

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS

OF THE UNITED STATES

Herbert Hoover

*Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and
Statements of the President*

MARCH 4 TO DECEMBER 31, 1929

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FOREWORD

It is particularly fitting that this volume of Herbert Hoover's 1929 Presidential Papers should appear in the centennial year of his birth. Only in recent years has this remarkable American begun to be fully appreciated for his many contributions to our way of life.

It was Francis Bacon who wrote that "adversity doth best discover virtue," and, certainly, in the case of Herbert Hoover, the long period during which he suffered under the burden of blame for the Great Depression only heightened his qualities of courage, integrity, and uncomplaining patriotism.

Few public men in our history have been freer of pretension or self-importance. His innate modesty, his Quaker upbringing, and his almost austere sense of duty set him apart from most men who rise to the top in politics. He never sought recognition—only the opportunity to serve.

Many who knew him well maintained that he was the most intelligent man ever to occupy the Presidency. Long before he entered public life, as a celebrated engineer, he had proved his technical brilliance. Then, in the aftermath of World War I, when a devastated Europe faced the spectre of starvation, Herbert Hoover mounted the biggest, most successful, and most unselfish humanitarian relief drive that the world had yet seen.

To the literally millions of people whose lives he saved in the smoldering ruins of the Old World, Herbert Hoover was a hero never to be

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forgotten—an imperishable symbol of the idealistic side of the American character at its best.

His Presidential years, after a popular beginning, were overshadowed by the tragedy of the Great Depression. But, even as the economic picture darkened, Herbert Hoover never lost sight of the other great concerns of his office, especially of his desire to make America a force for peace in the world.

As the documents in this volume demonstrate, the Presidency was in some ways a different job 45 years ago from what it has become in our time. Press conferences usually were brief, uncomplicated sessions lasting only a few minutes. Sometimes there were not even any questions! Often the visits of foreign heads of state tended to be more ceremonial and less substantive than in our time since America was still an isolated power in world affairs.

But, notwithstanding these differences, in this volume are the words of a great American whose honesty, intelligence, humility, and simple dignity shine through. Well into his old age, under later Presidents of both parties, Herbert Hoover continued to serve his country in many roles and proved time and again the largeness of both his talents and his spirit.

It is to the memory of that outstanding man, as much as to the high office he held, that this volume is dedicated.

[Richard Nixon]

PREFACE

In this volume, published on the centennial of President Hoover's birth, are gathered most of the public messages and statements of the President of the United States that were released by the White House during the period March 4-December 31, 1929. Subsequent volumes will cover the remaining years of President Hoover's administration.

Annual volumes for the years 1945 through 1972, containing the papers of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, are also available.

The series was begun in 1957 in response to a recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. Until then there had been no systematic publication of Presidential papers. An extensive compilation of the messages and papers of the Presidents, covering the period 1789 to 1897, was assembled by James D. Richardson and published under Congressional authority between 1896 and 1899. Since then various private compilations have been issued but there was no uniform publication comparable to the *Congressional Record* or the *United States Supreme Court Reports*. Many Presidential papers could be found only in mimeographed White House releases or as reported in the press. The National Historical Publications Commission therefore recommended the establishment of an official series in which Presidential writings and utterances of a public nature could be made promptly available.

The Commission's recommendation was incorporated in regulations

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of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register issued under section 6 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 1506). The Committee's regulations, establishing the series and providing for the coverage of prior years, are reprinted beginning on page 783 as Appendix E.

CONTENT AND ARRANGEMENT

The text of this book is based on historical materials held in the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library at West Branch, Iowa. In a few instances, when the Library had no official copy of a statement known to have been made public, the text has been supplied from news accounts or other contemporary sources.

President Hoover's news conferences are published here for the first time in full text since at the time they were held, direct quotation of the President's replies frequently was not authorized. Transcripts by White House stenographers were used in this publication.

For some addresses by the President, varying texts are in the files, and newspaper clippings point to additional departures from his official text. Because of the scarcity of sound recordings of the speeches, it has not been possible to verify and print "as delivered" transcripts. Accordingly, the editors have used, when available, official texts printed by the Government Printing Office and distributed in advance of or shortly after delivery of the remarks. When no such official printing was found, they have selected the "best available" version from those in the Library's holdings. For readers interested in possible changes from the prepared text to the final version, a special section has been added (Appendix D,

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page 681) containing facsimiles of President Hoover's reading copies of several major speeches, with changes in his own handwriting.

Another addition to the volume is the inclusion of major speeches and statements by Mr. Hoover between his nomination and inauguration. These appear in Supplements I to V, beginning at page 495.

Certain Presidential materials issued during the period covered by this volume have not been printed as items but are listed in Appendix A, page 663. Proclamations and Executive orders appear in full in a companion publication, *Proclamations and Executive Orders, Herbert Hoover, 1929-1933*, published simultaneously with this volume, and are therefore merely listed in Appendix B, page 666.

The President is required by statute to transmit numerous reports to the Congress. Those transmitted during the period covered by this volume are listed in Appendix C, page 680. Routine messages to the Congress have been included as items only when copies were found in the Library's file of White House public issuances. A complete listing may be found in the index to the *Congressional Record* under "President of the United States, communications from."

The items published in this volume are presented in chronological order, rather than being grouped in classes. Most needs for a classified arrangement are met by the subject index.

The dates shown at the end of item headings are White House release dates. In instances where the date of the document differs from the release date, that fact is shown in brackets immediately following the heading. Textnotes, footnotes, and cross references have been supplied where needed for purposes of clarity.

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Remarks or addresses were delivered in Washington, D.C., unless otherwise indicated. Similarly, statements, messages, and letters were issued from the White House in Washington unless otherwise indicated.

Dr. Ellis W. Hawley, professor of American history at the University of Iowa, served as consultant in the preparation of the volume. Materials to be considered for inclusion were compiled by Dwight Miller, senior archivist of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, who also assisted in their selection and annotation. Thomas T. Thalken, Director of the Library, provided his support for completion of the volume.

The planning and publication of the series is under the direction of Fred J. Emery, Director, and Ernest J. Galdi, Deputy Director, of the Office of the Federal Register. Editors of the present volume were Jean T. Eisinger, Faye Q. Rosser, and Michael J. Sullivan,

Design of the volume was developed by the Government Printing Office's Division of Typography and Design, under the direction of Robert J. McKendry, and Rudie Diamond of that Division provided continuing consultation.

The search for photographs was aided by the Audiovisual Archives Division of the National Archives and Records Service and by the National Park Service, Department of the Interior. The frontispiece was supplied by Harris and Ewing. Credits for photographs in the center section appear at the end of the section.

JAMES B. RHOADS

Archivist of the United States

ARTHUR F. SAMPSON

Administrator of General Services

August 1974

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President Herbert Hoover
Vice President Charles Curtis

THE CABINET

Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson¹
Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon
Secretary of War James W. Good
(died 11-19-29)
Patrick J. Hurley
(sworn in 12-9-29)
Secretary of the Navy Charles F. Adams
Attorney General William D. Mitchell
Postmaster General Walter F. Brown
Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur
Secretary of Agriculture Arthur M. Hyde
Secretary of Commerce Robert P. Lament
Secretary of Labor James J. Davis

¹Mr. Stimson entered on duty as Secretary of State on March 28, 1929, after his return to the United States from the Philippines. Prank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State under President Coolidge, was asked to remain in the position until Mr. Stimson returned.

Inaugural Address.

March 4, 1929

[Delivered in person at the Capitol]

My countrymen:

This occasion is not alone the administration of the most sacred oath which can be assumed by an American citizen. It is a dedication and consecration under God to the highest office in service of our people. I assume this trust in the humility of knowledge that only through the guidance of Almighty Providence can I hope to discharge its ever-increasing burdens.

It is in keeping with tradition throughout our history that I should express simply and directly the opinions which I hold concerning some of the matters of present importance.

OUR PROGRESS

If we survey the situation of our Nation both at home and abroad, we find many satisfactions; we find some causes for concern. We have emerged from the losses of the Great War and the reconstruction following it with increased virility and strength. From this strength we have contributed to the recovery and progress of the world. What America has done has given renewed hope and courage to all who have faith in government by the people. In the large view, we have reached a higher degree of comfort and security than ever existed before in the history of the world. Through liberation from widespread poverty we have reached a higher degree of individual freedom than ever before. The devotion to and concern for our institutions are deep and sincere. We are steadily building a new race – a new civilization great in its own attainments. The influence and high purposes of our Nation are respected among the peoples of the world. We aspire to distinction in the world, but to a distinction based upon confidence in our sense of justice as well as our accomplishments within our own borders and in our own lives. For wise guidance in this great period of recovery the Nation is deeply indebted to Calvin Coolidge.

But all this majestic advance should not obscure the constant dangers from which self-government must be safeguarded. The strong man must at all times be alert to the attack of insidious disease.

THE FAILURE OF OUR SYSTEM OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

The most malign of all these dangers today is disregard and disobedience of law. Crime is increasing. Confidence in rigid and speedy justice is decreasing. I am not prepared to believe that this indicates any decay in the moral fibre of the American people. I am not prepared to believe that it indicates an impotence of the Federal Government to enforce its laws.

It is only in part due to the additional burdens imposed upon our judicial system by the 18th amendment.¹ The problem is much wider than that. Many influences had increasingly complicated and weakened our law enforcement organization long before the adoption of the 18th amendment.

To reestablish the vigor and effectiveness of law enforcement we must critically consider the entire Federal machinery of justice, the redistribution of its functions, the simplification of its procedure, the provision of additional special tribunals, the better selection of juries, and the more effective organization of our agencies of investigation and prosecution that justice may be sure and that it may be swift. While the authority of the Federal Government extends to but part of our vast system of national, State, and local justice, yet the standards which the Federal Government establishes have the most profound influence upon the whole structure.

We are fortunate in the ability and integrity of our Federal judges and attorneys. But the system which these officers are called upon to administer is in many respects ill adapted to present-day conditions. Its intricate and involved rules of procedure have become the refuge of both big and little criminals. There is a belief abroad that by invoking technicalities, subterfuge, and delay, the ends of justice may be thwarted by those who can pay the cost.

Reform, reorganization, and strengthening of our whole judicial and enforcement system, both in civil and criminal sides, have been advocated for years by statesmen, judges, and bar associations. First steps toward that end should not longer be delayed. Rigid and expeditious justice is the first safeguard of freedom, the basis of all ordered liberty, the vital force of progress. It must not come to be in our Republic that it can be defeated by the indifference of the citizens, by exploitation of the delays and entanglements of

the law, or by combinations of criminals. Justice must not fail because the agencies of enforcement are either delinquent or inefficiently organized. To consider these evils, to find their remedy, is the most sore necessity of our times.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE 18th AMENDMENT

Of the undoubted abuses which have grown up under the 18th amendment, part are due to the causes I have just mentioned; but part are due to the failure of some States to accept their share of responsibility for concurrent enforcement and to the failure of many State and local officials to accept the obligation under their oath of office zealously to enforce the laws. With the failures from these many causes has come a dangerous expansion in the criminal elements who have found enlarged opportunities in dealing in illegal liquor.

But a large responsibility rests directly upon our citizens. There would be little traffic in illegal liquor if only criminals patronized it. We must awake to the fact that this patronage from large numbers of law-abiding citizens is supplying the rewards and stimulating crime.

I have been selected by you to execute and enforce the laws of the country. I propose to do so to the extent of my own abilities, but the measure of success that the Government shall attain will depend upon the moral support which you, as citizens, extend. The duty of citizens to support the laws of the land is coequal with the duty of their Government to enforce the laws which exist. No greater national service can be given by men and women of good will – who, I know, are not unmindful of the responsibilities of citizenship – than that they should, by their example, assist in stamping out crime and outlawry by refusing participation in and condemning all transactions with illegal liquor. Our whole system of self-government will crumble either if officials elect what laws they will enforce or citizens elect what laws they will support. The worst evil of disregard for some law is that it destroys respect for all law. For our citizens to patronize the violation of a particular law on the ground that they are opposed to it is destructive of the very basis of all that protection of life, of homes and property which they rightly claim under other laws. If citizens do not like a law, their duty as honest men and women is to discourage its violation; their right is openly to work for its repeal.

To those of criminal mind there can be no appeal but vigorous enforcement of the law. Fortunately they are but a small percentage of our people. Their activities must be stopped.

A NATIONAL INVESTIGATION

I propose to appoint a national commission for a searching investigation of the whole structure of our Federal system of jurisprudence, to include the method of enforcement of the 18th amendment and the causes of abuse under it. Its purpose will be to make such recommendations for reorganization of the administration of Federal laws and court procedure as may be found desirable. In the meantime it is essential that a large part of the enforcement activities be transferred from the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice as a beginning of more effective organization.²

THE RELATION OF GOVERNMENT TO BUSINESS

The election has again confirmed the determination of the American people that regulation of private enterprise and not Government ownership or operation is the course rightly to be pursued in our relation to business. In recent years we have established a differentiation in the whole method of business regulation between the industries which produce and distribute commodities on the one hand and public utilities on the other. In the former, our laws insist upon effective competition; in the latter, because we substantially confer a monopoly by limiting competition, we must regulate their services and rates. The rigid enforcement of the laws applicable to both groups is the very base of equal opportunity and freedom from domination for all our people, and it is just as essential for the stability and prosperity of business itself as for the protection of the public at large. Such regulation should be extended by the Federal Government within the limitations of the Constitution and only when the individual States are without power to protect their citizens through their own authority. On the other hand, we should be fearless when the authority rests only in the Federal Government.

COOPERATION BY THE GOVERNMENT

The larger purpose of our economic thought should be to establish more firmly stability and security of business and employment and thereby remove poverty still further from our borders. Our people have in recent years developed a new-found capacity for cooperation among themselves to effect high purposes in public welfare. It is an advance toward the highest conception of self-government. Self-government does not and should not imply the use of political agencies alone. Progress is born of cooperation in the community – not from governmental restraints. The Government should assist and encourage these movements of collective self-help by itself cooperating with them. Business has by cooperation made great progress in the advancement of service, in stability, in regularity of employment, and in the correction of its own abuses. Such progress, however, can continue only so long as business manifests its respect for law.

There is an equally important field of cooperation by the Federal Government with the multitude of agencies, State, municipal, and private, in the systematic development of those processes which directly affect public health, recreation, education, and the home. We have need further to perfect the means by which Government can be adapted to human service.

EDUCATION

Although education is primarily a responsibility of the States and local communities, and rightly so, yet the Nation as a whole is vitally concerned in its development everywhere to the highest standards and to complete universality. Self-government can succeed only through an instructed electorate. Our objective is not simply to overcome illiteracy. The Nation has marched far beyond that. The more complex the problems of the Nation become, the greater is the need for more and more advanced instruction. Moreover, as our numbers increase and as our life expands with science and invention, we must discover more and more leaders for every walk of life. We cannot hope to succeed in directing this increasingly complex civilization unless we can draw all the talent of leadership from the whole people. One civilization after another has been wrecked upon the attempt to secure sufficient leadership from a single group or class. If we would prevent the growth of class distinctions and would constantly refresh our leadership with the ideals of our people, we must draw constantly from the general mass. The full opportunity for every boy and girl to rise through the selective processes of education can alone secure to us this leadership.

PUBLIC HEALTH

In public health the discoveries of science have opened a new era. Many sections of our country and many groups of our citizens suffer from diseases the eradication of which are mere matters of administration and moderate expenditure. Public health service should be as fully organized and as universally incorporated into our governmental system as is public education. The returns are a thousandfold in economic benefits, and infinitely more in reduction of suffering and promotion of human happiness.

WORLD PEACE

The United States fully accepts the profound truth that our own progress, prosperity, and peace are interlocked with the progress, prosperity, and peace of all humanity. The whole world is at peace. The dangers to a continuation of this peace today are largely the fear and suspicion which still haunt the world. No suspicion or fear can be rightly directed toward our country.

Those who have a true understanding of America know that we have no desire for territorial expansion, for economic or other domination of other peoples. Such purposes are repugnant to our ideals of human freedom. Our form of government is ill adapted to the responsibilities which inevitably follow permanent limitation of the independence of other peoples. Superficial observers seem to find no destiny for our abounding increase in population, in wealth and power except that of imperialism. They fail to see that the American people are engrossed in the building for themselves of a new economic system, a new social system, a new political system – all of which are characterized by aspirations of freedom of opportunity and thereby are the negation of imperialism. They fail to realize that because of our abounding prosperity our youth are pressing more and more into our institutions of learning; that our people are seeking a larger vision through art, literature, science, and travel; that they are moving toward stronger moral and spiritual life – that from these things our sympathies are broadening beyond the bounds of our

Nation and race toward their true expression in a real brotherhood of man. They fail to see that the idealism of America will lead it to no narrow or selfish channel, but inspire it to do its full share as a Nation toward the advancement of civilization. It will do that not by mere declaration but by taking a practical part in supporting all useful international undertakings. We not only desire peace with the world, but to see peace maintained throughout the world. We wish to advance the reign of justice and reason toward the extinction of force.

The recent treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy sets an advanced standard in our conception of the relations of nations. Its acceptance should pave the way to greater limitation of armament, the offer of which we sincerely extend to the world. But its full realization also implies a greater and greater perfection in the instrumentalities for pacific settlement of controversies between nations. In the creation and use of these instrumentalities we should support every sound method of conciliation, arbitration, and judicial settlement. American statesmen were among the first to propose, and they have constantly urged upon the world, the establishment of a tribunal for the settlement of controversies of a justiciable character. The Permanent Court of International Justice in its major purpose is thus peculiarly identified with American ideals and with American statesmanship. No more potent instrumentality for this purpose has ever been conceived and no other is practicable of establishment. The reservations placed upon our adherence should not be misinterpreted. The United States seeks by these reservations no special privilege or advantage but only to clarify our relation to advisory opinions and other matters which are subsidiary to the major purpose of the Court. The way should, and I believe will, be found by which we may take our proper place in a movement so fundamental to the progress of peace.

Our people have determined that we should make no political engagements such as membership in the League of Nations, which may commit us in advance as a nation to become involved in the settlements of controversies between other countries. They adhere to the belief that the independence of America from such obligations increases its ability and availability for service in all fields of human progress.

