representative government is the highest expression and surest guaranty of both.

Standing in this presence, mindful of the solemnity of this occasion, feeling the emotions which no one may know until he senses the great weight of responsibility for himself, I must utter my belief in the divine inspiration of the founding fathers. Surely there must have been God's intent in the making of this New World Republic. Ours is an organic law which had but one ambiguity, and we saw that effaced in a baptism of sacrifice and blood, with union maintained, the Nation supreme and its concord inspiring. We have seen the world rivet its hopeful gaze on the great truths on which the founders wrought. We have seen civil, human, and religious liberty verified and glorified. In the beginning the Old World scoffed at our experiment; to-day our foundations of political and social belief stand unshaken, a precious inheritance to ourselves, an inspiring example of freedom and civilization to all mankind. Let us express renewed and strengthened devotion in grateful reverence for the immortal beginning and utter our confidence in the supreme fulfillment.

PROGRESS PROVES WISDOM.

The recorded progress of our Republic, materially and spiritually, in itself proves the wisdom of the inherited policy of noninvolvement in Old World affairs. Confident of our ability to work out our own destiny, and jealously guarding our right to do so, we seek no part in directing the destinies of the Old World. We do not

mean to be entangled. We will accept no responsibility except as our own conscience and judgment, in each instance, may determine.

Our eyes never will be blind to a developing menace, our ears never deaf to the call of civilization. We recognize the new order in the world, with the closer contacts which progress has wrought. We sense the call of the human heart for fellowship, fraternity, and cooperation. We crave friendship and harbor no hate. But America, our America, the America builded on the foundation laid by the inspired fathers, can be a party to no permanent military alliance. It can enter into no political commitments, nor assume any economic obligations which will subject our decisions to any other than our own authority.

I am sure our own people will not misunderstand, nor will the world misconstrue. We have no thought to impede the paths to closer relationship. We wish to promote understanding. We want to do our part in making offensive warfare so hateful that Governments and peoples who resort to it must prove the righteousness of their cause or stand as outlaws before the bar of civilization.

ASSOCIATION FOR COUNSEL.

We are ready to associate ourselves with the nations of the world, great and small, for conference, for counsel; to seek the expressed views of world opinion; to recommend a way to approximate disarmament and relieve the crushing burdens of military and naval establishments. We elect to participate in suggesting plans for mediation, conciliation, and arbitration, and would gladly join in that expressed conscience of progress which seeks to clarify and write the laws of international relationship, and establish a world court for the disposition of such justiciable questions as nations are agreed to submit thereto. In expressing aspirations, in seeking practical plans, in translating humanity's new concept of righteousness and justice and its hatred of war into recommended action we are ready most heartily to unite, but every commitment must be made in the exercise of our national sovereignty. Since freedom impelled, and independence inspired, and nationality exalted, a world supergovernment is contrary to everything we cherish and can have no sanction by our Republic. This is not selfishness; it is sanctity. It is not aloofness; it is security. It is not suspicion of others; it is patriotic adherence to the things which made us what we are.

To-day, better than ever before, we know the aspirations of humankind, and share them. We have come to a new realization of our place in the world, and a new appraisal of our Nation by the world. The unselfishness of these United States is a thing proven; our devotion to peace for ourselves and for the world is well established; our

concern for preserved civilization has had its impassioned and heroic expression. There was no American failure to resist the attempted reversion of civilization; there will be no failure to-day or to-morrow.

RESTS ON POPULAR WILL.

The success of our popular Government rests wholly upon the correct interpretation of the deliberate, intelligent, dependable popular will of America. In a deliberate questioning of a suggested change of national policy, where internationality was to supersede nationality, we turned to a referendum to the American people. There was ample discussion, and there is a public mandate in manifest understanding.

America is ready to encourage, eager to initiate, anxious to participate in any seemly program likely to lessen the probability of war, and promote that brotherhood of mankind which must be God's highest conception of human relationship. Because we cherish ideals of justice and peace, because we appraise international comity and helpful relationship no less highly than any people of the world, we aspire to a high place in the moral leadership of civilization, and we hold a maintained America, the proven Republic, the unshaken temple of representative democracy, to be not only an inspiration and example but the highest agency of strengthening good will and promoting accord on both continents.