I have lately returned from a journey among our sister Republics of the Western Hemisphere.³ I have received unbounded hospitality and courtesy as their expression of friendliness to our country. We are held by particular bonds of sympathy and common interest with them. They are each of them building a racial character and a culture which is an impressive contribution to human progress. We wish only for the maintenance of their independence, the growth of their stability and their prosperity. While we have had wars in the Western Hemisphere, yet on the whole the record is in encouraging contrast with that of other parts of the world. Fortunately the New World is largely free from the inheritances of fear and distrust which have so troubled the Old World. We should keep it so.

It is impossible, my countrymen, to speak of peace without profound emotion. In thousands of homes in America, in millions of homes around the world, there are vacant chairs. It would be a shameful confession of our unworthiness if it should develop that we have abandoned the hope for which all these men died. Surely civilization is old enough, surely mankind is mature enough so that we ought in our own lifetime to find a way to permanent peace. Abroad, to west and east, are nations whose sons mingled their blood with the blood of our sons on the battlefields. Most of these nations have contributed to our race, to our culture, our knowledge, and our progress. From one of them we derive our very language and from many of them much of the genius of our institutions. Their desire for peace is as deep and sincere as our own.

Peace can be contributed to by respect for our ability in defense. Peace can be promoted by the limitation of arms and by the creation of the instrumentalities for peaceful settlement of controversies. But it will become a reality only through self-restraint and active effort in friendliness and helpfulness. I covet for this administration a record of having further contributed to advance the cause of peace.

PARTY RESPONSIBILITIES

In our form of democracy the expression of the popular will can be effected only through the instrumentality of political parties. We maintain party government not to promote intolerant partisanship but because opportunity must be given for expression of the popular will, and organization provided for the execution of its mandates and for accountability of government to the people. It follows that the government both in the executive and the legislative branches must carry out in good faith the platforms upon which the party was entrusted with power. But the government is that of the whole people; the party is the instrument through which policies are determined and men chosen to bring them into being. The

animosities of elections should have no place in our Government for government must concern itself alone with the common weal.

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

Action upon some of the proposals upon which the Republican Party was returned to power, particularly further agricultural relief and limited changes in the tariff, cannot in justice to our farmers, our labor, and our manufacturers be postponed. I shall therefore request a special session of Congress for the consideration of these two questions. I shall deal with each of them upon the assembly of the Congress.

OTHER MANDATES FROM THE ELECTION

It appears to me that the more important further mandates from the recent election were the maintenance of the integrity of the Constitution; the vigorous enforcement of the laws; the continuance of economy in public expenditure; the continued regulation of business to prevent domination in the community; the denial of ownership or operation of business by the Government in competition with its citizens; the avoidance of policies which would involve us in the controversies of foreign nations; the more effective reorganization of the departments of the Federal Government; the expansion of public works; and the promotion of welfare activities affecting education and the home.

These were the more tangible determinations of the election, but beyond them was the confidence and belief of the people that we would not neglect the support of the embedded ideals and aspirations of America. These ideals and aspirations are the touchstones upon which the day-to-day administration and legislative acts of government must be tested. More than this, the Government must, so far as lies within its proper powers, give leadership to the realization of these ideals and to the fruition of these aspirations. No one can adequately reduce these things of the spirit to phrases or to a catalogue of definitions. We do know what the attainments of these ideals should be: the preservation of self-government and its full foundations in local government; the perfection of justice whether in economic or in social fields; the maintenance of ordered liberty; the denial of domination by any group or class; the building up and preservation of equality of opportunity; the stimulation of initiative and individuality; absolute integrity in public affairs; the choice of officials for fitness to office; the direction of economic progress toward prosperity and the further lessening of poverty; the freedom of public opinion; the sustaining of education and of the advancement of knowledge; the growth of religious spirit and the tolerance of all faiths; the strengthening of the home; the advancement of peace.

There is no short road to the realization of these aspirations. Ours is a progressive people, but with a determination that progress must be based upon the foundation of experience. Ill-considered remedies for our faults bring only penalties after them. But if we hold the faith of the men in our mighty past who created these ideals, we shall leave them heightened and strengthened for our children.

CONCLUSION

This is not the time and place for extended discussion. The questions before our country are problems of progress to higher standards; they are not the problems of degeneration. They demand thought and they serve to quicken the conscience and enlist our sense of responsibility for their settlement. And that responsibility rests upon you, my countrymen, as much as upon those of us who have been selected for office.

Ours is a land rich in resources, stimulating in its glorious beauty, filled with millions of happy homes, blessed with comfort and opportunity. In no nation are the institutions of progress more advanced. In no nation are the fruits of accomplishment more secure. In no nation is the government more worthy of respect. No country is more loved by its people. I have an abiding faith in their capacity, integrity, and high purpose. I have no fears for the future of our country. It is bright with hope.

In the presence of my countrymen, mindful of the solemnity of this occasion, knowing what the task means and the responsibility which it involves, I beg your tolerance, your aid, and your cooperation. I ask the help of Almighty God in this service to my country to which you have called me.

NOTE: The President spoke, in a downpour of rain, from a platform erected at the east front of the Capitol. Immediately before the address the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice William Howard Taft. The address was broadcast on worldwide radio.

For policy statements made by Mr. Hoover before his inauguration as President, see Supplements I, II, and III of this volume.

¹ The 18th amendment to the Constitution, ratified January 16, 1919, prohibited "the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the transportation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes."

² Although the final sentence of this paragraph was included in the official text printed as Senate Document 1 (71st Cong., special sess.), it was reported in the press that the President omitted the sentence in his delivery of the address.

³ See Supplement IV of this volume.

The President's News Conference of
March 5, 1929

NEWS CONFERENCES AND PRESS RELATIONS

THE PRESIDENT. It seems that the whole press of the United States has given me the honor of a call this morning.

Before we undertake other questions, I wish to say a word about the press conference. I would like the conference to continue as before with the same understandings as those which you had with President Coolidge. I wish, further, your cooperation on further development of these conferences. As you know, the relations of the President and the press have been a matter of development over a number of administrations, starting most actively perhaps under President [Theodore] Roosevelt, going through one experimental stage to another down to the present time. By degrees a means has been found for a more intimate relationship, and I have an impression that we might develop it even further in those directions which would assist the press and assist the President.

I would like to suggest that Mr. [John R.] Young, who is the president of the White House [Correspondents] Association, make up a committee of the heads of bureaus and services to discuss the matter with me on some early occasion as to how we can further amplify these relations. I am anxious to clear up the twilight zone as far as we can between authoritative and quotable material on one hand, and such material as I am able to give from time to time for purely background purposes on the other. I wish to be of such service as I can in these conferences, and beyond this, in matters of special character that are not of general interest, I would be glad to see any of you from time to time. I want you to feel free to make such suggestions as will help me out in that direction.

Now as to the immediate questions, you will all understand that I am not in a position at so early a moment as this to begin the declaration of a public policy on current issues.

THE INSURRECTION IN MEXICO

The questions this morning nearly all relate to the Mexican situation.¹ They all relate to the question, or most of them, to the transportation of arms. You are aware that there has been an embargo on the shipment of arms to Mexico since January 1924, except under licenses from the Federal Government. Those licenses have been issued from time to time for the shipment of arms to the Government of Mexico. I see no occasion to change the policy that has been in force during the whole of the last 5 years.

Q. Are those licenses issued by the Secretary of State?

THE PRESIDENT. By the Secretary of State. One other question relates to what other information we may have as to the disturbances. We are not now better informed than the press. We have nothing, in fact, that we have to add to this as to the revolutionary centers. As to this you are probably getting the full volume of that yourself.

COMMISSION TO STUDY LAW ENFORCEMENT

One other question relates to the time I shall appoint the commission that I mentioned yesterday. I notice it is referred to as a prohibition matter. It is not. It is a question of the whole problem of law enforcement. I shall confer with the new Attorney General at an early date as to the constitution of that body.

QUOTATION OF NEWS CONFERENCE REMARKS

Q. Would you consider giving out the text of your remarks as to the relations between the President and the press?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I do not think I should. There is no very great public interest in it.

Q. Yes, I think it is. It is a new point of view, Mr. President, over a period of years – and it will read very well.

THE PRESIDENT. That is encouraging from a friend. If you think it is of any help, go ahead. I would like for Mr. Young to go ahead with an arrangement of some sort so that we can confer. I generally wish to

see us develop a relationship between the press and the President that will be helpful and feasible in the proper conduct of affairs and at the same time of maximum assistance to you. I have no revolutions to propose, but I think, out of experience, we can accomplish something from time to time and probably in the course of 50 years develop it to perfection.

Q. You want it understood, Mr. President, that the present rules are to be observed, and that you are not to be quoted directly or indirectly?

THE PRESIDENT. That is the rule.

Q. Only when a transcript is given out it is to be quoted?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no objection to your writing it yourselves. I leave it to you to present it in what you think a perfectly fair fashion.

Q. I understand that you will have a transcript made of these particular remarks.

THE PRESIDENT. We will have a transcript made.

Q. We can use that as coming directly from you?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

NOTE: President Hoover's first news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, March 5, 1929.

¹ An insurrection, led by General Jose Gonzalo Escobar, broke out on March 3, 1929.

3

Acknowledgment of Messages Congratulating the President on His Inauguration
March 6, 1929

[Released March 6, 1929. Dated March 5, 1929]

I HAVE received with pleasure your message of congratulations upon the occasion of my inauguration, and in thanking you for it I wish to extend to you and to the people of Argentina the expression of my sincere and friendly good wishes.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Hipolito Irigoyen, President of Argentina, Buenos Aires]

NOTE: Similar acknowledgements, dated March 5-8, 1929, were sent to the heads of state of Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the National Government of China, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Turkey, and Venezuela.

Proclamation 1870,
Requesting an Extra Session of Congress on Agricultural Relief and Tariff Changes
March 7, 1929

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation:

WHEREAS public interests require that the Congress of the United States should be convened in extra session at twelve o'clock, noon, on the fifteenth day of April, 1929, to receive such communication as may be made by the Executive;

AND WHEREAS legislation to effect further agricultural relief and legislation for limited changes of the tariff can not in justice to our farmers, our labor and our manufacturers be postponed;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, HERBERT HOOVER, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Congress of the United States to convene in extra session at the Capitol in the City of Washington on the fifteenth day of April, 1929, at twelve o'clock, noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as members thereof are hereby required to take notice.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused to be affixed the great seal of the United States.

DONE at the City of Washington this seventh day of March, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States the One
[SEAL] Hundred and Fifty-third.

HERBERT HOOVER

By the President:

FRANK B. KELLOGG
Secretary of State.

The President's News Conference of
March 8, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I find questions today, as usual many of them directed towards the same objects, and I have prepared a note or two on them in order that you may have it accurately and for quotation.

PRESS QUOTATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWERS

I have this request to make of you. No one in this position wishes to be put in the attitude of constant pronouncements on public questions. That has been one of the difficulties in handling the twilight zone that we have discussed before, and I am giving you these answers, which we will have transcribed for you, with the understanding that you will quote this little opening: "In reply to a question from representatives of the press the President stated today." That avoids the psychology of my making pronouncements at all times on diverse subjects. That is one of the reasons for your own difficulties hitherto in dealing with this problem.

LAW ENFORCEMENT COMMISSION

The first relates to the enforcement commission, and I have said here:

"The purpose and scope of the Law Enforcement Commission, as stated in my inaugural address, is to critically consider the entire Federal machinery of justice, the redistribution of its functions, the simplification of its procedure, the provision of additional special tribunals, the better selection of juries, the more effective organization of our agencies of investigation and prosecution. It is intended to cover the entire question of law enforcement and organization of justice. It will also naturally include consideration of the method of enforcement of the 18th amendment and abuses which have grown up, together with the enforcement of the laws in respect to narcotics, to immigration, to trade restraint and every other branch of Federal Government law enforcement. The whole constitutes one problem of better and more effective organization and enforcement. Such reorganization in various directions, some of them affecting the civil side as well as the criminal side, have been recommended and advocated for years by men of responsibility from the Chief Justices of the United States down to the local bar associations.

"The first step in law enforcement is adequate organization of our judicial and enforcement system."

That is in response to a number of questions as to the scope of the Law Enforcement Commission.

CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL

And the other one that I am handling the same way is in reply to questions from the press as to whether extensive changes are intended in the personnel of the Government.

"The President said today that there were comparatively few changes contemplated. He proposes to adhere to the principle of retaining as many as possible of those public servants who have given honest and zealous service.

"It is traditional for the principal directing heads of the Government whose appointments are at the pleasure of the President, both at home and in foreign service, to tender their resignations with the advent of a new President. Out of several hundred such officials, there are probably not more than 20 or 30 changes likely to be made at the present time. Some of these are the result of the determination of the incumbents that they have given sufficient of their time to public service and wish to take this occasion to retire to private life. Some changes will be the result of promotion and shifts from one position in the Government to another.

"There are some 820,000 people on the Federal payroll. It will be seen, therefore, that the number of changes contemplated do not offer an opportunity for the large recruiting of new personnel."

Now, questions that are, under the present arrangements, not for quotation but for your information.

IMMIGRATION

I have had a number of questions on what action will be taken as to the national origins clause in the Immigration Act. I have asked the Attorney General for his opinion on that section of the act, and I have no opinion to offer until I know his views.

GOVERNORSHIP OF HAWAII

I have another question as to whether we plan to make an early appointment for the governorship of Hawaii. The Governor's term does not expire before the first of July – certainly the first of June. So there is no necessity to work with that question at the present moment.

TARIFF SUGGESTIONS

I have had a number of other questions referring to what suggestions have to make in connection with the tariff. Those matters will be dealt with in the message which I will send to Congress when it convenes. So I don't think I could properly ventilate it before.

FEDERAL RADIO COMMISSION

Another question relates to appointments to fill the Radio Commission. I have not had time to consider that matter at all. So I can give no opinion on it.

ARMS FOR MEXICO

I have a number of questions relating to Mexico. In that matter the Secretary of State has issued or is issuing authorizations for the shipment of arms by private concerns to the Government of Mexico. Further than that, applications have been made from the Mexican Government for the purchase of some of our surplus war materials, and such items as we possess in surplus and that they happen to wish will be supplied by the War Department.

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS ON THE MEXICAN BORDER

Another serious question I have covered somewhat by this statement: that there is no difference of opinion as between the War Department and the State Department as to the disposition to be made for the protection of American citizens on the border. In fact, it has not been deemed by either the War Department or the State Department necessary to take any special disposition in that matter in addition to the forces that are already there.

That covers in a general way the various categories of questions.

THE SITUATION IN MEXICO

Q. Mr. President, would you mind telling us what you hear as to the exact state of affairs – how serious this revolt is?

THE PRESIDENT. Our understanding is that the revolt has quite collapsed in Vera Cruz. We are informed – and now I can't answer for the accuracy of such information any more than one can answer for the accuracy of your dispatches – [because they are] coming from different spots and may not comprehend the whole story. But we are told that about nine-tenths of the revolt troops in the Vera Cruz area have rejoined the National Government and that the general is now attempting to hide out with a small number of men. The revolt in the north is spreading because along the northern frontier there is no resistance yet. We have a message that the revolutionary troops had occupied Juarez completely. That I am not able to substantiate. It may be true or not. The Mexican Government is concentrating its forces on the north of the City of Mexico. As you know, they have occupied Juarez¹ and seem to be making some progress north from there. That at least is the situation as we have it – and your information is sometimes faster than ours.

CABINET MEETING

Q. Mr. President, will you tell us a little something about the Cabinet meeting?

THE PRESIDENT. The matters under discussion ranged around the various departments. Of course, the members have had but 48 hours to go into their problems. Nothing of very great importance was taken up, mostly matters of pure routine. Obviously there was a discussion of the Mexican situation as it involves a number of the departments.

AIRPLANES TO MEXICO

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us, please, if any airplanes are being shipped to Mexico from the surplus war material?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think so. I understood they were making some purchases of private planes, but I haven't heard of anything from the War Department.

PRESS COMMITTEE

I might say that I understand that the committee for discussion of our general program is to meet with me this evening.

NOTE: President Hoover's second news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, March 8, 1929.

¹ "Juarez" was written in by an unknown hand after the conference notes had been typed. The accuracy of the change is doubtful.

The President's News Conference of
March 12, 1929

NEWS CONFERENCE PROCEDURES

THE PRESIDENT. I had a meeting with the committee¹ the other evening, and I presume the committee will formulate the conclusions that were arrived at and circulate them to the correspondents. One of the suggestions is that written questions, so far as possible, should be put in 24 hours in advance on subjects that are not critical at the moment and that the questions immediately before the conference be, as far as possible, confined to matters which have arisen on the crest of the day's events. It gives me an opportunity for a considered answer, and will enable me to give you more information, because, as in the case today, I have just had a moment to go across the questions, and some of them I am quite willing to reply to, but would like to give them more thought. I think that would facilitate the volume of information which can be given. In view of the shortness of the time I have had to look over the questions, I am a little bit crippled on giving you adequate reply at this moment, and some of the questions I will carry over to next session.

GOVERNMENT OIL LANDS

There is one question on which you may quote me, with the usual preliminary that it is in answer to a question from the press, as to the policy of the Federal Government on the disposal of oil lands for the future.

"There will be no leases or disposal of Government oil lands, no matter what category they may lie in, of Government holdings or Government controls, except those which may be mandatory by Congress. In other words, there will be complete conservation of Government oil in this administration,"

Q. That means that it will only be disposed of by act of Congress.

THE PRESIDENT. I think there are a few minor cases relating to some Indian lands where oil leases are mandatory. That is the reason for that exception. That has no bearing on the general policy but I did not want to appear to cover the mandatory leases.

Q. Does that mean, also, you will take steps to preserve the waste material in the South?

THE PRESIDENT. That is a matter of private enterprise. I am only speaking of Government holdings and the policy of the Government itself.

REAR ADMIRAL WILLIAM A. MOFFETT

Now for matters for your information: Admiral Moffett has been continued as Chief of the Bureau of Naval Aeronautics.

CENSUS AND REAPPORTIONMENT BILLS

I have a question on the census and reapportionment bills, asking whether I am in favor of their consideration in extraordinary session. I understand that the House leaders have stated to the leaders of the Senate that after bills such as the census and reapportionment bills, which originated in the House, have been considered by House committees and formulated by the House and sent to the Senate, that their interest will extend to introducing those bills into the House under a rule waiving the rules of the House provided they are first passed by the Senate. That would enable the House to consider those particular pieces of legislation in the extraordinary session without violating the standard which was erected by the House leaders that they should limit their appointments of committees to Agriculture and Ways and Means.

I am not giving you that information in the fashion that it comes from me or that I have anything to do with it, but merely that it is information as to what has been suggested by the House leaders.

NATIONAL ORIGINS CLAUSE

Someone wants to know again about the national origins. I haven't yet received the opinion of the Attorney General.

APPOINTMENTS AND RESIGNATIONS

On diplomatic appointments there are four or five questions. There will be no diplomatic appointments made until after Mr. Stimson's arrival in Washington.² So there is no consideration in that quarter at the present moment.

Q. When do you expect that arrival, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. He will be here the 26th.

Then there are some more appointments. Assistant Secretary [Theodore D.] Robinson resigned, as you know, from the Navy to return to private life – would not consent to continuing.

The same thing applies to Assistant Secretary [Charles B.] Robbins in the War Department. Both of these gentlemen insisted on retirement.

Mr. Ernest Lee Jahncke of New Orleans will be the Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Jahncke has had much experience with shipping, and is an enthusiastic sailor himself, and is a large and important businessman.

Q. Is there anything to be said, Mr. President, about Under Secretary Reuben Clark's resignation?

THE PRESIDENT. There is no thought going on in that quarter until Mr. Stimson's arrival. Mr. Clark is very insistent that he should retire from the State Department at the present moment, but I am in hopes that I can make arrangements. Mr. Clark, of course, has been a very valuable Under Secretary.

For the War Department, Mr. Patrick Hurley of Oklahoma has been made Assistant Secretary. Mr. Hurley has a very distinguished war record. You can find out more about it from Mr. Akerson.³

That covers the questions for today. I would be glad if the committee would let you all know what the conclusions are about the arrangements for the conferences, and I will try to be more ample on Friday.

NOTE: President Hoover's third news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, March 12, 1929.

¹ A committee of news bureau and wire service heads which was formed at the President's suggestion to assist him in the development of news conferences.

² Henry L. Stimson, Governor-General of the Philippines, was to become Secretary of State. Secretary Frank B. Kellogg remained in the Cabinet until his arrival.

³ George E. Akerson was Secretary to the President.

Executive Order 5079, Publication of Internal Revenue Tax Refund Decisions
March 14, 1929

PURSUANT to the provisions of section 55 of the Revenue Act of 1928 and section 257 of the Revenue Act of 1926, it is hereby ordered that decisions of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue allowing a refund, credit, or abatement of income, war-profits, excess-profits, estate, or gift taxes, in excess of \$20,000, shall be open to inspection in accordance, and upon compliance, with the regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury and approved by me, bearing even date herewith.

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House,
March 14, 1929.

NOTE: In announcing the Executive order, the White House stated that it was issued pursuant to the recommendations of the Secretary of the Treasury and made public the Secretary's letter, as follows:

My dear Mr. President:

I am transmitting herewith for your consideration an executive order and an amendment to the existing regulations, the effect of which is to make the decisions of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue allowing a refund, credit, or abatement of income, excess-profits, war-profits, estate and gift taxes, open to inspection by the public, if in excess of \$20,000. The decision will give the amount of the overassessment, a brief summary of the facts, and a citation of the applicable statutory or judicial authorities.

It has been the consistent policy of the Treasury that tax returns, and the information thereon, should under no circumstances be open to public inspection, and that taxpayers should be permitted to contribute to the revenues of the Government without subjecting their business affairs and transactions to the scrutiny of their competitors or the curious, this policy is not affected by the proposed executive order and regulations.

The Congress adopted as an amendment to the First Deficiency Appropriation Act a provision which, as a matter of legal interpretation, would require no material change in the procedure or practices of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. However, upon the assumption that this provision reflects an unexpressed Congressional policy, and in order that the public generally may know that there is nothing mysterious about tax refunds and that there is nothing which the Treasury desires to hide (except to the extent necessary to maintain and effectuate the policy outlined in the second paragraph above), I am recommending your approval of the proposals submitted herewith.

Faithfully yours,
A. W. MELLON
Secretary of the Treasury

[The President, The White House]

The text of the Treasury Decision amendment pursuant to the Executive order was also made public by the White House.

The President's News Conference of
March 15, 1929

OIL CONSERVATION

THE PRESIDENT. I have a number of questions on oil conservation. I can summarize it into about the following statement:

"Not only do we propose to stop the issue of development permits over public domain and other lands in control of the Government., but, because these permits constitute the first step in leases, Secretary [of the Interior] Wilbur proposes to review all outstanding permits to determine their status. Where the holders are complying with the law, they need have no anxiety as to retrospective action in the matter. Our purpose has been to stop the future issue of these permits and leases. But there are some 34,000 of these permits that have been issued since the law was passed in President Wilson's administration. There are some 20,000 of them still outstanding. They all require some activity in drilling. It is a certainty that there are not 20,000 wells in process of being built at the present moment on public domain under exploration permits. Therefore, some considerable portion of these permits must have fallen into inaction, and we want to inquire into their status with the hope that we can reduce the amount of outstanding permits without hardship. So that I have approved the suggestion of Secretary Wilbur that he should appoint a committee representing the various bureaus concerned to take in hand the review of all of the outstanding permits.

"I saw some suggestion that the Western States might resent conservation measures on oil. Being somewhat familiar with the sentiment of the Western States, I can say at once that that is not true. No one is more anxious for conservation of our oil resources than the Western States themselves. They know there is a limit to oil supplies, and that the time will come when the Nation will need this oil much more than it is needed now. In fact, there are no half measures in oil conservation. Either we stop the alienation of Government oil territory or we do not – and we propose to stop it."

You can check up that statement from the shorthand notes so that you will have it accurately.

SOUTH AMERICAN AIRMAIL SERVICE

I have also some questions relating to South American airmail service, and I have a statement here from the Postmaster General that covers the major points in these questions which you can quote from, and I will have some copies made for you. He says:

"It is expected that under the present contracts the South American airmail service will be in operation some time in April or May. The route will include Cuba, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. It is expected that the service will be rapidly developed into Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil.

"In its initial stages service will be three times a week and will be conducted by day flying. Mail will require approximately 6 days from New York to Peru on this basis as against 12 or 15 days by present routes. As the service develops, no doubt, night flying will be undertaken and the time greatly shortened."

RESIGNATION OF CHARLES H. BURKE

I also have some questions as to Mr. Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Mr. Burke asked to be relieved as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. I have the highest esteem for Judge Burke, and I appreciate his very long and devoted service to the country, and I propose a little later to offer him another important position in public service.

I think that is all the questions for quotation. The rest of them I can answer for background for you.

FEDERAL RADIO COMMISSION

One question asks what we have done with respect to the Federal Radio Commission, and I am unable to answer that at the moment. We are still considering the question.

EUROPEAN BROADCASTING CONFERENCE

Another question bears on the appointments that have been made for the American delegates to attend the European Broadcasting Conference at Prague, April 4.¹ Those appointments have been made, and Mr. W. D. Terrell, who is the head of the Radio Division of the Department of Commerce, will lead the delegation and leave at once for Prague.

ALABAMA FLOOD

There are some questions on the Hood in Alabama. The Secretary of War has already, through the Corps Area Commander, offered to take any steps necessary to give the full support of the Federal Government to the local authorities in service to the people suffering from that flood.

AGRICULTURE AND TARIFF

Then there are a number of other questions. Some of them bear on policies as to agriculture and the tariff. I propose to deal with these matters in my message to Congress, and I do not care to enter into any debate on them prior to that time.

QUOTATION OF NEWS CONFERENCE ANSWERS

The press arrangements have been more or less crystallized down to three categories of questions.

The first category – those that I will endeavor to answer for you for quotation, or in some cases, as in this one about the airmail, secure for you a complete answer from the responsible official, which can be used. And I will endeavor to cover as many of the important public questions as possible.

The second category – questions which are on matters of secondary interest on which the President does not like to be scattered all over the newspapers in discussing minor and secondary questions; and in the replies to these the view of your committee² and myself was that if they could be attributed as from the White House or the administration, but I think you will agree with me that it is not desirable for me to comment on everything in the world, and that if I were put in that position I would have to be somewhat reticent, whereas under that sort of a heading I will be able to give you as much material as possible.

The third category – purely background questions that are more or less factual on things on which you don't want any authority attributed, and you don't have to use it if you don't want it.

THE SITUATION IN MEXICO

Now there are some questions that arise there – some questions as to Mexico. There is nothing that we have in the way of information further than that in the press, except possibly the belief that there is a tendency of the troops to return to their allegiance to the Government – not very strong yet but evidenced in some minor points.

REORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS

There are some questions about the reorganization of the Federal departments. That matter I would not take up, naturally, until the long session, and we will be engaged in consideration of it up [to] that time; but it is too early to begin to discuss it now. However, nothing concrete will be developed for some months.

CHINA

There are some questions in respect to the situation in China. It appears that there is some consideration of alarm over contentions in China again, but I am advised that there is nothing in it that seriously threatens any disturbance. There are some negotiations going on between the different groups as to the setup of the Nanking Government, but it does not spread to any disruption of China.

That, I think, covers everything that I am able to cover on this occasion.

NOTE: President Hoover's fourth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, March 15, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on oil conservation policies (see Item 9)

¹ The Government of Czechoslovakia had invited the United States to send observers to the conference to discuss the allocation of short waves for Europe.

² A committee of news bureau and wire service heads formed to assist the President in the development of news conferences.

Statement on Oil Conservation Policies

March 15, 1929

IN REPLY to a number of press questions as to oil conservation policies, the President stated today:

"Not only do we propose to stop the issue of development permits over public domain and other lands in control of the Government, which permits constitute the first step in the leasing of oil resources, but Secretary Wilbur proposes to review all outstanding permits to determine their status. Where holders are complying with the law, they need have no anxiety as to retrospective action, but some 34,000 permits for oil exploration by drilling have been issued since the leasing law was passed in President Wilson's administration. Of these some 20,000 are outstanding at the present time. Under these permits drilling must proceed in definite stages under time limits. It is obvious that no large proportion of 20,000 oil wells are being drilled on lands under these permits. Thus, many persons have not complied with the requirements of the law and in effect have abandoned their rights.

"I have approved the recommendation of Secretary Wilbur to appoint a departmental board representing the different bureaus interested, which will review the whole situation. Being fairly familiar with the sentiment of our Western States, I can at once refute the statement that the people of the West object to conservation of oil resources. They know that there is a limit to oil supplies and that the time will come when they and the Nation will need this oil much more than it is needed now. There are no half measures in conservation of oil. The Government must cease to alienate its oil lands if we are to have conservation."

NOTE: For the President's remarks of March 12 with regard to government oil land policies, see Item 6.

The President's News Conference of
March 19, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I have no very important questions this morning – nothing, I think, that I am ready to make a statement about for quotation. Various things are being prepared, but haven't got to the stage where I am ready to make any announcements.

RAPIDAN RIVER FISHING LODGE

In the second category of questions – that is, the things you can attribute to the White House – the question is asked if I am proposing to set up a fishing lodge at the headwaters of the Rapidan River. That is not true, except in the sense that the director of the Shenandoah Park, knowing that I was cognizant of the fishing facilities of the upper Rapidan from previous experience, has proposed to make one branch of it accessible by building some roads and trails and building a fishing cabin therein; and I accept his suggestion with gratitude.

I do not propose to do anything, at the moment at least, about rebuilding Mount Weather.¹ I rather prefer the more rustic and intimate type of a log cabin than a more formal place, like at Mount Weather with all its encumbrances of servants, et cetera.

That is not to say that Mount Weather might not yet be available, but in any event for the present I am entirely satisfied with the arrangements which the director of the park is making for my entertainment for a day or two during the summer.

Q. How far away is that?

THE PRESIDENT. It is about 97 miles – about 3 hours from Washington. The nearest post office is Madison, Virginia – Madison being about 9 miles from the spot.

RESIGNATION OF WILLIAM P. MACCRACKEN, JR.

A question is asked in regard to Mr. MacCracken's resignation as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for aviation. Mr. MacCracken has resigned as he is determined to return to business, much to our regret. But he is going to remain at the Department of Commerce for another 2 months. In the meantime, nothing has been settled as to his successor. Mr. MacCracken, like a great many men who come into public service, did so at a very great sacrifice, and I can't very well insist on men going on for a great number of years in that position.

FEDERAL RADIO COMMISSION

There is a question regarding Radio Commission appointments. Those have not yet been settled. I hope that we shall arrive at some conclusions there within a couple of days. We have not yet reached a determination about that.

THE SITUATION IN MEXICO

There are some questions here – more or less background questions. One of them is in respect to the treatment of any Mexican revolutionists that might come over the border. Of course, this is not for quotation or authority. But obviously the United States will always act as a sanctuary for people fleeing from evil, and that is about as much as we say about it.

On the Mexican situation generally, our advices are that the revolutionists have, as you know, retreated from Torreon. The only one further item than that is that it appears that the total rebel forces there were something under 6,000 men. General Almazan² is approaching with about 18,000.

TAX REFUND PUBLICITY

There are two matters which have appeared in some of the press discussions that I am going to take the liberty to comment on. One of them is the sort of implication that something was imposed upon Mr. Mellon in respect to the publication of tax returns.³ That is not the case. Mr. Mellon made those proposals himself

in order to comply with the spirit of the last Revenue Act – and the proposals come from him as a method by which that problem can be settled.

PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT GOALS

There is also some thought, apparently, that I propose to initiate some kind of drastic, dramatic prohibition drives that will be startling in character – filled with news. That is now [not] my purpose or object. My purpose is to gradually, week by week, year by year, as rapidly as possible, build up the enforcement of the laws of the United States, whether they relate to prohibition or narcotics or any other subject; to tighten the organization, to reorganize, but in general to build up law enforcement. And in that effort to reorganize both the administrative side and judicial system. We are working to the ultimate purpose of reducing crime in the United States, and I expect the support of the press and of every decent citizen in this country. Law enforcement permits of no argument. The Government has only one duty.

I only want to make it clear that I am not looking for dramatics. I am looking for substantial, permanent advance of the country to a realization of the necessity of enforcing the laws of the United States as they are on the books.

Q. Mr. President, is the last for direct quotation?

THE PRESIDENT. That is background material for you.

Q. Do you think we could use the Mellon fact?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think that is only informative for you. I want you to have an understanding of what the position is.

NOTE: President Hoover's fifth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, March 19, 1929.

¹ President Coolidge had proposed the remodeling of a former Weather Bureau station in the Blue Ridge Mountains near Bluemont, Va., to be a Summer White House. The station included an observatory, laboratories, and staff living quarters on an 84-acre tract

² Gen. Jesus M. Almazan was commander of Government forces in the states of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon.

³ See Item 7.

Statement on the Death of Marshal Ferdinand Foch

March 20, 1929

I HAVE LEARNED with sincere regret of the death of Marshal Foch. I share the respect and admiration in which he is universally held, but beyond this it was my privilege to be closely associated with him in various activities after the war and in this way to gain perhaps a special insight not only into his ability but also his fine human qualities of straightforwardness, kindness, and modesty. I realize how keenly his loss will be felt by the French people. In this loss they have the full sympathy of our people.

NOTE: Marshal Ferdinand Foch of France was the supreme commander of the Allied forces on the western front at the end of World War I. He died in Paris on Wednesday, March 20, 1929.

The President's News Conference of
March 22, 1929

IMMIGRATION POLICY

THE PRESIDENT. In the first category of questions which you can quote, this is an announcement which we have had mimeographed for you:

"The Attorney General has advised me that in failure of Congress to suspend action, it is now mandatory upon me under the Immigration Act to issue the proclamation [No. 1872] establishing 'national origins' as the basis of immigration quotas. The proclamation must be issued prior to April 1 and will be issued at once. It will go into effect on July 1 unless action is taken by Congress in the meantime. While I am strongly in favor of restricted and selected immigration I have opposed the national origins basis. I, therefore, naturally dislike the duty of issuing the proclamation and installing the new basis, but the President of the United States must be the first to obey the law." For your own information, I imagine Mr. Tilson¹ will make some further comment on that whole question.

THE PRESIDENTIAL YACHT

Now, as to the second category of things that are not important, and which you do not attribute directly to me just because they are not very important.

I have directed that the yacht, the *Mayflower*, shall be withdrawn from commission and laid up. The Secretary of the Navy reports that it costs over \$300,000 a year to maintain the yacht and that it requires a complement of 9 officers and 148 enlisted men; and that the Navy has now arrived at a point where it must expand its personnel and expenditure for maintaining the new equipment coming in. Therefore, I have considered that this expenditure and the use of the men on the *Mayflower* is no longer warranted because it will save that much new recruiting and that much new expenditure involved in the new equipment. Therefore, I have concluded to do without that boat.

FEDERAL RADIO COMMISSION

I have some questions on the radio commissioners. We have been fortunate enough to induce General [Charles McK.] Saltzman to join the Radio Board. He comes from Iowa and therefore from the Midwest district. Mr. [Arthur] Batcheller, who is the radio inspector of the Northeastern district, does not want to join the board because of its uncertain tenure and, therefore, we must find somebody in the Northeastern district to complete the complement of the board. That has not yet been done.

CONSERVATION

I have some questions on conservation of various kinds. I have not yet had time to consider the other questions of conservation than oil – and the administration as yet is not 3 weeks old – so you will have to give me a little more time on that.

RAILWAY CONSOLIDATIONS

Also, I have a number of questions on railway consolidations. These matters do not arise until the long session, and, as you know, I have been identified with Mr. Coolidge's policies in these matters, and I see no reason to alter the position of the administration as held over these many years.

WORLD COURT PROPOSALS

I have a series of questions about Mr. Root's proposals² and naturally all that type of question must await Mr. Stimson's arrival and his consideration.

FARM RELIEF

I have a number of questions on farm relief. There seems to be some misunderstanding still current about that question. I already tried to make it clear that in matters of major public policy the Executive should be the first to safeguard the independent relationship between Congress and the executive side of the Government. That initiative, in important legislation of that character, should come from Congress, and I want to make it equally clear that I propose to cooperate with the committees of Congress in working out that legislation in every way.