Mankind needs a world-wide benediction of understanding. It is needed among individuals, among peoples, among governments, and it will inaugurate an era of good feeling to mark the birth of a new order. In such understanding men will strive confidently for the promotion of their better relationships, and nations will promote the comities so essential to peace.

TRADE TIES BIND CLOSELY.

We must understand that ties of trade bind nations in closest intimacy, and none may receive except as he gives. We have not strengthened ours in accordance with our resources or our genius, notably on our own continent, where a galaxy of Republics reflect the glory of new-world democracy, but in the new order of finance and trade we mean to promote enlarged activities and seek expanded confidence.

Perhaps we can make no more helpful contribution by example than prove a Republic's capacity to emerge from the wreckage of war. While the world's embittered travail did not leave us devastated lands nor desolated cities, left no gaping wounds, no breast with hate, it did involve us in the delirium of expenditure, in expanded currency and credits, in unbalanced industry, in unspeakable waste and dis-

turbed relationships. While it uncovered our portion of hateful selfishness at home, it also revealed the heart of America as sound and fearless, and beating in confidence unflinching.

Amid it all we have riveted the gaze of all civilization to the unselfishness and the righteousness of representative democracy, where our freedom never has made offensive warfare, never has sought territorial aggrandizement through force, never has turned to the arbitrament of arms until reason has been exhausted. When the Governments of the earth shall have established a freedom like our own and shall have sanctioned the pursuit of peace as we have practiced it, I believe the last sorrow and the final sacrifice of international warfare will have been written.

Let me speak to the maimed and wounded soldiers who are present to-day, and through them convey to their comrades the gratitude of the Republic for their sacrifices in its defense. A generous country will never forget the services you rendered, and you may hope for a policy under Government that will relieve any maimed successors from taking your places on another such occasion as this.

OUR SUPREME TASK.

Our supreme task is the resumption of our onward, normal way. Reconstruction, readjustment, restoration—all these must follow. I would like to hasten them. If it will lighten the spirit and add to the resolution with which we take up the task, let me repeat for our Nation, we shall give no people just cause to make war upon us, we hold no national prejudices, we entertain no spirit of revenge, we do not hate, we do not covet, we dream of no conquest, nor boast of armed prowess.

If, despite this attitude, war is again forced upon us, I earnestly hope a way may be found which will unify our individual and collective strength and consecrate all America, materially and spiritually, body and soul, to national defense. I can vision the ideal republic, where every man and woman is called under the flag, for assignment to duty, for whatever service, military or civil, the individual is best fitted; where we may call to universal service every plant, agency or facility, all in the sublime sacrifice for country, and not one penny of war profit shall inure to the benefit of private individual, corporation, or combination, but all above the normal shall flow into the defense chest of the Nation. There is something inherently wrong, something out of accord with the ideals of representative democracy, when one portion of our citizenship turns its activities to private gain amid defensive war while another is fighting, sacrificing, or dying for national preservation.

UNITY OF SPIRIT AND PURPOSE.

Out of such universal service will come a new unity of spirit and purpose, a new confidence and consecration, which would make our defense impregnable, our triumph assured. Then we should have little or no disorganization of our economic, industrial, and commercial systems at home, no staggering war debts, no swollen fortunes to flout the sacrifices of our soldiers, no excuse for sedition, no pitiable slackerism, no outrage of treason. Envy and jealousy would have no soil for their menacing development, and revolution would be without the passion which engenders it.

A regret for the mistakes of yesterday must not, however, blind us to the tasks of to-day. War never left such an aftermath. There has been staggering loss of life, and measureless wastage of materials. Nations are still groping for return to stable ways. Discouraging indebtedness confronts us like all the war-torn nations, and these obligations must be provided for. No civilization can survive repudiation.

We can reduce the abnormal expenditures, and we will. We can strike at war taxation, and we must. We must face the grim necessity, with full knowledge that the task is to be solved, and we must proceed with a full realization that no statute enacted by man can repeal the inexorable laws of nature. Our most dangerous tendency is to expect too much of government, and at the same time do for it too little.

We contemplate the immediate task of putting our public household in order. We need a rigid and yet sane economy, combined with fiscal justice, and it must be attended by individual prudence and thrift, which are so essential to this trying hour and reassuring for the future.

REFLECTION OF WAR'S REACTION.

The business world reflects the disturbance of war's reaction. Herein flows the lifeblood of material existence. The economic mechanism is intricate and its parts interdependent, and has suffered the shocks and jars incident to abnormal demands, credit inflations, and price upheavals. The normal balances have been impaired, the channels of distribution have been clogged, the relations of labor and management have been strained. We must seek the readjustment with care and courage. Our people must give and take. Prices must reflect the receding fever of war activities. Perhaps we never shall know the old levels of wage again, because war invariably readjusts compensations, and the necessities of life will show their inseparable relationship, but we must strive for normalcy to reach stability. All

the penalties will not be light nor evenly distributed. There is no way of making them so. There is no instant step from disorder to order. We must face a condition of grim reality, charge off our losses, and start afresh. It is the oldest lesson of civilization. I would like Government to do all it can to mitigate, then, in understanding, in mutuality of interest, in concern for the common good, our tasks will be solved. No altered system will work a miracle. Any wild experiment will only add to the confusion. Our best assurance lies in efficient administration of our proven system.

FROM DESTRUCTION TO PRODUCTION.

The forward course of the business cycle is unmistakable. Peoples are turning from destruction to production. Industry has sensed the changed order and our own people are turning to resume their normal, onward way. The call is for productive America to go on. I know that Congress and the administration will favor every wise Government policy to aid the resumption and encourage continued progress.

I speak for administrative efficiency, for lightened tax burdens, for sound commercial practices, for adequate credit facilities, for sympathetic concern for all agricultural problems, for the omission of unnecessary interference of government with business, for an end to government's experiment in business, and for more efficient business in government administration. With all of this must attend a mindfulness of the human side of all activities, so that social, industrial, and economic justice will be squared with the purposes of a righteous people.

With the nation-wide induction of womanhood into our political life we may count upon her intuitions, her refinements, her intelligence, and her influence to exalt the social order. We count upon her exercise of the full privileges and the performance of the duties of citizenship to speed the attainment of the highest state.

PRAYER FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

I wish for an America no less alert in guarding against dangers from within than it is watchful against enemies from without. Our fundamental law recognizes no class, no group, no section; there must be none in legislation or administration. The supreme inspiration is the common weal. Humanity hungers for international peace, and we crave it with all mankind. My most reverent prayer for America is for industrial peace, with its rewards, widely and generally distributed, amid the inspirations of equal opportunity. No one justly may deny the equality of opportunity which made us what we are. We have mistaken unpreparedness to embrace it to be a challenge of the reality, and due concern for making all citizens fit

for participation will give added strength of citizenship and magnify our achievement.

If revolution insists upon overturning established order, let other peoples make the tragic experiment. There is no place for it in America. When world war threatened civilization we pledged our resources and our lives to its preservation, and when revolution threatens we unfurl the flag of law and order and renew our consecration. Ours is a constitutional freedom where the popular will is the law supreme and minorities are sacredly protected. Our revisions, reformations, and evolutions reflect a deliberate judgment and an orderly progress, and we mean to cure our ills, but never destroy or permit destruction by force.

I had rather submit our industrial controversies to the conference table in advance than to a settlement table after conflict and suffering. The earth is thirsting for the cup of good will; understanding is its fountain source. I would like to acclaim an era of good feeling amid dependable prosperity and all the blessings which attend.

PROTECTION OF INDUSTRIES.

It has been proved again and again that we can not, while throwing our markets open to the world, maintain American standards of living and opportunity and hold our industrial eminence in such unequal competition. There is a luring fallacy in the theory of banished barriers of trade, but preserved American standards require our higher production costs to be reflected in our tariffs on imports. To-day, as never before, when peoples are seeking trade restoration and expansion, we must adjust our tariffs to the new order. We seek participation in the world's exchanges, because therein lies our way to widened influence and the triumphs of peace. We know full well we can not sell where we do not buy, and we can not sell successfully where we do not carry. Opportunity is calling not alone for the restoration but for a new era in production, transportation, and trade. We shall answer it best by meeting the demand of a surpassing home market, by promoting self-reliance in production, and by bidding enterprise, genius, and efficiency to carry our cargoes in American bottoms to the marts of the world.