Now, the general principles of farm relief were fought out and determined in the last political campaign. There remains nothing to do except the problem of the detailed drafting of those principles, with such supplementary ideas which are in accord with the principles they have laid down as we can add now. It is not a case where there is no plan of farm relief, as has been reported. The Republican Party has a definite plan, and carried that plan through the campaign clearly defined as to its general principles. It is the obligation of the party to enact those principles into law, and it is for that purpose in large degree that I called the extra session of Congress.

Now, that is purely background material. I am not stating that for quotation, as I do not want to appear to be propagandizing, but simply for your information. I want to make it clear to the correspondents that some of the information that has gone out that we have no farm plan, that the world is now at sea, is not quite correct.

That I think is about all for today.

NOTE: President Hoover's sixth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, March 22, 1929.

¹ Representative John Quillen Tilson of Connecticut was Majority Leader of the House of Representatives.

² Elihu Root was a member of the League of Nations Committee of Experts to revise the World Court statutes in a manner that would encourage United States membership.

Proclamation 1872, Limiting the Immigration of Aliens
Into the United States on the Basis of National Origin
March 22, 1929

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation:

WHEREAS it is provided in the Act of Congress approved May 26, 1924, entitled "An Act to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes," as amended by the Joint Resolution of March 4, 1927, entitled "Joint Resolution to amend subdivisions (b) and (e) of Section 11 of the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended," and the Joint Resolution of March 31, 1928, entitled "Joint Resolution to amend subdivisions (b) and (e) of Section 11 of the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended," that –

"The annual quota of any nationality for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1929, and for each fiscal year thereafter, shall be a number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920 having that national origin (ascertained as hereinafter provided in this section) bears to the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920, but the minimum quota of any nationality shall be 100." Sec. 11(b).

"For the purpose of subdivision (b) national origin shall be ascertained by determining as nearly as may be, in respect of each geographical area which under section 12 is to be treated as a separate country (except the geographical areas specified in subdivision (c) of section 4) the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920 whose origin by birth or ancestry is attributable to such geographical area. Such determination shall not be made by tracing the ancestors or descendants of particular individuals, but shall be based upon statistics of immigration and emigration, together with rates of increase of population as shown by successive decennial United States censuses, and such other data as may be found to be reliable." Sec. 11(c).

"For the purpose of subdivisions (b) and (c) the term 'inhabitants in continental United States in 1920' does not include (1) immigrants from the geographical areas specified in subdivision (c) of section 4 or their descendants, (2) aliens ineligible to citizenship or their descendants, (3) the descendants of slave immigrants, or (4) the descendants of American aborigines." Sec. 11(d).

"The determination provided for in subdivision (c) of this section shall be made by the 'Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor, jointly. In making such determination such officials may call for information and expert assistance from the Bureau of the Census. Such officials shall, jointly, report to the President the quota of each nationality, determined as provided in subdivision (b), and the President shall proclaim and make known the quotas so reported. Such proclamation shall be made on or before April 1, 1929. If the proclamation is not made on or before such date, quotas proclaimed therein shall not be in effect for any fiscal year beginning before the expiration of 90 days after the date of the proclamation. After the making of a proclamation under this subdivision the quotas proclaimed therein shall continue with the same effect as if specifically stated herein, and shall be final and conclusive for every purpose except (1) in so far as it is made to appear to the satisfaction of such officials and proclaimed by the President, that an error of fact has occurred in such determination or in such proclamation, or (2) in the case provided for in subdivision (c) of Section 12. If for any reason quotas proclaimed under this subdivision are not in effect for any fiscal year, quotas for such year shall be determined under subdivision (a) of this section." Sec. 11(e).

AND WHEREAS the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Labor have reported to the President that pursuant to the duty imposed and the authority conferred upon them in and by the Act approved May 26, 1924, they jointly have made the determination required by said Act and fixed the quota of each respective nationality in accordance therewith to be as hereinafter set forth;

Now, THEREFORE, I, HERBERT HOOVER, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the power in me vested by the aforesaid Act of Congress, do hereby proclaim and make known that the annual quota of each nationality for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1929, and for each fiscal year thereafter, has been determined in accordance with the law to be, and shall be, as follows:

NATIONAL ORIGIN IMMIGRATION QUOTAS

<i>Country or Area</i>	<i>Quota</i>
Afghanistan	100
Albania	100
Andorra	100
Arabian peninsula	100
Armenia	100

Australia (including Tasmania, Papua, and all islands appertaining to Australia)	100
Austria	1,413
Belgium	1,304
Bhutan	100
Bulgaria	100
Cameroon (British mandate)	100
Cameroon (French mandate)	100
China	100
Czechoslovakia	2,874
Danzig, Free City of	100
Denmark	1,181
Egypt	100
Estonia	116
Ethiopia (Abyssinia)	100
Finland	569
France	3,086
Germany	25,957
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	65,721
Greece	307
Hungary	869
Iceland	100
India	100
Iraq (Mesopotamia)	100
Irish Free State	17,853
Italy	5,802
Japan	100
Latvia	236
Liberia	100
Liechtenstein	100
Lithuania	386
Luxemburg	100
Monaco	100
Morocco (French and Spanish Zones and Tangier)	100
Muscat (Oman)	100
Nauru (British mandate)	100
Nepal	100
Netherlands	3,153
New Zealand	100
Norway	2,377
New Guinea, Territory of (including appertaining islands) (Australian mandate)	100
Palestine (with Trans-Jordan) (British mandate)	100
Persia	100
Poland	6,524
Portugal	440
Ruanda and Urundi (Belgian mandate)	100
Rumania	295
Russia, European and Asiatic	2,784
Samoa, Western (mandate of New Zealand)	100
San Marino	100
Siam	100
South Africa, Union of	100
South West Africa (mandate of the Union of South Africa)	100
Spain	252
Sweden	3,314

Switzerland	1,707
Syria and the Lebanon (French mandate)	123
Tanganyika (British mandate)	100
Togoland (British mandate)	100
Togoland (French mandate)	100
Turkey	226
Yap and other Pacific Islands under Japanese mandate	100
Yugoslavia	845

All quotas hereby established are available only for persons who are eligible to citizenship in the United States and admissible under the immigration laws of the United States.

The immigration quotas assigned to the various countries and quota-areas are not to be regarded as having any political significance whatever, or as involving recognition of new governments, or of new boundaries, or of transfers of territory, except as the United States Government has already made such recognition in a formal and official manner.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington, this 22d day of March, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine and of the Independence of the United States of America the one-
[SEAL] hundred and fifty-third.

HERBERT HOOVER

By the President:

FRANK B. KELLOGG
Secretary of State

Proclamation 1873, Designating May 1 as Child Health Day
March 25, 1929

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation:

WHEREAS the future of our Nation rests with the children of today;

AND WHEREAS, the good health and protection of childhood is fundamental to national welfare and the march forward of our country must be upon the feet of our children;

AND WHEREAS, a joint resolution of Congress authorizes and requests the President of the United States to proclaim annually May first as Child Health Day;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, HERBERT HOOVER, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate May first, of this year, as Child Health Day and do invite the people of the United States and all agencies and organizations interested in this most important subject to make every reasonable effort to bring about a nation-wide understanding of the fundamental significance of healthy childhood, and of the importance of the conservation of the health and physical vigor of our boys and girls throughout every day of the year.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed

DONE at the City of Washington this 25th day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one
[SEAL] hundred and fifty-third.

HERBERT HOOVER

By the President:

FRANK B. KELLOGG
Secretary of State.

NOTE: In 1924, the American Child Health Association, which Mr. Hoover had organized 4 years earlier, instituted annual celebrations of Child Health Day on May Day. In 1928, Mr. Hoover was influential in bringing about official proclamations of the day by President Coolidge, and congressional authorization for the proclamation of future observances.

The President's News Conference of
March 26, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have no questions lodged in advance which give me time for cooperation with you and a little mature thought.

There are one or two questions that I have to think over before I want to make any reply.

FEDERAL RADIO COMMISSION

There are some questions relating to the Radio Board again. I regret to say that we haven't as yet determined the man from the first zone. We hope to in the course of the next few days.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE SOUTH

There are a number of questions that I have had from time to time in respect to the organization in the Southern States, and on that I have now worked out a reply.

It has been the aspiration of Republican Presidents over many years – and I might say that the shorthand note which you will get in half an hour will expand this note that I have got here, that will be the accurate statement.

It has been the aspiration of Republican Presidents over a great many years to build up a sound Republican organization in the Southern States of a character that would commend itself to the citizens of those States.

This aspiration has arisen out of no narrow sense of partisanship, but it comes from the conviction, which is shared equally by leaders of all parties, that the basis of sound government must be a strong two-party organization; that the voice of all the States in the councils of government can only be secured by this means; that the welfare of the Nation at large requires the breaking down of sectionalism in politics; and that the public service can be assured only by responsible organization. And furthermore, it is the belief of these leaders, which I share, that the building up of such organization must in all of our States of self-government be rounded upon the action of those States themselves. Under Republican leadership [in] the border States and in Virginia and North Carolina they have long since built up a vigorous party organization which assures the Republican representation in Congress from those States. In the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Florida, particularly, the Republican leadership has in recent times increased in strength and is now rendering able and conscientious service in maintaining the wholesome organization under whose advice the appointments to public office have steadily improved, and they do commend themselves to the citizens of those States.

Laterally, there has been a movement in the last few weeks, of which I highly approve, by which the leaders in Texas, Alabama, Florida, and some of the other States are broadening the basis of party organization by the establishment of advisory committees of the highest type of their citizenship to deal with administrative questions and to cooperate with the independent Democrats. This movement springing as it does from those States themselves gives further assurance of strengthening of the public service, and it is the public service that I must view.

Now, the recent exposures of abuses in recommendations to Federal offices, particularly in some parts of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi, under which some of the Federal departments, mainly the Post Office, were misled as to appointments, obviously renders it impossible for the old organization in those States to command the confidence of the administration, although there are many members of those organizations that are not subject to criticism. But such conditions are intolerable to public service. They are repugnant to the ideals and the purposes of the Republican Party. They are unjust to the people of the South, and they must and will be ended.

Now, the duty of reorganization to correct these conditions rests on the people of those States, and all the effort to that end will receive the hearty cooperation of this administration. And if these three States are unable to initiate such organization through the leadership of men who will command public confidence in those States and thus protect the public service, then the Federal departments will be compelled to adopt other methods of securing advice for the selection of Federal employees.

You may quote that statement from me, if you wish. I will give you the full quote in a short time.

NEWS CONFERENCE QUESTIONS

If you could manage to lodge your questions a little further in advance it would be helpful, especially on Tuesday, as Cabinet lasts right up to your meeting and it gives me very little opportunity to think about them. So if we have that arrangement carried out I can be of more help to you.

NOTE: President Hoover's seventh news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, March 26, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on reorganization of the Republican Party in the South (see Item 16).

Statement on the Reorganization of the Republican Party in the South

March 26, 1929

IN REPLY to queries from the press upon organization questions in the South, the President stated:

"It has been the aspiration of Republican Presidents over many years to build up sound Republican organization in the Southern States of such character as would commend itself to the citizens of those States.

"This aspiration has arisen out of no narrow sense of partisanship but from the conviction shared in equally by the leaders of all parties that the basis of sound government must rest upon strong two-party representation and organization; that the voice of all States in the councils of the Government can be assured by no other means; that the welfare of the Nation at large requires the breaking down of sectionalism in politics; that the public service can be assured only by responsible organization. Furthermore, it has been the belief of these leaders, whose views I share, that the building up of such organizations must in every conception of our foundations of local self-government evolve from those States themselves.

"Republican leadership in the border States and in Virginia and North Carolina has long since built up vigorous party organization which assures Republican representation in the Congress from those States.

"In other States including Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Florida, the Republican leadership has in recent times shown increasing strength and is now rendering able and conscientious service in maintaining wholesome organization under whose advice the appointments to public office have steadily improved and commended themselves to the citizens of those States with increased confidence in the party. I highly approve and welcome the movement of the leaders of Texas, Alabama, Florida, and other States to broaden the basis of party organization by the establishment of advisory committees of the highest type of citizenship to deal with administrative questions and who will also cooperate with independent Democrats. This movement, springing as it does from within the States themselves, insures its strength, permanence, and constant improvement in public service.

"Recent exposures of abuse in recommendations for Federal office, particularly in some parts of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi under which some of the Federal departments, mainly the Post Office, were misled in appointments, obviously render it impossible for the old organizations in those States to command the confidence of the administration, although many members of these organizations are not subject to criticism. But such conditions are intolerable to public service, are repugnant to the ideals and purposes of the Republican Party, are unjust to the people of the South and must be ended. The duty of reorganization so as to correct these conditions rests with the people of those States, and all efforts to that end will receive the hearty cooperation of the administration. If these three States are unable to initiate such organization through the leadership of men who will command confidence and protect the public service, the different Federal departments will be compelled to adopt other methods to secure advice as to the selection of Federal employees."

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Message to the United States Delegation
to an International Conference on Safety of Life at Sea
March 27, 1929

[Released March 27, 1929. Dated March 14, 1929]

My dear Congressman White:

In connection with the International Conference for the revision of the Convention for Safety of Life at Sea, which is to convene in London on April 16, it is my desire that the American delegation urge the international acceptance of the highest practicable standards in the various fields which affect the safety of lives of American citizens and of American vessels at sea.

Public Papers of the Presidents, Hoover, 1929, p.46

This is a matter of great importance to the shipping industry in this country, and is a matter of even greater importance to American citizens who are engaging in ocean voyages in increasing numbers.

Public Papers of the Presidents, Hoover, 1929, p.46

The recommendations which have been made by the technical committees organized by the Department of Commerce constitute, I am advised, a substantial basis for proposals by the United States at the forthcoming conference, and can be urged with the full assurance that the administration will do all in its power to place such standards into full effect in the event that they are incorporated in an international agreement.

NOTE: The message was addressed to Representative Wallace H. White, Jr., Chairman of the delegation.

The President's News Conference

March 29, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. There is no use getting out your paper because the only questions I have today relate to matters that I am unable to make any announcement about.

ARMS LIMITATION CONFERENCE

I have one question on instructions to limitation of arms conference. That also must be delayed until Mr. Stimson can say something about it himself.

So I am dry of anything, and it is your fault

THE PRESIDENT'S WEEKEND PLANS

Q. Mr. President, are you going to take a little trip on Saturday?

THE PRESIDENT. The family wants to go on a picnic tomorrow, and we thought we would go up into the Shenandoah hills – back tomorrow night.

POSTMASTER APPOINTMENTS

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us if you are giving any consideration to the issuance of [an] Executive order for postmaster appointments such as Mr. Wilson¹ issued?

THE PRESIDENT. No, not at the present time – haven't come to any conclusions about that. So I am sorry that I cannot give you some warranty for this appearance.

NOTE: President Hoover's eighth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, March 29, 1929.

¹ President Woodrow Wilson issued executive Orders 2569–A of March 21, 1917, and 3338 of October 8, 1920, with regard to competitive examination for applicants to fill vacancies as postmasters in first-, second-, or third-class post offices. On May 1, 1929, President Harding signed Executive Order 5104 on postmaster appointments.

Proclamation 1874, Creating a Board To Investigate a Labor Dispute
Between the Texas and Pacific Railway Company and Its Employees
March 29, 1929

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation:

WHEREAS, The President, having been duly notified by the Board of Mediation that a dispute between the Texas and Pacific Railway Company, a carrier, and certain of its employees represented by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Order of Railway Conductors, and Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, which dispute has not been heretofore adjusted under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, now threatens substantially to interrupt interstate commerce within the states of Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas to a degree such as to deprive that section of the country of essential transportation service,

NOW, THEREFORE, I, HERBERT HOOVER, President of the United States, by virtue of the power vested in me by the constitution and laws of the United States and by virtue of and under the authority in me vested by Section 10, of the Railway Labor Act, do hereby create a Board to be composed of five (5) persons not pecuniarily or otherwise interested in any organization of railway employees or any carrier, to investigate such dispute and report their findings to me within thirty (30) days from this date.

The members of this Board shall be compensated for and on account of such duties in the sum of one hundred dollars (\$100.00) for each member for every day actually employed with or upon and on account of travel and duties incident to such Board. The members will be reimbursed for and they are hereby authorized to make expenditures for necessary expenses of themselves and of the Board including travelling expenses and expenses actually incurred for subsistence, in conformity with said Act.

All expenditures of the Board shall be allowed and paid for out of the appropriation "Emergency Boards", Act approved February 11, 1927, Vol. 44 Stat. L. 1072 on the presentation of itemized vouchers properly approved by the Chairman of the Board hereby created.

DONE this twenty-ninth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred twenty-nine, [SEAL] and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred fifty-third.

HERBERT HOOVER

By the President:

J. REUBEN CLARK, JR.

Acting Secretary of State

NOTE: The Texas and Pacific Railway Company dispute began when the company decided to move its freight yards from Longview Junction and Marshall, Tex., to Mineola, Tex., and Shreveport, La. Affected employees, a number of whom were forced to sell their homes, argued that they should be compensated for any losses and inconveniences involved. They also objected to contemplated changes in work assignments. After negotiations and Federal mediation failed to produce any agreement, four of the railroad brotherhoods (the engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen) issued strike orders that were to go into effect on March 30, 1929.

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Message of Sympathy on the Death of Myron T. Herrick,
United States Ambassador to France

March 31, 1929

I AM shocked and grieved to learn of the death of your father in Paris. The country has lost an eminent public servant and Mrs. Hoover and I sympathize with you deeply in your personal sorrow.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to Ambassador Herrick's son, Parmely Herrick, Cleveland, Ohio.

Statement on the Death of Ambassador Myron T. Herrick*March 31, 1929*

I HAVE heard with profound regret of the death of Myron T. Herrick, our Ambassador in Paris. Few men in American public life have given, during many years, such unselfish and such valuable service to their country. From 1903 to 1906 Mr. Herrick served most successfully as Governor of Ohio. He was appointed Ambassador to France in February 1912, serving until November 1914. During the first year of the war he won the admiration and affection of France by remaining at his post in Paris when the Government and the diplomatic corps moved to Bordeaux. He was reappointed Ambassador in April 1921, since which time he has been an admirable representative of his country.

Mr. Herrick's death will cause sorrow both at home and abroad. The French loved him for his sympathetic understanding, but realized that during his long service in Paris he never lost any of his love for his own country and therefore never failed in his representative capacity. I grieve for the death of a friend and for the passing of a splendid public servant.

Magazine Article: "Better Homes"*April, 1929*

THE LOCAL Better Homes committees, which numbered more than 5,000 in 1928, have made the Better Homes in America movement one of the strong upbuilding forces in our national life. It is characteristically a product of the American people, developed in response to a nationwide need, taken up throughout the country and adapted to local situations with amazing rapidity.

It draws on the past for the best that lies in our experience and traditions but is always looking forward – an institution of a people accustomed to change. It is based on the premise that progress towards the noblest ends may be achieved by resourcefulness and character in mastering such problems as are involved in homemaking.

The Better Homes activities converge at a definite focal point – the home. The local committees have done an enormous public service by working out methods for making homes attractive, healthful, and convenient, within the resources of time and money at the command of families of low income. By bringing such a goal more nearly within reach, and exalting it, they have encouraged many thousands of families to improve their homes, and have brought to them a profounder realization of the value of character and mutual cooperation in homemaking and in homelife.

There can be no higher undertaking than that of aiding others in efforts that develop their character and spiritual qualities, and the Better Homes work is of that type. It starts with improving the physical setting of homelife, and obtaining the best returns from expenditures of time and money on homemaking. But happy, healthful homelife and the human qualities required to attain it, are emphasized throughout the programs, and are always in mind as the final objective.

The work of home improvement can never be finished, for the problems of homemaking will always be with us, and new conditions will alter them. Young people as they grow up must learn how to solve them, and increasing participation of the schools each year recognizes this fact. Furthermore the home must always play its part along with church and school in passing on and building up the ideals of our people upon which depend the true success of our civilization and national life.

The field is so great that it calls for the united efforts of Better Homes committees and of the many groups which cooperate with them in the demonstration programs. I am confident that a splendid response will come from far-sighted and public-spirited individuals and groups throughout the country and that they will have the cordial support of all citizens.

NOTE: The President's article appeared in the April issue of *Child Welfare*, published by the Child Welfare League of America. As Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hoover helped to organize and served as chairman of Better Homes in America, a voluntary public service organization which worked closely with the Department of Commerce in improving housing and household management.

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Message of Sympathy on the Death of Brander Matthews
April 1, 1929

I AM profoundly sorry to hear of the death of your brother. His personality endeared him to all who knew him. His loss will be keenly felt by many thousands who never saw him, for he enriched our knowledge of one of the most important fields of culture, stimulated others to a wider appreciation of dramatic art, and inspired many younger men to do creative literary work.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to Mr. Matthew's sister, Miss Florence Matthews, 337 West 87th Street, New York City. Brander Matthews was the author of plays, books and articles about the American and English legitimate theater.

Exchange of Messages With President Gaston Doumergue of France
on the Death of Myron T. Herrick

April 2, 1929

[Released April 2, 1929. Dated April 1, 1929]

I HAVE received Your Excellency's thoughtful message and I ask you to convey to the French people this Nation's heartfelt thanks for their deep sympathy. Mr. Herrick had endeared himself to his fellow countrymen, not only as a statesman but as a truly noble character. I shall always remember him as a loyal and constant friend. His influence toward peace and justice won the love of the French people and will be an inspiration and example to our two countries.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Gaston Doumergue, The President of the French Republic, Paris]

NOTE: President Doumergue's message, dated April 1, 1929, read as follows:

I desire to express to Your Excellency my profound sorrow upon learning of the death of the eminent Ambassador, Mr. Myron T. Herrick, who in the course of his long career in France gained through his noble character the esteem and affection of all. His passing causes universal and most sincere regret on the part of all the French Nation, who will never forget his numberless acts of friendship which he manifested on all occasions, as well as the constancy and effectiveness of his devotion to the common interests of our two countries.

GASTON DOUMERGUE

[His Excellency, Mr. Hoover, President of the Republic of the United States of America, Washington]

The President's News Conference of
April 2, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't any matters here for quotation or direct answer, but I have got a variety of questions this morning, and they bear on various subjects.

FEDERAL RADIO COMMISSION

They get back to the Radio Commission as to whether or not we will have the appointments before Congress convenes. I am in hopes we will have it settled this week.

THE SITUATION IN MEXICO

I have some questions bearing on the situation in Mexico, and this is merely background for your own information. They largely are questions asking what the progress is in the situation in Mexico.

The original outbreaks in Mexico embraced eight states. The revolution has been cleared in all except two states and part of a third. It is confined partly to Sinaloa, practically wholly in Chihuahua and Sonora. The Mexican Government has circumscribed the revolution and driven it into the extreme north. The original states where there were outbreaks included Vera Cruz, Coahuila, Zacatecas, Nayarit, Durango, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and Sonora; and as I have said, the states of Chihuahua and Sonora are in control of the revolutionists and part of the state of Sinaloa.

OIL CONSERVATION

Another matter of purely background material for you is in the matter of the oil conservation or the measures, rather, suggested by the American Petroleum Institute.¹ The questions presented by that institute are entirely apart from the administrative action on the public domain. They have no relationship as the public domain supplies less than 2 percent of the oil of the United States, and the action that we took in that case was for the purpose of conserving future supplies of oil and had no particular relationship to the immediate situation.

The Petroleum Institute has been cooperating with the Federal Oil Conservation Board over the last 4 or 5 years. That Board was established by President Coolidge to study the problem of oil conservation as a national issue – a national problem. I think I am the only member of it at present in Washington, and I can perhaps give you a little background on that work that the new members would not be so familiar with.

The Board took up the study of that problem from two points of view – the scientific point of view as to what scientific method would assure the longest life of our oil supplies and what economic measures were desirable, also. They developed the fact that one of the difficulties in oil production, or one of the causes of great wastes in oil production, was overdrilling – too rapid exhaustion of the fields; that where there was intense drilling there was the relaxation of and exhaustion of the gas from oil pools, the consequent diminution of the gas pressures of the oil pool, and consequently a less total product from a given pool of oil than would be the case of better regulated drilling. There was also involved in it the problem of the waste of gas itself into the air itself without commercial use. The Board recommended that there should be a regulation of drilling that would secure the maximum production of oil from a given pool; that the feverish drilling of offset and competition wells and overdevelopment of fields at the initial stages are destructive of the total national oil supply.

It also had a certain economic phase, in that with regulated drilling it would be possible, to a remote extent perhaps, to prevent periods of intense overproduction with consequent demoralization of the industry, followed by periods of famine and extravagant prices for oil.

But in any event, the work of the Board revolved entirely around the question of the regulation of drilling on to a scientific engineering basis. The question then arose in the Board as to what governmental action could be taken to bring such activities into force. The Board assembled a committee comprised of three representatives of the American Bar Association, three from the Petroleum Institute, and three from the Government, to study the question of governmental action. That committee concluded, as had the previous advisers of the Board, that drilling of oil wells is entirely an intrastate question; that there was no authority in the Federal Government for the control of oil drilling. They explored the various possible uses of constitutional provisions, such as national defense and the interstate clause, et cetera, and concluded that

there was no authority for Federal legislation; that such action must be taken by the individual States, under State authority. To some extent that has been done by the States, and more of it is in progress.

The Board decided that there was nothing they could suggest in the nature of agreement between oil companies for the restriction of production, their belief being that the key of the situation lay in the control of drilling, not in the stifling of production itself through interstate agreement; that in any event interstate agreements, they were advised, would be a violation of the Sherman Act, and they were also advised that action by Congress to release or to authorize agreements to that end would, as in the case of other industry, imply also the regulation of the industry as to price of their products; that where the Government had substituted combination for competition, as in the case of the railways, it was necessarily accompanied by regulation and that, obviously, in the handling of a great producing industry became a blind alley that no one would have faith in. And that is the situation on the Oil Conservation Board down to the opening of this administration.

Tomorrow, I understand, they have a meeting with the members of the industry, and I thought perhaps I could give you a fair view of what has taken place in the past as the new members of the Board have scarcely had time to apprise themselves of the very large amount of work that has been done and the various proposals that they have confronted and determined upon.

I have nothing else that I can enter upon this morning except questions of appointments, and I am still not ready to make any answer in that direction.

Q. Mr. President, has any committee of the Petroleum Institute an appointment with you?

THE PRESIDENT. No, they are meeting with the Oil Board.

NOTE: President Hoover's ninth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, April 2, 1929.

¹ In March, directors of the American Petroleum Institute agreed to restrict 1929 production to the 1928 basis.

26

Letter Accepting Honorary Chairmanship of a Committee To Extend 4-H Club Work
April 3, 1929

[Released April 3, 1929. Dated March 27, 1929]

My dear Mr. Wilson:

The work of the 4-H Clubs is fundamental. It is bringing about a more economic production of all agricultural crops; it is improving rural homes; it is developing rural leadership, molding character and building citizenship.

Therefore I accept with pleasure the Honorary Chairmanship of the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work which has for its purpose the extension of the membership of the Clubs so that additional thousands of farm boys and girls may be given greater opportunities for development and achievement.

Faithfully yours
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, Chairman, National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work, 58 East Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois]

27

Letter to Isaac Kip Expressing Appreciation for His Vote Cast Under Difficulties
April 4, 1929

[Released April 4, 1929. Dated April 3, 1929]

My dear Mr. Kip:

I have just learned that despite the serious condition of your health you insisted upon being taken to the polls in order to cast your vote for me at the election last Fall and I want you to know of my appreciation. It is gratifying to have such evidence of confidence on the part of one who has seen so much of the growth and development of our country.

With best wishes,

Faithfully yours,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Isaac Kip, Ossining Hospital, Ossining, New York]

NOTE: At the time of the 1928 election, Isaac Kip, an 84-year-old Quaker, was confined to a hospital in Ossining, N.Y., for injuries suffered in an automobile accident. Nevertheless, he managed to vote for President Hoover by having himself carried in his armchair to the polls some two blocks away. Upon hearing of the incident, Lawrence Richey, Secretary to the President, arranged for the above letter.

The President's News Conference of
April 5, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I have quite a batch of questions which I will endeavor to give in groups this time.

AMBASSADOR MYRON T. HERRICK

A very great honor and courtesy have been shown by France to the United States in the arrangements they have made for the return of the body of a most distinguished American citizen. I have asked the Navy to make arrangements for a reception fitting to Ambassador Herrick's great public service and the feeling that I know our people have entertained towards him.

That you can quote from me; and this you cannot: Under no consideration will an appointment be made for weeks, and I do not think it is entirely fitting to discuss the subject at the present time anywhere.

WASHINGTON AIRPORT

I have had some questions on the Washington airport. These now are matters in our second category – things that you can ascribe to the authority of the White House or anywhere you like – they are not vital.

On the Washington airport, I am glad to see the interest taken in the city by the congressional committees over the very careful selection of a site. It is not only important that a wise choice be made from the point of view of the Capital but from the point of view that this is likely to be one of the four or five greatest airports in the United States, in addition to the fact that I expect to see a gradual development of the mail services into Washington from all quarters and the touching here of the South American service. Our Government departments are, all of them, finding that air service is of importance in the nature of economy in government, so that we will require a great port in Washington and we hope for its most convenient location to the city.

PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

I have had a number of questions referring to the forthcoming meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference for which Ambassador Gibson and Admiral Jones have just left as delegates.¹

I find there is some confusion about the purpose of that conference. It has been in existence for several years. We have attended it on several previous occasions. It is not concerned with the making of agreements for disarmament or the limitation of arms but with the preparation of technical methods and information that may lay the foundations for agreement when such conferences for actual agreement might be called. And it certainly is not a part of any conference that might arise in Washington on the expiration of the battleship agreement. And it is not directed particularly towards naval limitation or naval disarmament, but comprises the whole question of disarmament – land as well as naval. We, of course, are not greatly concerned in land questions as our armies are already less than.... [transcript incomplete]

One of the largest problems on naval disarmament is to secure a method for the evaluation of the fighting strength of ships and the division of navies into different categories that might be comparable. This is not a factor alone of tonnage. A great deal of the misunderstanding in the world has grown up over an attempt to compare tons, whereas the evaluation of fighting strength involves not only tons but armament and armor, speed and age, and a number of other factors, so that if this conference should succeed in finding a basis for the evaluation of fighting strength or the division of navies into categories – methods that would be really comparable – it would make a substantial contribution to the whole progress of thought on disarmament. That is its major purpose, and we all hope for its success.

That is only background material for you.

TAX REDUCTION AND GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Another question of background here is the number of questions I have received bearing on the reduction of taxes, especially on earned incomes. If any reduction is to be applied to taxes, it is my own belief that it should be applied in that direction. I do not believe that we have a sufficient distinction at the present time between earned and unearned incomes, to use terms that are rather loose – not as precise as

they ought to be – but in any event on a general understanding of what we mean by those qualifications. Earned incomes obviously must contain a provision for future saving which does not pertain to unearned incomes in an economic sense, and as long as there is insufficient distinction between the two taxes we are penalizing both.

The question of reduction of taxes bears entirely on the rate of public expenditure. You are all aware of the various authorizations and acts of Congress in the past year or 18 months for increasing the burden of expenditure upon the Federal Government – increased naval strength, flood control, various other acts that have been passed, together with probable farm relief – and until we can determine what the actual incidence of those increases may be on the budget it is impossible to talk about tax reduction with any positiveness. We may be able to effect economies in the Government by reorganization, should the burden decrease, the country grow more prosperous, and our income increase; and when we can evaluate these factors 6 or 8 months hence we can discuss the subject with much more purpose.

AURORA PROHIBITION RAID

I have four or five questions referring to the incident of law enforcement at Aurora, Illinois.² I have no right to pass any judgment on that question, the facts of which have not been thoroughly sifted by any public tribunal, but I might say that this is entirely a case of local authorities, and was not participated in in any shape by the Federal authorities, right or wrong. Federal visitation and search of private dwellings, as you know, is strictly limited by the laws, and directions have been given to the Federal service that are of the most stringent order on that whole question, and I know of no cases since this administration where there has been anything which could even be called an excessive zeal by any agent.

Q. Mr. President, do you mean those instructions have been issued since the Aurora case?

THE PRESIDENT. No, some months ago and are still in force.

That completes everything that I have to say. I have some questions bearing on oil. This will be dealt with by the Oil Board.

I have nothing on appointments.

Q. Is this last material in the quote category?

THE PRESIDENT. No, that is background for you.

NOTE: President Hoover's tenth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, April 5, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on French honors to Ambassador Herrick (see Item 29).

¹ Hugh Gibson, United States Ambassador to Belgium and Minister to Luxembourg, was Chairman of the American delegation at the sixth session of the Preparatory Commission. Rear Adm. Hilary P. Jones was an adviser from the Navy Department. The session was to meet at Geneva on April 15, 1929.

² A woman was killed during a raid by prohibition agents. Subsequent investigation determined that Federal officers did not participate in the action.

Statement on French Honors to Ambassador Myron T. Herrick

April 5, 1929

THE PRESIDENT said:

"A very great honor and courtesy have been shown by France to the United States in the arrangements they have made for the return of the body of a most distinguished American citizen – Ambassador Herrick.

"I have asked the Navy to make arrangements for a reception fitting to Ambassador Herrick's great public service and the feeling that I know our people have entertained toward him."

30

Message to Albert, King of the Belgians, on His Birthday

April 8, 1929

PERMIT ME to offer to Your Majesty on this birthday anniversary cordial felicitations of the Government and people of the United States and my own personal greetings.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Majesty Albert, King of the Belgians, Brussels]

White House Statement Announcing Appointments
to the Yellowstone National Park Boundary Commission

April 8, 1929

IN PURSUANCE of the resolution of Congress approved February 28, 1929, authorizing the President to "appoint a commission, consisting of five members, to be known as the Yellowstone National Park Boundary Commission, whose duty it shall be to inspect the areas involved in the proposed adjustment of the southeast, south, and southwest boundaries of the Yellowstone National Park," the President has today appointed the following as members of the Commission:

DR. E. E. BROWNELL, San Francisco, California

DR. ARTHUR MORGAN, president, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio

DR. T. GILBERT PEARSON, president, National Association of Audubon Societies, 1974 Broadway,
New York City

MR. C. H. RAMSDELL, 937 Metropolitan Life Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota

MR. ARTHUR RINGLAND, The Cosmos Club, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Brownell and Dr. Pearson are interested in the conservation of wildlife, and in the conservation principles embodied in national park creation and development, and their points of view will be particularly important in consideration of the wildlife aspect of the proposed boundary extension on the Upper Yellowstone.

President Morgan of Antioch College will contribute his outstanding skill, experience, and training in the solution of the engineering problems from an irrigation and power standpoint involved in the Bechler River boundary disputes in their bearing on the park.

Mr. Ramsdell ranks high among the landscape architects in this country, and as one of the principal questions involved in the Bechler River problem is whether or not that area is a scenic region worthy of retention in the park system, his presence on the Commission will be invaluable; he is a member of the National Park Committee of the American Association of Landscape Architects.

Mr. Ringland was formerly secretary of the National Conference on Outdoor Recreation, and of the Coordinating Commission in 1925, and formerly with the United States Forest Service. He is, therefore, acquainted with the forest resources that will be affected by any park boundary adjustments.

The President's News Conference of
April 9, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I am afraid this is going to be a famine morning. I have some questions which are not yet far enough developed for me to make an adequate statement about. I have one or two minor things, purely background order.

TIMING OF APPOINTMENT ANNOUNCEMENTS

I have several questions relating to nominations – appointments. In the main, and there are a considerable number, the appointments must be made and submitted to the Senate – judges, some district attorneys, various officials around through the Government. I have not proposed to announce any of those until they are sent to the Senate. There are some administrative offices that we may want to announce in the meantime. I do not say this without exception, but I would prefer to hold them up until the Senate can act on them. That applies to the Radio Commission as well.

RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA COMMUNICATIONS

Another matter that has been raised a time or two – and purely for your own information – is the question of the proposed acquisition of the Radio Corporation's communications by the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation. That combination is inhibited by the last Radio Act, and anything in that matter must go to Congress. It is not a matter for administrative action. Nothing can be done about it either one way or the other until Congress is able to deal with it.