AN AMERICA OF HOMES.

We would not have an America living within and for herself alone, but we would have her self-reliant, independent, and ever nobler, stronger, and richer. Believing in our higher standards, reared through constitutional liberty and maintained opportunity, we invite the world to the same heights. But pride in things wrought is no reflex of a completed task. Common welfare is the goal of our

national endeavor. Wealth is not inimical to welfare; it ought to be its friendliest agency. There never can be equality of rewards or possessions so long as the human plan contains varied talents and differing degrees of industry and thrift, but ours ought to be a country free from great blotches of distressed poverty. We ought to find a way to guard against the perils and penalties of unemployment. We want an America of homes, illumined with hope and happiness, where mothers, freed from the necessity for long hours of toil beyond their own doors, may preside as befits the hearthstone of American citizenship. We want the cradle of American childhood rocked under conditions so wholesome and so hopeful that no blight may touch it in its development, and we want to provide that no selfish interest, no material necessity, no lack of opportunity shall prevent the gaining of that education so essential to best citizenship.

There is no short cut to the making of these ideals into glad realities. The world has witnessed, again and again, the futility and the mischief of ill-considered remedies for social and economic disorders. But we are mindful to-day, as never before, of the friction of modern industrialism, and we must learn its causes and reduce its evil consequences by sober and tested methods. Where genius has made for great possibilities, justice and happiness must be reflected in a greater common welfare.

SERVICE, THE SUPREME COMMITMENT.

Service is the supreme commitment of life. I would rejoice to acclaim the era of the golden rule and crown it with the autocracy of service. I pledge an administration wherein all the agencies of Government are called to serve, and ever promote an understanding of Government purely as an expression of the popular will.

One can not stand in this presence and be unmindful of the tremendous responsibility. The world upheaval has added heavily to our tasks. But with the realization comes the surge of high resolve, and there is reassurance in belief in the God-given destiny of our Republic. If I felt that there is to be sole responsibility in the Executive for the America of to-morrow I should shrink from the burden. But here are a hundred millions, with common concern and shared responsibility, answerable to God and country. The Republic summons them to their duty, and I invite cooperation.

I accept my part with single-mindedness of purpose and humility of spirit, and implore the favor and guidance of God in His heaven. With these I am unafraid and confidently face the future.

I have taken the solemn oath of office on that passage of Holy Writ wherein it is asked: "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" This I plight to God and country.

ADDRESS
OF
VICE PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE.

Five generations ago there was revealed to the people of this Nation a new relationship between man and man, which they declared and proclaimed in the American Constitution. Therein they recognized a legislature empowered to express the will of the people in law, a judiciary required to determine and state such law, and an Executive charged with securing obedience to the law, all holding their office not by reason of some superior force, but through the duly determined conscience of their countrymen.

To the House, close to the heart of the Nation, renewing its whole membership by frequent elections, representing directly the people, reflecting their common purpose, has been granted a full measure of the power of legislation and exclusive authority to originate taxation. To the Senate, renewing its membership by degrees, representing in part the sovereign States, has been granted not only a full measure of the power of legislation but, if possible, far more important functions. To it is intrusted the duty of review, that to negotiation there may be added ratification and to appointment approval. But its greatest function of all, too little mentioned and too little understood, whether exercised in legislating or reviewing, is the preservation of liberty. Not merely the rights of the majority, they little need protection, but the rights of the minority, from whatever source they may be assailed. The great object for us to seek here, for the Constitution identifies the Vice Presidency with the Senate, is to continue to make this Chamber, as it was intended by the fathers, the citadel of liberty. An enormous power is here conferred, capable of much good or ill, open it may be to abuse, but necessary, wholly and absolutely necessary, to secure the required result.

Whatever its faults, whatever its human imperfections, there is no legislative body in all history that has used its powers with more wisdom and discretion, more uniformly for the execution of the public

will, or more in harmony with the spirit of the authority of the people which has created it, than the United States Senate. I take up the duties the people have assigned me under the Constitution, which we can neither enlarge nor diminish, of presiding over this Senate, agreeably to its rules and regulations, deeply conscious that it will continue to function in harmony with its high traditions as a great deliberative body, without passion and without fear, unmoved by clamor, but most sensitive to the right, the stronghold of Government according to law, that the vision of past generations may be more and more the reality of generations yet to come.



P.F. Lane to
file personal

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 30, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY:

I have read every line of Warren Gamaliel's Inaugural address, furnished to the President by Senator O'Mahoney. I wouldn't have missed it for the world.

I am now more convinced than ever of the soundness of some contemporary literary criticisms of that address. The late Clinton Gilbert said that Mr. Harding's style resembled the architecture of the State, War and Navy Building. Henry Mencken opined that the symbolism of the Inaugural address suggested a hippopotamus trying to free itself from a sea of molasses.

With all due respect to Senator O'Mahoney's suggestion -- remembering the long train of scandals of the Harding administration -- I think the President will hesitate before he uses a Harding text for a discourse at a press conference.

W. D. H.

C
O
P
Y

PSF Senate folder 1-4-44

**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

January 21, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL:

Will you please read this letter from Joe Guffey? At the present time the Readers' Digest is being printed in Cairo, in Brazil and in several other places. I do not think that it carries out the freedom of the press idea for our Army and Navy ships to carry the paper on which the editions are printed to Cairo, to Brazil and other places, because it creates a monopoly for this one particular magazine.

The Chicago Tribune and several other papers have wanted to issue special editions in London and other places and have wanted the Government to carry the news print over there for these special editions and I have tentatively said it cannot be done.

Let me have any other suggestions for preparing a reply to Sen. Guffey.

F.D.P.

Ltr. 1-20-44, from Sen. Joseph Guffey, re his prev. ltr., 1-14-44 (in files downstairs) concerning his speech about Sen. Hugh Butler; also re Readers' Digest editions in foreign countries.

(orig. filed - F. Biddle Folder, dr. 2-44.)

PS F, *Locate folder*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Quate

February 23, 1944.

Honorable Alben W. Barkley
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Alben:

As I am out of the city I am unable to have a personal talk with you. If I were there, of course, that is the first thing I would do.

I regret to learn from your speech in the Senate on the tax veto that you thought I had in my message attacked the integrity of yourself and other Members of the Congress. Such you must know was not my intention. You and I may differ, and have differed, on important measures but that does not mean we question one another's good faith.

In working together to achieve common objectives, we have always tried to harmonize our viewpoints as far as we could conscientiously do so, but neither of us has a right to expect the other to go further.

When on last Monday I read to you portions of my Tax Message, and you indicated your disagreement, I made certain changes as a result of our talk. You did not, however, try to alter my basic decision when you realized how strongly I felt about it, while I did not realize how very strongly you felt about that basic decision, had I known, I should not have tried to dissuade you from exercising your own judgment in urging the over-riding of the veto.

I sincerely hope that you will not persist in your announced intention to resign as Majority Leader of the Senate. If you do, I hope your colleagues will not accept your resignation; with the many serious problems daily confronting us, it is inevitable that at times you should differ with your colleagues and differ with me. I am sure that your differing with your colleagues does not lessen their confidence in you as Leader. Certainly your differing with me does not affect my confidence in your leadership nor in any degree lessen my respect and affection for you personally.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

knowing that
but if they do hope that they will
be successful
2/14

PSF. 45 Senate

GRACE TULLY:

FOR YOUR FILES.

S.T.E.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 24, 1944

lib
3-1-44.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I just received Senator Barkley's reply to your telegraphic message of yesterday. The Senator asked permission to release it to the Press and I, of course, gave him that permission promptly.

The text of the letter follows:

ALBEN W. BARKLEY
KENTUCKY

United States Senate

CONFERENCE OF THE MAJORITY

February 24, 1944

My dear Mr. President:

When I reached my home late yesterday afternoon, after the events of the day, Steve Early was waiting with your gracious letter which he delivered to me in person.

First, let me thank you for your prompt disavowal of any intention to reflect upon my own or the integrity of other members of the Congress. I accept your statement in this regard at full value and I am happy to feel that it was sincere. If, when I discussed the veto with you on last Monday, I had known that it would be couched in the language which it contained, I would then have protested against it and would have advised you that I would be compelled to reply. However, our argument over the veto related to the measure itself, and when I learned that you had definitely decided to veto the measure notwithstanding any arguments which I had been able to put forward, I felt that there was no further occasion for discussion.