And that is all that I have on my mind this morning. I shall try to develop something more for you before the end of the week.

THE CABINET

Q. Do you wish to say anything about [the] Cabinet?

THE PRESIDENT. No, there was nothing but routine work connected with the various departments.

DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS

Q. Does that apply to diplomatic appointments?

THE PRESIDENT. There may be an exception or two but in the main it applies to all the appointments. I would not want to commit myself to it too rigidly, but that is the general rule.

NOTE: President Hoover's eleventh news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, April 9, 1929.

Statement for Publication in the Yale Daily News

April 11, 1929

[Released April 11, 1929. Dated April 9, 1929]

My dear Mr. Taylor:

I am glad to give you the following statement which you are at liberty to publish in the Yale Daily News:

"The need for college graduates in State and National politics is simply the need for trained minds and formed characters that exists in all departments of modern life. The increasingly complex structure of the society requires more and more of the technical skill and of the cultural background that the colleges undertake to provide. As politics is but one aspect of the social order, its need of men of special educational equipment is as obvious as this need is now in business or the professions."

With all good wishes,

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Marshall Taylor, Yale News, New Haven, Connecticut]

NOTE: The statement was requested by the Board of Editors of the Yale publication for inclusion in their series of articles by outstanding statesmen of the Nation on the subject, "The Need for College Graduates in National and State Politics." It was published simultaneously in the Yale Daily News and other newspapers.

THE PRESIDENT. There is a partial famine today. All of the notes that I have on questions are really for background material. I haven't anything for direct quotation.

FARM RELIEF BILL

The subcommittee of the House Agricultural Committee called this afternoon and presented the draft of their farm relief bill. They informed me that the bill was formulated after 2 months of consideration and conferences with various agricultural associations and individuals interested; that it is their belief that it is a sound measure and that it conforms to the pledges of the Republican Party. I replied to the committee that I would at once study the draft and would confer with them about it, probably tomorrow. The subcommittee also stated that the House Agricultural Committee was by a large majority opposed to the export bonus plan or the debenture plan.

TRANSFER OF BUREAU OF PROHIBITION

I have a number of questions bearing on the transfer of the Bureau of Prohibition to the Department of Justice. You are all aware that I have held that this transfer ought to be made. But probably arising out of the fact that the two departments are engaged on a joint study of the method of transfer, there has been some suggestion of delaying action. I do not see how this can be undertaken in the present Congress in view of the arrangements as to the organization of the House, which I understand are settled by the leaders of the House. In any event, it would not be possible to give consideration to the introduction of such a measure in the special session until we saw how the session was coming along, but it seems improbable that any legislative action will be taken this session.

Q. Mr. President, on that point you seem to have convinced yourself that it takes legislative action – cannot be done by Executive action?

THE PRESIDENT. There is no question on that. I have never heard any other suggestion to the contrary.

NAVAL LIMITATIONS

I have some questions relating to our policies on naval limitations or reductions. Ten days ago I made rather a full statement on the purpose of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament, on which Ambassador [Hugh] Gibson represents us. That is the sole mission of the American delegates. Nor is it the purpose of that Commission, so far as I know, to undertake any questions except the technical, preparatory character as outlined in the formation of that Commission some years ago. No instructions have been given to Mr. Gibson or anyone else to undertake negotiations leading to further conferences on naval limitations, and there are absolutely no negotiations of that character in progress either formally or informally.

RAPIDAN CAMP

Someone also has asked what I propose to do on the headwaters of the Rapidan this summer. I have given direction that a tent, or two or three tents, will be erected at some elevation about 2,500 feet in a grove of woods on the bank of the brook, and I shall obtain access to that spot on horseback, a distance of some 5 miles from a road leading into the park, which will probably not be completed for 2 months, and I will in the meantime go through there in a Ford car. That is all the details I have. After I have had some experience there I hope to decide where I could erect a couple of log cabins or some important establishment of that kind.

NOTE: President Hoover's twelfth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, April 12, 1929.

Address to the Gridiron Club

April 13, 1929

Friends of the Gridiron Club:

Upon such an occasion as this it is only right that I should express the large obligation which I owe to the Gridiron Club. I have the immediate obligation for this most pleasant and instructive evening. I owe to them a larger obligation for the courtesy of these dinners for over 17 years. From them I have received much political education. As skeptical as some may be of the result, yet no one will impeach the ability and earnestness of my instruction.

And I have found in all the representatives of the press at all times a desire to be helpful in most unexpected ways. For instance, they daily assist me beyond my greatest hopes by their suspicious research work in new implications for my most carefully formulated phrases. I discover by the time an idea of mine has filtered through the clear and crystal minds of 100 different correspondents, that particular idea throbs with a sense of courage and public service, that it has sinister implications, that it is impractical, that it spells malevolence, that it is weak and vacillating, that it is filled with personal bias, that it bristles with idealism, sanity, and progress. When I take refuge in silence, the gentlemen of the press again assist me by the workings of their own speculative minds to the extent of column 1, page 1. And, always helpful, they promptly extend to me the privilege of denial. I do not wish to seem ungrateful for this cooperation, but I decided some time ago that I ought not to destroy the confidence of managing editors in their correspondents nor to dull the spirit of imaginative writing.

I learn more each day as to the relations of Presidential statements to the press. It appears to expect me to perform two separate duties, which occasionally in some degree seem to conflict. One duty is to help the people of the United States to get along peacefully and prosperously without any undue commotion or trouble over their affairs – that is, not to start anything that will occasion conflict and dissension. The other duty, which is almost every day borne in powerfully upon me, is that I should provide the press with exciting news of something about to happen. These are duties difficult at times to perform simultaneously. The ideal solution, of course, would be to excite the press without exciting the country, but every day brings proof to me that the newspapers are designed to be read. I sometimes wonder how our country can earn its living so arduously and successfully and at the same time do all the reading that it seems to do, because my daily shower of letters and telegrams show at once the endless reactions, opinions, satisfactions, alarms, approbations, and even sentiment that arise in clouds from everything sent from Washington.

And this is as it should be. Ours is a government by opinion and the press is the most important part of that process. I have approached this very large side of government – that is, its relations with the press – in a desire to cooperate. I realize the importance for as much prompt, accurate, authoritative information as can be given to the public that it may have the foundation upon which to build opinions. I have, in cooperation with the correspondents, been engaged in an endeavor to develop these relations in such a way as to assist them, too, and at the same time, protect the Government by opening the book of the Government to the public to the largest degree. It is upon this matter of authority for news from the White House that the difficulty of relations between the President and the twice-weekly press conferences seems largely to revolve. Whether the news is exciting or soothing seems in part to depend upon the authority to which it is attributed. "Authority" for news seems to have some magic influence.

If the President will allow himself to be quoted as saying that there are 49,200,000 cows in the United States, that appears to be exciting news. If it can be attributed only to the White House as authority, it may be carried, but it will not disturb the public sleep. If, however, the President states that there are 49,200,000 cows in the United States and that no authority is to be given for the statement, it may be suspected as propaganda.

You have referred this evening to the gentle art of fishing. Even fishing becomes news when it is participated in by the Chief Executive. With that feeling of all misunderstood men, I wish to disclose to the press the real purpose of fishing; I wish, indeed to take them into my confidence. Fishing is the only labor or recreation open to a President in which both the press and the public are prepared to concede privacy. It is generally realized and accepted that prayer is the most personal of all relationships and that on such occasions as that men are entitled to be alone and undisturbed. Next to prayer, fishing is the most personal relationship of man.

Everyone concedes that fish will not bite in the presence of the representatives of the press. Fishing is thus the sole avenue now left to a public man that he may escape to his own thoughts, may live in his own imaginings, may find relief from the pneumatic hammer of constant personal contacts, may find refreshment of soul in the babble of rippling water, with the satisfaction that the fish will not be influenced either by the headline or the text.

You have included in your hospitalities on this occasion the Ambassadors and Ministers from our Latin American neighbors. These countries have recently extended to me and to many members of the American press the hospitality of their countries. Theirs was a hospitality which breathed good will and a desire to demonstrate that fundamental friendship to our country which runs deep in the sense of all the people of the Western Hemisphere.

And I wish to take this occasion to express the deep appreciation which is due the American correspondents who accompanied me upon that visit for the effectiveness and devotion with which they, each of them, interpreted our countrymen to our neighbors. They carried in person the inner thought of our countrymen that it is not size, wealth, or potency of the Nation – that it is progress of and service of a nation in the upbuilding of the institutions of freedom; its contribution to the growth of liberty, the development of humane relations, the advancement of the individual man – which measures the soul and might of nations.

And in this connection of the relations of great and little nations may I mention one sinister notion, fear of which I detect in some sections of the press as to policies of the United States bearing basically upon our relationships with our Latin American neighbors. That is fear of an era of the mistakenly called dollar diplomacy. The implications that have been colored by that expression are not a part of my conception of international relations. I can say at once that it never has been and ought not to be the policy of the United States to intervene by force to secure or maintain contracts between our citizens and foreign states or their citizens. Confidence in that attitude is the only basis upon which the economic cooperation of our citizens can be welcomed abroad. It is the only basis that prevents cupidity encroaching upon the weakness of nations – but, far more than this, it is the true expression of the moral rectitude of the United States.

One of the primary difficulties of a new administration is the over expectation which is aroused in political combat. The hopes for immediate solution of long deferred problems of extraordinary difficulty are always raised to the anticipation that some magic or miracle is about to take place which will realign the whole social and economic system.

The mere process of election does not mean achievement. My profession of engineer does not deal with magic. Its miracle is only the constant and everlasting building of brick on brick, stone on stone, by which, in the end, great institutions are created. And the essence of accomplishment in government lies in that threadbare expression – cooperation. I wish sometimes our language afforded us a few more synonyms for that word, because we sometimes become so weary of repetition of phrases that we would defeat great purposes and abandon great ideas because of our annoyance with words. Our form of government can succeed only by cooperation – not only by cooperation within the administrative arm of the Government and cooperation with Congress, but also by cooperation with the press, cooperation with business, and the cooperation in social leadership.

I have no feeling that my position is as Mr. [Herndon Tudor] Morsell has just told me – “A king for a day.” The gigantic forces of our country and our times could find no solution by kingship. It is just a job of bringing about such cooperation as I may between those who lead the forces which ebb and flow through a great people. One of the important problems of every President is the relationship between the Executive and Congress.

The mere fact that the founders of the Republic provided checks and balances in our governmental structure was never indicated as an invitation to those charged with different duties to constantly differ in their views or to endeavor to shirk responsibility on the shoulders of the others, and thus waste their own energies, time, and money in useless controversy.

I know of no more able and devoted legislative body in the world than our Congress. It is the right and duty of Congress to investigate and formulate legislation. Both the dignity of the two arms and the efficiency of the whole Federal structure will be best served by mutual recognition of each other's rights and responsibilities, and real progress is made in both administrative and legislative arms by cooperation through frank discussion, and by the temperate exchange of views directly between the Executive and the leaders of Congress, out of which wise policies are evolved and prudent courses are pursued.

I am well aware of the difficulties of a program of close cooperation. It is much less heroic for the President to cooperate than to carry the banner of the people against the bastions of Congress. To the extent that each may be helpful to the other, it is our duty to render unselfish assistance.

The objects to be gained by cooperation within an administration between the administration and Congress, between the administration and the leaders of our economic and social forces, are not the pawns of politics; they are not the headlines of the newspapers. They are the prosperity, the contentedness, the moral and spiritual advancement of the American people. And more especially is all this true in a time when the forces which are moving amongst our people are more complex and more gigantic and more difficult to understand and more difficult of coordination than ever before in our history. Yet they are the forces of progress, the forces of ultimate growth.

NOTE: The President spoke at a dinner meeting held in the Willard Hotel.

The Gridiron Club is an organization of 50 Washington newspapermen who met semiannually for a dinner and satirical review of current political events. Remarks at the dinners are customarily off-the-record, but Mr. Hoover's remarks were later published.

36

Letter Accepting Appointment as Honorary Head of the United States Flag Association
April 15, 1929

[Released April 15, 1929. Dated April 4, 1929]

My dear Colonel Moss:

I am glad to accept service as the honorary head of the United States Flag Association. Its purpose to spread understanding and develop appreciation of American institutions and ideals symbolized by the flag is a purpose that should animate all citizens.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Col. James A. Moss, President General, The U.S. Flag Association, 932 Fifteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C.]

The President's News Conference of
April 16, 1929

RESIGNATION OF WILLIAM P. MACCRACKEN, JR.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am afraid this is a famine day. I have only two questions for you this morning, one of which I am not prepared to deal with until later in the week. The other relates to Mr. MacCracken¹ as to when he may retire and who his successor will be. Mr. MacCracken probably will retire in a couple of months, and there has been no consideration of his successor yet. We are trying to hold on to Mr. MacCracken.

JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS

The list of appointments sent up this morning did not contain the names of any of the judges. Those will be going up tomorrow. We want to fill one or two more.

Q. Will that be the full list of judges?

THE PRESIDENT. There are two or three that I don't think we will have settled, but all the major appointments.

Q. Mr. President, will that include all New Yorkers?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I am not certain. There are five. There is no successor to Winslow² – that is one of the determinable judges under the legislation on which the appointment was made. But in any event we will send up four of the New Yorkers out of the five. We may send them all but I am not quite certain.

APPOINTMENT OF CHARLES J. RHOADS

Mr. Rhoads has accepted the appointment as chief of the Indian Bureau, which I think is rather a notable case of public service from a man who makes a very large sacrifice to leave one of the most important posts a man can have in his local community to take over a bureau in Washington.

Other than that, I have nothing.

NOTE: President Hoover's thirteenth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, April 16, 1929.

On the same day, the White House issued a biographical sketch of Charles J. Rhoads.

On April 18, the President submitted to the Senate 10 nominations for judicial posts. In connection with the nominations, the White House, on April 17, released lists of individuals and organizations endorsing the nominees. The nominees were: George T. McDermott and Orie L. Phillips to be United States Circuit Judges, 10th Circuit; Clarence G. Galston to be United States District Judge, Eastern District, New York; Alfred A. Wheat to be Associate Justice, Supreme Court, District of Columbia; J. Lyles Glenn to be United States District Judge for South Carolina; A. Lee Wyman to be United States District Judge, District of South Dakota; Archibald K. Gardner to be United States Circuit Judge, 8th Circuit; and John M. Woolsey, Francis G. Caffey, and Alfred C. Coxe to be United States District Judges, Southern District of New York.

¹ William P. MacCracken Jr., was Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Aviation.

² Francis Asbury Winslow was U.S. District Judge, Southern District of New York.

Message to the Special Session of the Congress
on Farm Relief, Tariff, antedating Emergency Legislation
April 16, 1929

To the Congress of the United States:

I have called this special session of Congress to redeem two pledges given in the last election – farm relief and limited changes in the tariff.

The difficulties of the agricultural industry arise out of a multitude of causes. A heavy indebtedness was inherited by the industry from the deflation processes of 1920. Disorderly and wasteful methods of marketing have developed. The growing specialization in the industry has for years been increasing the proportion of products that now leave the farm and, in consequence, prices have been unduly depressed by congested marketing at the harvest or by the occasional climatic surpluses. Railway rates have necessarily increased. There has been a growth of competition in the world markets from countries that enjoy cheaper labor or more nearly virgin soils. There was a great expansion of production from our marginal lands during the war, and upon these profitable enterprise under normal conditions cannot be maintained. Meanwhile their continued output tends to aggravate the situation. Local taxes have doubled and in some cases trebled. Work animals have been steadily replaced by mechanical appliances, thereby decreasing the consumption of farm products. There are many other contributing causes.

The general result has been that our agricultural industry has not kept pace in prosperity or standards of living with other lines of industry.

There being no disagreement as to the need of farm relief, the problem before us becomes one of method by which relief may be most successfully brought about. Because of the multitude of causes and because agriculture is not one industry but a score of industries, we are confronted not with a single problem alone but a great number of problems. Therefore there is no single plan or principle that can be generally applied. Some of the forces working to the detriment of agriculture can be greatly mitigated by improving our waterway transportation; some of them by readjustment of the tariff; some by better understanding and adjustment of production needs; and some by improvement in the methods of marketing.

An effective tariff upon agricultural products, that will compensate the farmer's higher costs and higher standards of living, has a dual purpose. Such a tariff not only protects the farmer in our domestic market but it also stimulates him to diversify his crops and to grow products that he could not otherwise produce, and thus lessens his dependence upon exports to foreign markets. The great expansion of production abroad under the conditions I have mentioned renders foreign competition in our export markets increasingly serious. It seems but natural, therefore, that the American farmer, having been greatly handicapped in his foreign market by such competition from the younger expanding countries, should ask that foreign access to our domestic market should be regulated by taking into account the differences in our costs of production.

The Government has a special mandate from the recent election, not only to further develop our waterways and revise the agricultural tariff, but also to extend systematic relief in other directions.

I have long held that the multiplicity of causes of agricultural depression could only be met by the creation of a great instrumentality clothed with sufficient authority and resources to assist our farmers to meet these problems, each upon its own merits. The creation of such an agency would at once transfer the agricultural question from the field of politics into the realm of economics and would result in constructive action. The administration is pledged to create an instrumentality that will investigate the causes, find sound remedies, and have the authority and resources to apply those remedies.

The pledged purpose of such a Federal farm board is the reorganization of the marketing system on sounder and more stable and more economic lines. To do this the board will require funds to assist in creating and sustaining farmer-owned and farmer-controlled agencies for a variety of purposes, such as the acquisition of adequate warehousing and other facilities for marketing; adequate working capital to be advanced against commodities lodged for storage; necessary and prudent advances to corporations created and owned by farmers' marketing organizations for the purchase and orderly marketing of surpluses occasioned by climatic variations or by harvest congestion; to authorize the creation and support of clearing houses, especially for perishable products, through which, under producers' approval, cooperation can be established with distributors and processors to more orderly marketing of commodities and for the elimination of many wastes in distribution; and to provide for licensing of handlers of some perishable

products so as to eliminate unfair practices. Every penny of waste between farmer and consumer that we can eliminate, whether it arises from methods of distribution or from hazard or speculation, will be a gain to both farmer and consumer.