I am sure I need not say to you that I have, during these eventful years, worked with you with an inspiration, a devotion and a personal affection which has not been approached by any other man, unless it be Woodrow Wilson, at whose feet I sat as a young member of Congress and learned from him many of the great lessons of liberalism in government and society which I have struggled to advance.

I realize that sometimes language in a written document carries with it connotations not intended by the writer. Sometimes the expressions on one's countenance or the intonations in one's voice indicate a meaning not always carried in the written word. But I feel that upon reflection you will agree that some of the language contained in your veto message was abundantly susceptible of the interpretation which I put upon it in my address to the Senate and which many others put upon it throughout the country.

I am happy to feel, as you have indicated, that you had no such purpose in mind.

I realize that in these terrific times you are burdened with a responsibility no American President has ever borne. Throughout this perilous period my heart has gone out to you in sympathetic understanding, not only of your great responsibility, but your high purpose in meeting that responsibility. I want you to know that that faith in you endures

ALBEN W. BARKLEY
KENTUCKY

United States Senate

CONFERENCE OF THE MAJORITY

- 2 -

in me today and will continue to endure because I have recognized in you a spokesman of the people, whose chief desire was to advance their welfare and their happiness.

We have on some occasions disagreed as to policies and we have sometimes disagreed as to methods. Frequently I have submerged my own views in recognition of your more intimate knowledge and your greater responsibility. Sometimes you have yielded your views to mine. In all these circumstances we have maintained a mutual respect which I have deeply appreciated.

But it seems to me there is something broader and more fundamental than any personal acquiescence as between you and me over matters of public policy and fundamental principle. In this great crisis of our nation's history we must all seek some common ground upon which we can meet and have confidence in one another. That applies to all the branches of our Government. If we cannot trust one another in this tragic period of the history of our nation and of the world, how can the people trust us?

I want you to know that you have my utmost confidence and affection and the personal and official relations which have been to me a source of infinite pride, I hope may be continued.

In view of all that had happened, I felt compelled to tender my resignation as Majority Leader at the Democratic Conference today. The Conference unanimously accepted it and then unanimously reelected me as Majority Leader. In spite of my own personal preference to yield this responsibility to some other, in view of their earnest and unanimous action, and in view of your own generous and manly statement to me, I have accepted again the Majority Leadership of the Senate.

I fervently trust that this incident may be instrumental in bringing the Executive and Legislative Departments closer together in fullest cooperation to the end that we may win this terrible war at the earliest possible moment, bring all of our Armed Forces back to their homes and loved ones, and be instrumental in bringing to a downhearted and distressed world peace at last.

With great respect, I am

Cordially and sincerely yours,

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

Alben W. Barkley

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1944.

*PSF: Senate folder 4-44
file
not sent*

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. JAMES F. BYRNES

What do you think of my sending to the Senate Committee which had Daniels before it something along the following line:

"My dear Senator (Chairman):

I note that your Committee called Mr. Jonathan Daniels before it to ask questions relating to the details of his conversations with Harry Slattery -- and that Mr. Daniels declined to answer these questions.

I knew nothing about his appearance before you but his refusal to answer has my unqualified backing.

The story goes back sometime and is very simple.

For the last two years I have been distinctly worried about Mr. Slattery's health. He was away from his office for long periods of time. He is an old friend of mine and I was definitely worried because I felt that his organization was not running smoothly and was in many ways inefficient -- all of which I put down to his health.

Things got gradually worse and I felt that it would be advisable to undertake some other work for the Government.

Several people, knowing all this, suggested to me that for him the best thing to do was to leave REA and take another place. At one period Harry Slattery seemed on the point of doing this.

copy filed Daniels folder 2-44

However, during the past few months the situation did not improve and I asked Mr. Daniels, as my confidential assistant, to go to him again. Mr. Slattery declined to leave the REA and take another post. It would have been, of course, wholly possible for me to call him before me, present the case against him, as I did in the case of Dr. Morgan of the TVA, and remove him unless his answers and explanations were satisfactory.

There the matter stands but I thoroughly believe that his usefulness in his present post is ended.

That I made these inquiries over many months, through the Secretary of Agriculture and Mr. Daniels, is in accordance with law, as I asked them to do so on behalf of the President. As Chief Executive I am responsible for administrative acts, and I have used Members of the Cabinet and Administrative Assistants in similar cases, for that is a part of the duty of Cabinet officers and Administrative Assistants.

If these officers can be called before the Legislative Branch of the Government and questioned as to the details of how, when and where they carried out the orders of the Chief Executive, I feel that my own rights and privileges under the Constitution of the United States are being infringed by the Congress.

I think that your Committee will go along with this thought.

No impoliteness to Committees or individual Members of either House is in any way intended. I know you will realize that the Executive Branch of the Government is too large for peace time but that in practically all cases it is not too large for the prosecution of this war. Because of its very size it is necessary for checks to be made as to the efficiency of tens of thousands of officials. One man cannot do it. That is why the Staff of the President has had to be enlarged. He cannot do it all himself.

-3-

No improprieties are involved in the present case. I am certain that Mr. Slattery would have done well in his task if he had had his former health."

F. D. R.

PSF; Senate 3-44

file personal

JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER
(Joy Franklin)
1210 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

"We, the People"
"The Week in Washington"

Metropolitan 4112
Metropolitan 4113

March 8, 1944.

REPORT ON SENATOR GILLETTE.

Joe Guffey tells me that Cuy Gillette will run for reelection to the Senate if you ask him to. My impression is that Gillette will decide to run again, regardless, but that he is still in the process of searching his conscience as to the actual necessity of the situation.

J.F.C.
J.F.C.

— PSF: Senate

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 14, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

SENATOR GREEN

FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND
PLEASE RETURN FOR MY FILES.

F. D. R.



OFFICE OF
THE ADMINISTRATOR OF
VETERANS AFFAIRS

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT:

The chances of a hospital for Rhode Island are very good. We are making a study with regard to all three States: Rhode Island, Delaware, and New Hampshire. These are the only States that do not have a veterans' hospital. I am giving Rhode Island priority.

Frank T. Hines

FRANK T. HINES
Administrator

file personal PSF: Senate ~~San Carlos "H"~~ 3-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 17, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE PRESIDENT

I spoke with George Harrison about Senators Pepper and Hill and he said he had already done the necessary with the Brotherhoods for them, as well as for three or four others who are in the same fix! He was extremely nice about it and said to let him know if he can be of any further help.

G. G. T.

hms

P5F

Senate folder 4.44

May 15, 1944.

Dear Burt:

I wish you would have a talk with Sam Rosenman about the international communications' matter. He has been studying the whole thing for several weeks, and he will show you various suggestions and recommendations.

I have taken no action whatsoever because I am sure that this matter can be worked out in complete harmony.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Honorable Burton K. Wheeler,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Senate folder 4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 18, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Senator Scott Lucas 'phoned me this morning and said they had had a meeting of about fifty members of both Houses to discuss the Executive Order issued by the President March 9th, for a re-survey of all airports established by the C.A.A., or authorized for establishment by the C.A.A., the survey to determine which of these airports had sufficient military value to be completed. The Senator said that out of the 32 proposed, only three airports were recommended for completion. The Senator said there has been complete bedlam from the districts and States wherein these proposed airports were to be established, as originally these projects would have entailed the expenditure of about thirty million dollars.

At their meeting this morning this group appointed a committee composed of Congressman Jennings Randolph, W. Va., Chairman, Senator Lucas, Ill., Senator Gillette, Iowa, Senator Burton, Ohio, Congressman Tibbett, Pa., and Congressman Stevenson, Wisconsin, to call upon the President and discuss the situation with him.

Senator Lucas says he considers it politically most important and he wants to see the President at the earliest possible moment. I told him, confidentially, that the President was going to Hyde Park and I would ask the President immediately upon his return if he would see this group. The matter rests on this basis.

E. N. W.

PSF; Senate folder
4-44

*file
personal*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 3, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR SENATOR WAGNER:

Dear Bob:

As you know, I am away for a few more days. Here is the only trouble about additional action by either House in regard to Palestine at this time. There are about half a million Jews there. Perhaps another million want to go. They are of all shades -- good, bad and indifferent.