In addition to these special provisions in the direction of improved returns, the board should be organized to investigate every field of economic betterment for the farmer so as to furnish guidance as to need in production, to devise methods for elimination of unprofitable marginal lands and their adaptation to other uses; to develop industrial byproducts and to survey a score of other fields of helpfulness.

Certain safeguards must naturally surround these activities and the instrumentalities that are created. Certain vital principles must be adhered to in order that we may not undermine the freedom of our farmers and of our people as a whole by bureaucratic and governmental domination and interference. We must not undermine initiative. There should be no fee or tax imposed upon the farmer. No governmental agency should engage in the buying and selling and price fixing of products, for such courses can lead only to bureaucracy and domination. Government funds should not be loaned or facilities duplicated where other services of credit and facilities are available at reasonable rates. No activities should be set in motion that will result in increasing the surplus production, as such will defeat any plans of relief.

The most progressive movement in all agriculture has been the upbuilding of the farmer's own marketing organizations, which now embrace nearly two million farmers in membership and annually distribute nearly \$2,500,000,000 worth of farm products. These organizations have acquired experience in virtually every branch of their industry, and furnish a substantial basis upon which to build further organization. Not all these marketing organizations are of the same type, but the test of them is whether or not they are farmer owned or farmer controlled. In order to strengthen and not to undermine them, all proposals for governmental assistance should originate with such organizations and be the result of their application. Moreover by such bases of organization the Government will be removed from engaging in the business of agriculture.

The difficulties of agriculture cannot be cured in a day; they cannot all be cured by legislation; they cannot be cured by the Federal Government alone. But farmers and their organizations can be assisted to overcome these inequalities. Every effort of this character is an experiment, and we shall find from our experience the way to further advance. We must make a start. With the creation of a great instrumentality of this character, of a strength and importance equal to that of those which we have created for transportation and banking, we give immediate assurance of the determined purpose of the Government to meet the difficulties of which we are now aware, and to create an agency through which constructive action for the future will be assured.

In this treatment of this problem we recognize the responsibility of the people as a whole, and we shall lay the foundations for a new day in agriculture, from which we shall preserve to the Nation the great values of its individuality and strengthen our whole national fabric.

In considering the tariff for other industries than agriculture, we find that there have been economic shifts necessitating a readjustment of some of the tariff schedules. Seven years of experience under the tariff bill enacted in 1922 have demonstrated the wisdom of Congress in the enactment of that measure. On the whole it has worked well. In the main our wages have been maintained at high levels; our exports and imports have steadily increased; with some exceptions our manufacturing industries have been prosperous. Nevertheless, economic changes have taken place during that time, which have placed certain domestic products at a disadvantage and new industries have come into being, all of which creates the necessity for some limited changes in the schedules and in the administrative clauses of the laws as written in 1922.

It would seem to me that the test of necessity for revision is in the main whether there has been a substantial slackening of activity in an industry during the past few years, and a consequent decrease of employment due to insurmountable competition in the products of that industry. It is not as if we were setting up a new basis of protective duties. We did that seven years ago. What we need to remedy now is whatever substantial loss of employment may have resulted from shifts since that time.

No discrimination against any foreign industry is involved in equalizing the difference in costs of production at home and abroad and thus taking from foreign producers the advantages they derive from paying lower wages to labor. Indeed, such equalization is not only a measure of social justice at home, but by the lift it gives to our standards of living we increase the demand for those goods from abroad that we do not ourselves produce. In a large sense we have learned that the cheapening of the toiler decreases rather than promotes permanent prosperity because it reduces the consuming power of the people.

In determining changes in our tariff we must not fail to take into account the broad interests of the country as a whole, and such interests include our trade relations with other countries. It is obviously

unwise protection which sacrifices a greater amount of employment in exports to gain a less amount of employment from imports.

I am impressed with the fact that we also need important revision in some of the administrative phases of the tariff. The Tariff Commission should be reorganized and placed upon a basis of higher salaries in order that we may at all times command men of the broadest attainments. Seven years of experience have proved the principle of flexible tariff to be practical, and in the long view a most important principle to maintain. However, the basis upon which the Tariff Commission makes its recommendations to the President for administrative changes in the rates of duty should be made more automatic and more comprehensive, to the end that the time required for determinations by the Tariff Commission shall be greatly shortened. The formula upon which the commission must now act often requires that years be consumed in reaching conclusions where it should require only months. Its very purpose is defeated by delays. I believe a formula can be found that will insure rapid and accurate determination of needed changes in rates. With such strengthening of the Tariff Commission and of its basis for action many secondary changes in tariff can well be left to action by the commission, which at the same time will give complete security to industry for the future.

Furthermore, considerable weaknesses on the administrative side of the tariff have developed, especially in the valuations for assessments of duty. There are cases of undervaluations that are difficult to discover without access to the books of foreign manufacturers, which they are reluctant to offer. This has become also a great source of friction abroad. There is increasing shipment of goods on consignment, particularly by foreign shippers to concerns that they control in the United States, and this practice makes valuations difficult to determine. I believe it is desirable to furnish to the Treasury a sounder basis for valuation in these and other cases.

It is my understanding that it is the purpose of the leaders of Congress to confine the deliberations of the session mainly to the questions of farm relief and tariff. In this policy I concur. There are, however, certain matters of emergency legislation that were partially completed in the last session, such as the decennial census, the reapportionment of congressional representation, and the suspension of the national origins clause of the immigration act of 1924, together with some minor administrative authorizations. I understand that these measures can be reundertaken without unduly extending the session. I recommend their consummation as being in the public interest.

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House,
April 16, 1929.

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Message in Tribute to Albert Einstein on His 50th Birthday
April 16, 1929

My dear Mr. Bernstein:

I cordially approve the plan to pay tribute to Professor Albert Einstein on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his birthday.

Professor Einstein ranks high among the foremost scientists of all time, who have enriched mankind by their invaluable contributions to thought and human progress. Every important scientific achievement is a step forward in the direction of better universal understanding and good will.

It is very fitting that distinguished educators and other public spirited Americans are paying this tribute to Professor Einstein.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Herman Bernstein, Chairman, Einstein Jubilee Committee, 135 West 84th Street, New York City]

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Message Endorsing the Annual 'Buddy Poppy' Sale

April 17, 1929

[Released April 17, 1929. Dated April 8, 1929]

My dear Commander:

The annual "Buddy Poppy" campaign, under the auspices of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, is a fitting symbol of the sacrifice of those who died in the service of our Country, and should remind us of the obligations and sacrifice demanded of all good citizens in times of peace.

The fact that the manufacture of these poppies gives employment to disabled ex-service men, in the hospitals and elsewhere, adds to the worthiness of the cause. I am glad to give my hearty endorsement to this worthy enterprise.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Eugene P. Carver, Jr., Esq., Commander-in-Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S., Boston, Mass.]

The President's News Conference of
April 19, 1929

FARM RELIEF

THE PRESIDENT. Well, there are some questions I am able to answer on this occasion on which you may quote direct. They refer to the legislative program for farm relief.

I regret to see that some of our farm organizations are again divided on measures of relief. One primary difficulty in the whole last 8 years has been the conflict in point of view in the ranks of the agricultural organizations and the farmers themselves.

A definite plan of farm relief was adopted by the Republican Convention at Kansas City. It was the plan of the party; it was not then or now the plan of any individual or group; it was necessarily the result of compromise; it represented an effort to get together and secure fundamental beginnings and necessitated the yielding of views by all of us. It was supported by all elements of the party in the campaign, and I think we have a clear mandate from the electorate.

And without entering on the merits or demerits of any other suggestion at the present moment, I can deplore that divisions in the ranks of the farmers themselves only encourage those who oppose all farm relief, and can at best only bring delay and danger of entire failure. If, after 8 years of agitation and debate on a matter so vital to so many of our people, we are to succeed in getting this question out of politics and on the way to solution under solely economic guidance, we have need of unity in the ranks of the farmers themselves and the different groups which reflect their views in Congress. No great step in public action can ever succeed without some compromise of view and some sacrifice of opinion.

I have nothing else that I can answer today.

APPOINTMENTS

There are two appointments which might interest you. One of them is Julius Klein as Assistant Secretary of Commerce. The other is Colonel Earl D. Church of Connecticut as the Commissioner of Pensions.

Q. Mr. President, are we to have that matter about the farmers in quotation?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, we will get it out for you. Mr. Akerson can give you data on Colonel Church, and most of you know about Dr. Klein.

NOTE: President Hoover's fourteenth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, April 19, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on the legislative program for farm relief (see Item 42) and a biographical sketch of Colonel Church.

Statement on the Legislative Program for Farm Relief*April 19, 1929*

IN REPLY to questions on the legislative program for farm relief in today's press conference, the President stated:

"I regret to see that some farm organizations are again divided on measures of agricultural relief. One primary difficulty in the whole of this last 8 years has been the conflict in point of view in the ranks of the agricultural organizations and the farmers themselves.

"A definite plan of principles for farm relief was adopted by the Republican Convention at Kansas City. It was the plan of the party; it was not then or now the plan of any individual or group; it was necessarily the result of compromise; it represented an effort to get together and secure fundamental beginnings and necessitated the yielding of views by all of us; it was supported by all elements of the party in the campaign and upon it we have a clear mandate.

"Without entering into the merits or demerits of any other suggestion at the present time I can deplore that divisions in the ranks of the farmers themselves encourage those who oppose all farm relief and can at best only bring great delays and danger of entire failure. If, after 8 years of agitation and debate on a matter so vital to a large part of our people, we are to succeed in putting the question out of politics and on the way to solution under economic guidance, we have need of unity in the ranks of the farmers themselves and the different groups which reflect their views in Congress. No great step in public action can ever succeed without some compromise of views and some sacrifice of opinion."

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**Message to the Annual Conventions of the American
Newspaper Publishers and the Associated Press**
April 20, 1929

[Released April 20, 1929. Dated April 18, 1929]

To the Press in Convention assembled in New York April 22, 1929:

I appreciate the cooperation that the press has given me in its efficient handling of the news, so necessary to the success of our form of government, with its reliance upon public opinion rounded upon accurate knowledge of the facts.

HERBERT HOOVER
President of the United States

NOTE: The message was conveyed in a letter to Editor and Publisher.

On April 22, 1929, President Hoover addressed the Associated Press in person (see Item 47).

**Message to the People of Spain on the Unveiling
of the Columbus Monument at Palos, Spain**

April 21, 1929

UPON THE OCCASION of the unveiling of the Columbus Monument at Palos, I have great pleasure in extending to the people of Spain in the name of the citizens of the United States an expression of friendly good wishes and an assurance of the abiding esteem felt in this country for that nation through whose generosity the great discoveries of Christopher Columbus were made possible.

NOTE: The President's message was read by Ogden Hammond, United States Ambassador to Spain, at the unveiling and presentation ceremony at Palos. The monument was a gift to the Government and people of Spain on behalf of the Columbus Memorial Fund and the people of the United States.

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Message Endorsing the ORT Jewish Relief Campaign

April 21, 1929

[Released April 21, 1929. Dated April 20, 1929]

I WISH to felicitate the Jews of America upon their nationwide and wholehearted cooperation in the ORT campaign for the industrial and general economic reconstruction of the distressed Jews of Eastern Europe and to extend my greetings and best wishes to those gathered at the ORT Reconstruction Banquet in New York to further this humane program.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was conveyed in a telegram to Paul Felix Warburg, New York City.

Letter to Senator Charles L. McNary on the Export Debenture Plan of Farm Relief
April 22, 1929

[Released April 22, 1929. Dated April 20, 1929]

My dear Mr. Senator:

On April 12th I received a call from yourself and Senators Capper, Heflin, Norbeck and Ransdell, acting as a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, requesting my opinion on the "export debenture plan" for agricultural relief, since it is a complete departure from the principles already debated during the campaign. I informed the committee that I would request an analysis of the plan by the Departments of Agriculture, Treasury and Commerce, and would transmit them to the Committee together with my conclusions after investigation. The Departments have given it earnest consideration and I have just received and studied these reports which I transmit to you herewith.

The principle of this plan as set out in the draft bill of your committee which is before me, is to issue a government debenture to merchants exporting agricultural products in amount of one-half of the tariff on such products – such debentures to be redeemed by presentation for payment of import duties. The assumption is that by creating a scarcity through stimulating exports that the domestic price will rise above world prices to the amount of the debenture – that is, if the debenture on wheat exports is 21 cents a bushel, the price of wheat will be 21 cents higher in the domestic market than in the world market.

I am aware of the arguments put forward in favor of the plan by some of our agricultural organizations; and the arguments of other farm organizations in opposition to it. The proposers advance it in the utmost good faith and earnest desire to assist in solution of a great problem and I regret deeply that I cannot agree that this provision would bring the results expected. On the contrary I am convinced that it would bring disaster to the American farmer.

The weaknesses of the plan as set forth in the Senate Bill may be summarized as follows:

1. The issue of debentures to export merchants and their redemption in payment of import duties amounts to a direct subsidy from the United States Treasury. If the plan proposed be generally applied it would cost in excess of \$200,000,000 a year as it would decrease the Treasury receipts by such an amount.
2. The first result of the plan, if put into operation, would be a gigantic gift from the government and the public to the dealers and manufacturers and speculators in these commodities. For instance, in the principal export commodities the value of the present volume of stocks in possession of these trades would, if the plan worked, rise by from \$200,000,000 to \$400,000,000 according to different calculations, without a cent return to the farmer or consumer. Every speculator for a rise in our public markets would receive enormous profits. Conversely, if after this elevation of prices the plan were at any time for any reason withdrawn the trades would suffer a like loss and a long line of bankruptcies must ensue. But in the meantime the trades, out of fear of withdrawal or of reduction in the Subsidy, would not engage in normal purchase and distribution. Either exorbitant margins would be required or alternatively the farmer would be compelled to himself hold the nation's stocks until there was a demand for actual consumption.
3. If the increased price did reflect to the farmer, the plan would stimulate overproduction and thereby increase world supply which would in turn depreciate world prices and consequently decrease the price which the farmer would receive, and thereby defeat the plan. Stimulation of production has been the outstanding experience abroad where export subsidy has been applied. Over production will defeat the plan and then, upon its withdrawal, agriculture would be plunged into a catastrophe of deflation from over expanded production. The farmer's difficulties today are in some part due to this process after the war.
4. The stimulation of production of certain commodities would disturb the whole basis of diversification in American agriculture, particularly in the cotton and wheat sections where great progress is now being made toward a more stable basis of agriculture.
5. Although it is proposed that the plan should only be installed at the discretion of the Farm Board, yet the tendency of all boards is to use the whole of their authority and more certainly in this case in view of the pressure from those who would not understand its possibility of harm, and emphatically from the interested dealers in the commodity.
6. It is not proposed to pay the debentures of subsidies to the farmers, but to the export merchants, and it seems certain that a large part of it would not be reflected back to the farmer. It offers opportunity for manipulation in the export market none of which would be of advantage to the farmer. The conditions of competitive marketing at home and abroad and the increased risks would absorb a considerable part of its

effect into the distribution and manufacturing trades. Moreover, the theoretical benefits would be further diminished by the fact that debentures would sell constantly at a discount, for the reason that persons paying duties upon imports would not take the trouble to accumulate the debentures and lose interest upon them unless obtainable at a discount.

7. The provision of such an export subsidy would necessitate a revision of the import tariffs. For instance, an export subsidy of two cents a pound on raw cotton would mean the foreign manufacturers would be receiving cotton at two cents a pound less than the American manufacturer and the foreigner could ship his manufactured goods back into the American market with this advantage. As the subsidy in many cases is larger than the freight to foreign ports and back, it raises large opportunities of fraud in return shipment activities.

8. Export bounties are recognized by many nations as one form of dumping. I am advised that a similar action by another nation would be construed as a violation of our own laws. Such laws are in force in the principal countries of our export markets and to protect their own agriculture would probably lead to action which would nullify the subsidy given by us.

9. A further serious question arises again (if the plan did have the effect intended) where the foreign producer of animals would be enabled to purchase feed for less than the American farmer producing the same animals. For instance, the swine growers in Ontario would be able to purchase American corn for less than the American farmers across the border and it would tend to transfer the production of pork products for export to Europe from the United States to Canada. It would have the same and probably even more disastrous effect in dairy products.

10. The plan would require a substantial increase in taxes as no such expenditure or depletion of revenues as this plan implies could be paid from marginal income of the government more particularly in view of the very large increased expenditures imposed by the naval program, flood control and other branches of farm relief.

Altogether, from the above reasons, it is my belief that the theoretical benefits would not be reflected to the American farmer; that it would create profiteering; that it contains elements which would bring American agriculture to disaster.

The introduction of such a plan would also inevitably confuse and minimize the much more far reaching plan of farm relief, upon the fundamental principles of which there has been general agreement.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[The Honorable Charles L. McNary, United States Senate]

NOTE: Senator McNary was Chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture. Other Senators referred to in the first paragraph of the President's letter were Arthur Capper, J. Thomas Heflin, Peter Norbeck, and Joseph E. Ransdell.

Analyses of the export debenture plan by the Departments of the Treasury, Agriculture, and Commerce to which the President referred in his letter were also released as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

April 19, 1929

My dear Senator McNary:

The President has requested me to express to you the opinion of the Treasury Department of the principle underlying the so-called export debenture plan of farm relief.

As outlined in a number of bills which have been introduced in Congress, the general plan provides for the issuance of export debentures by the Secretary of the Treasury to exporters of such agricultural commodities, or products thereof, as are specified in the bills or which may be designated by a proposed Farm Board. The debenture rates are prescribed by the bills, or the Board, with power in the Board to change the rates from time to time. The rates fixed by the recent bills are half the existing tariff rates on the same commodities, except that for tobacco and cotton the rates have been fixed at 2 cents a pound. The debentures will be receivable at par within one year of date of issue in payment of custom duties. In some of the bills the total amount of debentures that may be issued in any one year is limited in some manner relative to the customs receipts. In others, there is no such limitation. Generally speaking, the bills also provide for a reduction of the debenture rate, and even for total suspension in the event of a very great increase in domestic production of the commodity in question.