On the other side of the picture there are approximately seventy million Mohammedans who want to cut their throats the day they land. The one thing I want to avoid is a massacre or a situation which cannot be resolved by talking things over.

Anything said or done over here just now would add fuel to the flames and I hope that at this juncture no branch of the Government will act. Everybody knows what American hopes are. If we talk about them too much we will hurt fulfillment.

F.D.R.

From the same source -- i.e. counsel
for the Interior.

T.G.C.

PSF
Senate

MEMORANDUM RE ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS OF AGREEMENT NECESSARY TO PROCURE
THE PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE TO SUGAR BILL

1. The agreement should be in writing or by telegram
2. It should be to the effect that, early in the next session, the Act will be amended in the following and only the following respects, namely the elimination, for the year 1933 and thereafter, of all restrictions on refining in Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, together with the inclusion of a provision that minimum standards of wages and hours in refineries in those areas shall not be less than the minimum standards in refineries on the mainland.

(The refinery labor provision is very important to wipe out objections from those who sympathize with organized labor.)

3. Such an agreement will be a mere sham and the President's signature will have been procured by an illusory commitment unless all the following persons sign up:

SENATORS

O'Mahoney
Adams
Barkley
Johnson of Colorado
Pope
Thomas of Utah
Connally
Bailey
Lonergan
Bulkley
Brown of Michigan
Herring
Thomas of Oklahoma
McGill

Smith, Chairman Agriculture Committee
Bankhead
Cawaway
Hatch
Bilbo
Schwellenbach
Gillette
McNary
Frazier
Capper
Vandenberg
La Follette
Shipstead
Borah

REPRESENTATIVES

Bankhead
Rayburn
O'Connor
Jones
Doxey
Mitchell
Cummings
Heck
Coffee of Nebraska
Greover

Buck
Lea
Robinson
Murdock
Lewis of Colorado
Martin of Colorado
Kleberg
Hope
Kinser
Woodruff

The attached sheets give an explanation for the inclusion of the foregoing names.

EXPLANATION

I

The following Senators are necessary because they come from beet sugar states and are pivotal:

Adams
O'Mahoney
Johnson of Colorado
Pope
Borah

II

The following Senators are members of the Finance Committee, some of whom are interested in the sugar beet industry and others in general labor conditions:

Barkley
Connally
Bailey
Lonergan
Bulkley
Brown of Michigan
Herring
La Follette
Capper
Vandenberg

We can count on King and Clark, who are members of the Finance Committee, without their signatures. That means that if we can procure the signatures of the foregoing, we will have 12 members of the Finance Committee out of a total of 21. We need more than a slight majority to allow for absences, etc., and especially because of the fact that the Chairman, Harrison, is the most powerful enemy of the Administration policy and has strong backing from Senators George and Walsh; he will also almost surely be vigorously supported by Guffey, Byrd, Townsend and Davis.

III

Since the amendment, although it would be an amendment to a bill that was originally dealt with by the Finance Committee, might, since it involves no taxes, be sent to the Senate Agriculture Committee, we should have the signatures of a majority of that Committee. On that basis (in addition to the foregoing and allowing for overlappings in the Finance and Agriculture Committees) we should have the following Senators:

Smith
Thomas of Oklahoma
McGill
Bankhead
Caraway
Hatch
Bilbo
Schwellenbach
Gillette
McNary
Frazier
Shipstead

(Several of the above named come from beet sugar states and therefore need to be included regardless of whether or not the bill goes to the Agriculture or to the Finance Committee).

IV

The following members of the House:

Jones
Doxey
Mitchell
Hope
Kinzer

(The above named were the conferees in the last session.)

The majority leaders, should be included as they can swing the non-interested members of the House:

Bankhead
Fayburn
O'Connor

The following are key spokesmen for the beet sugar industry; etc:

Cummings, Colorado beet leader
Hook, organized labor spokesman
Coffee of Nebraska, beet spokesman
Buck, California beets
Lee, California beets
Robinson, Utah beets
Murdock, Utah beets
Lewis of Colorado, beets
Martin of Colorado, beets
Greever, Wyoming beets
Kleberg, powerful advocate for Eastern refiners
Woodruff, spokesman for entire Michigan beet group.