The issuance of a Treasury debenture is indistinguishable in principle and in its effect on the Treasury from a cash bounty on exports. Nor is it apparent that payment in debentures rather than in cash offers any advantages. Quite the contrary. If the bounty is paid in cash, the farmer, in whose interests the plan is devised, will more nearly get the full benefit, whereas it is inevitable that he will receive considerably less than the face value of the debenture. The debentures must inevitably sell at a discount if for no other reason than that they involve a certain inconvenience and

will entail a considerable cost in handling and marketing, and since they do not bear interest must inevitably be charged with the cost of carrying them until presentation at a customs house. Ultimately most of them will find their way to New York, where approximately half of our customs receipts are paid, and presumably they will be dealt in there at quotations which may vary widely depending on the amount of debentures issued and the demand therefor, seasonal and otherwise. Machinery will have to be set up for transferring debentures from Galveston, let us say, to New York and for their sale there, which will necessarily involve banking and brokerage charges.

If issued in large amounts, as they may well be, it is likely that the debentures will sell at a very considerable discount which would not only deprive the farmer of a portion of the benefit arising from the debenture rate, but represent a bonus to importers, and would seriously dislocate the tariff schedules fixed by the Congress. It is not apparent, even admitting the desirability of paying an export bounty, why machinery should be set up the effect of which might be to permit the importation of, let us say, butter from Denmark or wool from Australia at rates lower than those established by law. Such a method of reducing tariff rates would unquestionably injure some American farmers in order to benefit other farmers, whereas if a cash bounty were paid the latter would get the full benefit and there would be no dislocation of tariff schedules such as might prove injurious to our present manufacturing prosperity which is an important factor in supporting the farmers' domestic market.

The second major question is whether it is economically desirable to pay a cash bounty on the exports of a commodity which is already produced in excess of domestic requirements. I think not. Exports would be stimulated, and, under the pressure of a consequent decreased domestic supply, domestic prices would rise. This would stimulate increased production. In the meanwhile, increased exports dumped on the world market would depress world prices, thus depriving the producer of the full benefit of the contemplated bounty. There is no doubt, I think, but that the effects of this program would be to depress world prices and to increase domestic prices, and to give to the American producer a price higher than he would otherwise obtain, the increase, however, not being by the full amount of the cash bounty. But as production increased in this country under the stimulus of higher domestic prices, there would be a constant tendency for the bounty benefit to melt away.

It is true that, recognizing this tendency, the various plans proposed provide in the event of sharply increased production for a gradual diminution of the bounty, and even its entire suspension. As framed, however, this action would appear to be too long delayed to be truly effective; and there is a very real danger that a substantial increase will take place in domestic production, leading to the automatic suspension of the bounty, and that the farmer will then find himself in a worse situation than he is today.

The truth is that the real justification for a bounty on exports is to encourage domestic production up to a point where the country will be economically self-sufficient. The principle has no application where a country is already producing more than enough to meet its domestic requirements, and under these circumstances an export bounty would seem to be an illogical and unsuitable instrument for effecting a readjustment of domestic prices.

The experience of European countries with bounties on sugar may be of interest in connection with this proposal for a bounty on American agricultural products. The original purpose of the foreign bounties was to stimulate production rather than to increase the income of the agricultural population. A cash bounty was paid the producers of sugar and the results desired were obtained. In Germany it was planned to cover the costs of the production bounty on sugar by collections from an internal revenue tax on the domestic consumption of sugar, but production increased so far out of proportion to the domestic consumption that within a comparatively few years the net effect was not to produce revenue. Some time thereafter the sugar bounties so far exceeded the revenue from the sugar tax that the treasury sustained a considerable loss, while sugar was being sold abroad at considerably less than the domestic price, and somewhat less than the actual cost of production. Consequently, the bounties on such sugar production had to be removed. There were no limits to production in the granting of such bounties.

Moreover, it is hardly to be assumed that foreign countries with important agricultural interests to protect will permit their producers to be subjected to a price war subsidized from the United States Treasury without adopting protective measures. It is highly probable, therefore, that they will levy countervailing tariff rates equal in amount to our export bounty, thus entirely nullifying the effect of the latter as an aid to our producers and drawing the amount of the bounty funds into their own treasuries. The United States was one of the first nations to place countervailing duties against the bounty produced sugars of the various European countries.

It is apparently contemplated to apply the plan to products of which we produce a surplus and which are on the free list, notably cotton. This must inevitably give rise to insuperable administrative difficulties in order to avoid wholesale fraud. Again, considerable difficulty is now encountered in the administration of the customs laws in determining the component material of chief value in an imported article. In the light of this experience there would be even greater administrative problems in working out the debenture or bounty rate in the case of articles manufactured from agricultural products.

It seems unnecessary to point out that the program will, of course, entail a sharp diminution in customs receipts accompanied by increased expenses of administration and a corresponding need for supplementing the loss by increased taxation along other lines. This in itself is by no means a serious objection if the plan could fairly be said to promise substantial benefit to American agricultural producers.

Very truly yours,
A. W. MELLON,
Secretary of the Treasury.

[Hon. Charles L. McNary, United States Senate]

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

April 20, 1929

Dear Senator:

At the request of the President I am offering you my comments on the Export Debenture Plan in the Ketcham Bill, H.R. 12892, 70th Congress, 1st Session.

"A bill to foster agriculture and to stabilize the prices obtained for agriculture commodities by providing for the issuance of export debentures upon the exportation of such commodities."

Sections 1 to 4 and 10 to 17 of this bill are in the main similar to other farm relief measures providing for a federal farm board, loans and other encouragement to cooperative marketing associations, price insurance, etc. Sections 5 to 9, to which this analysis will be confined, include the so-called "debenture plan."

The export debenture plan proceeds upon the hypothesis that it should be the policy of the Government to raise the level of domestic prices for farm products and to dispose of the surplus upon the world markets at the Government's expense. The discussion of the plan which follows is based on this hypothesis and logically falls under four heads: (1) Would the debenture plan be an effective and convenient means of accomplishing this purpose? (2) What would be the probable cost of this plan? (3) What would be the probable consequences to agriculture of the operation of this plan? (4) What has been the experience of foreign countries that have tried somewhat similar plans?

Before discussing these questions, it is necessary to outline the principal provisions of the debenture plan in this bill.

Section 6 designates swine, cattle, corn, rice, wheat, cotton, and tobacco as "debenturable commodities." Other farm products produced in quantities beyond domestic requirements and on which a tariff is levied may be added to this list by Presidential proclamation, if it is found that the cost of producing the commodity in the United States "is greater than the cost of producing such commodity in competing foreign countries." No attempt will be made here to analyze the possibility of using differences in cost of production as a standard for extending this plan to farm products other than the seven products specified in the bill. It should be noted, however, that since much time would be required in determining cost of production here and abroad, it would not be possible to resort to this feature of the plan in time to meet emergencies due to severe depression in the price of a commodity under the weight of an exceptional surplus.

My comments will be confined to the seven specified commodities. The Secretary of the Treasury is directed to issue to any exporter, under regulations prescribed by the federal farm board, export debentures in the form of negotiable certificates upon the exportation of debenturable farm products. The following rates are specified:

- (1) Swine, one-quarter of 1 cent per pound; fresh pork, three-eighths of 1 cent per pound; bacon, hams, shoulders, and other pork, prepared or preserved, 1 cent per pound; lard, one-half of 1 cent per pound.
- (2) Cattle weighing less than one thousand and fifty pounds, three-fourths of 1 cent per pound; cattle weighing one thousand and fifty pounds or more, 1 cent per pound; fresh beef and veal, 1½ cents per pound.
- (3) Corn and maize, including cracked corn, 7½ cents per bushel of fifty-six pounds; corn grits, meal, and flour, and similar products, 15 cents per one hundred pounds.
- (4) Paddy or rough rice, one-half of 1 cent per pound; brown rice (hulls removed) five-eighths of 1 cent per pound; milled rice (bran removed), 1 cent per pound; broken rice, and rice meal, flour polish, and bran, one quarter of 1 cent per pound.
- (5) Wheat, 21 cents per bushel of sixty pounds; wheat flour, semolina, crushed or cracked wheat, and similar wheat products not specially provided for, 52 cents per one hundred pounds.
- (6) Cotton, 2 cents per pound.
- (7) Tobacco, 2 cents per pound.

The debenture certificate would be negotiable and redeemable at part by the bearer in the payment of import duties within one year from the date of issuance. Except insofar as exporters of debenturable commodities are also importers, the certificates necessarily would be sold sufficiently below par to induce importers to use them in preference to cash in the payment of import duties. Foreign experience shows that import or export certificates usually sell at some discount from par value. To the extent, at least, of such discount, the farmer would lose the full effect of the subsidy in the price he received of the amount of such debenture certificates.

Revenues from import duties would be reduced by the total face value of the debentures issued. The extent of this loss to the Treasury would equal the debenture rate times the quantity exported of each of the debenturable commodities. If the plan had been in operation in the three fiscal years 1926 to 1928 on the basis of the volume of exports in those years, the annual average loss to the Treasury on account of the seven commodities specified in the bill would have been \$153,000,000 or 26.2 per cent of the average of all customs receipts for these years.

In practice, however, the loss to the Treasury would have been greater than indicated in this table because of increased exports. An increase in the price of these products by the amount of the export debenture (less the figure at

which the certificates would have sold below par) probably would have stimulated production and would have tended to decrease domestic consumption. The degree to which production might be stimulated, however, would depend upon the level of prices resulting from the use of the debentures and the prospects for increased incomes through the expansion of farm operations.

The administration of the proposed plan would not be difficult. On a strictly theoretical basis it should increase the domestic price of each debenturable farm commodity by the amount of the export debenture, less the discount on the certificate and provided competition between exporters in bidding up the domestic price were sufficiently effective to hold the price of the commodity up to the full amount of the world price, plus the debenture, less the discount on the certificate.

Applying the debenture rates to the average estimated sales by farmers of debenturable commodities for the three fiscal years 1926 to 1928 gives an annual average increase of \$515,000,000 in the gross value of the seven debenturable products marketed by farmers. As a matter of fact, this sum could hardly be realized, because, as already indicated, it is not reasonable to assume that the debenture rate could be translated in full into higher prices to producers, since the debentures would exchange only at some discount. Furthermore, it is possible that exporters may not bid prices up to the full extent of the debenture less the normal exchange discount on the certificate. It is therefore possible that exporters might be in a position to derive an extra profit by not reflecting in prices paid to farmers the real value of the debentures. In order to dispose of the surplus the exporter would have to make some price concessions to meet the competition from other countries and this would tend to depress world prices.

As a consequence of an increase in domestic prices of debenturable commodities, production would be stimulated. Production of debenturable commodities has materially increased following the adoption of debenture plans in foreign countries. In an effort to prevent over stimulation in this country H.R. 12892 (Section 8b) provides for a so-called "flexible rate" of debentures. If the board should find that the average annual production of any debenturable livestock commodity or the average acreage of any other debenturable agricultural commodity "for the last two preceding years has exceeded the average annual production or acreage of such commodity from the seventh to the third preceding year, the board may invoke the flexible debenture." If this increase should be more than 5 per cent, but less than 10 per cent, the debenture rate would be reduced 25 per cent. Should the increase be 10 per cent, but less than 15 per cent, the reduction would be 50 per cent, and should the increase be 15 per cent or more, the "issuance of debentures shall be suspended for a period of one year."

It is very doubtful that the flexible rate provision of the bill would have any material influence in checking the expansion in production. The average annual acreage of wheat harvested in the past five years has been, in round figures, 55,500,000 acres. Under the proposed plan, the producers would be free to increase their average acreage in the first two years of this debenture plan by 5 per cent before being obliged to accept a reduction of 25 per cent in the export debenture. In other words, the farmers could increase the acreage from 55,500,000 to more than 58,000,000 acres before the export debenture of 21 cents would be reduced to 15 3/4 cents. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that the farmers who harvested an annual average of about 55,500,000 acres of wheat in the past five years for an average price of about \$1.20 per bushel would be induced not to expand production by the fear of having to accept an increase of only 15 3/4 cents over this price instead of an increase of 21 cents, the full amount of the debenture.

It appears from our study of the effect of export debentures in other countries that it has operated to increase production. In Germany from 1890-93 to 1909-13, under the operation of the plan, the acreage of wheat remains substantially the same, but that the average production increased from 104,000,000 to 152,118,000 bushels, an increase of 46%. In the same country the acreage in rye increased from 14,203,000 to 15,387,000 whereas the average production increased from 245,449,000 bushels to 445,222,000 bushels, an increase of 81%. Substantially the same results were realized with respect to oats and barley. The experience with it in Sweden has been for a relatively short time, but it appears that the wheat area of that country has expanded from 363,000 acres in 1925 to 574,000 acres in 1927, and that the average production has increased from 13,359,000 bushels to 16,151,000 bushels. This increase in yields no doubt was due partly to the increased use of fertilizers and better cultural methods in Germany as in other countries.

As a consequence of the operation of the debenture plan, there would be a tendency in farming to shift from many lines of production toward the production of debenturable commodities, especially those with a short production cycle - grain and cotton, for example - the acreage of which could be increased greatly from one year to the next in the expectation of realizing quickly the benefits of the debenture. This would at least temporarily disturb established production programs. Furthermore, should the support of prices provided through this plan be removed, the debenturable commodities would be left in an overstimulated condition and agriculture would stand to suffer accordingly. An inquiry might well be made into the probable effect of the debenture plan upon existing farming. In some sections, notably the South where leaders of agricultural thought are putting their efforts behind programs of diversified farming, it might result disastrously by putting a premium upon the one crop system. The same inquiry might well be made with reference to those states which have made considerable advancement in developing the dairy industry.

It should be noted also that an increase in our exports of a commodity would tend to depress world prices. This would tend to reduce the effectiveness of the debentures and necessitate further increases in debenture rates in order to maintain prices.

While the debenture bill provides for flexible debenture rates with respect to an increase in production, it does not provide a means for making debenture rates responsive to changes in world prices. If, for instance, world conditions of competition and demand affecting a debenturable commodity should be such as to raise the world price to a satisfactory level, there is no provision in this bill for reducing debentures. Should the world price level of a commodity rise materially, there would still be an enhancement of the domestic price above the world level by the amount of the effective debenture. This would tend to give an abnormal stimulus to production.

In considering this or any similar plan, it is important to give careful consideration to both sides of the proposal lest the alluring prospects of an immediate increase in prices of the debenturable commodities should obscure the dangers that go with such a plan.

Sincerely yours,
 ARTHUR M. HYDE
Secretary

Enclosures.

[Hon. Charles L. McNary, United States Senate]

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

[Memorandum]

ANALYSIS OF THE EXPORT DEBENTURE SCHEME AS CONTAINED IN THE KETCHAM BILL H.R. 12892

John D. Black¹ makes the following statement as to the principles involved in the export debenture plan:

"The essential principle of the export debenture plan is the paying of a bounty on farm products in the form of negotiable instruments called debentures which can be used by importers in paying import duties. The price of domestic farm products would be raised to the extent of the bounty; likewise prices to consumers. The revenues of the Government would be reduced by the amount of the export debentures issued. The maximum height of the export bounty is the import duty; otherwise a return-flow of the product would set in."

In the Jones-Ketcham Bill the rates which are designated are equivalent to one-half of the present import duties on the commodities named, while in the case of cotton and tobacco a rate of two cents a pound is specified. To make the debenture plan effective it would be necessary to put a tariff on cotton to prevent a back-flow of the commodity.

Statistical Analysis Showing How the Plan Would Work:

The following statistical analysis is a rough estimate of the increase to producers and cost to public, based on estimates by the United States Department of Agriculture, of the quantity sold of each commodity:

THEORETICAL INCREASED COST OF PRODUCTS TO PUBLIC OF SPECIFIED COMMODITIES

Item	Quantity sold ^a		Debenture rate (Cents)	Increased value (Million dollars)
	Unit	Amount (Millions)		
Hogs	Pounds	12,500	1/4	31
Cattle	Pounds	^b 13,500	7/8	118
Corn	Bushels	500	7 1/2	37
Wheat	Bushels	660	21	139
Rice	Pounds	1,109	1	11.0
Cotton	Pounds	7,800	2	156
Tobacco	Pounds	1,300	2	26
Total				518

^a Average total quantity sold by farmers in the production years, 1925-26, 1926-27, 1927-28.

^b Average of the rates for cattle weighing less than 1,050 pounds and cattle weighing 1,050 pounds or more.

THEORETICAL VALUE OF DEBENTURES BASED ON 3 YEARS EXPORTS OF SPECIFIED ARTICLES

Products	Average exports 1925-26-27	Debenture rate (Cents)	Value of debentures
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Pork (1000 lb.)	1,100,000	3/8	\$4, 070, 000
Wheat (1000 bu.)	184,724	21	38,792,040
Corn (1000 bu.)	18,087	7 ½	1,356,525
Rice (1000 lbs.)	164,730	1	1,647,300
Cotton (1000 lb.)	4,657,601	2	93,152,020
Tobacco (1000 lb.)	492,137	2	9,842,740
Cattle (negligible)			
			\$148,860,625

If the above estimate on cost to the public were calculated on the total crop produced, instead of the portion going to market, the figures would be approximately 20% higher, due mainly to the fact that only 15% of the corn crop is marketed.

In making this calculation it is assumed that the export bonus would be fully effective in raising the price. The total cost to the public would be approximately \$518,000,000, of which \$369,000,000 would be increased cost on domestic consumption and \$149,000,000 public revenues spent on paying bonus.

The above calculation, of course, is only an estimate and does not represent actually what would happen. If there was an increase in production, and assuming that all the increase would be put on the export market, it would no doubt result in some depression of world price levels and the theoretical gain would not be realized by the producers nor would the theoretical cost be the same to the consumers.

The bill provides that when increased acreage or production reaches fifteen per cent, the debenture plan then becomes inoperative and shall be withdrawn. The effect of this would be to leave the industry with an increased production and no protection. Evidently it is the thought of those who have prepared the Bill that some means would be found of both raising the prices and controlling production.

It might be observed also that it would be much simpler to pay a straight export bounty. It would have the same effect and would cost the public exactly the same amount and be simpler in operation.

POSSIBILITY OF RETALIATION BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES UNDER ANTI-DUMPING LAWS

It should be pointed out that practically all countries, with two or three exceptions, have anti-dumping laws. It is possible the debenture plan would be interpreted as an export bounty and export dumping, since products would be sold in foreign countries at lower prices than in this country.

USE OF EXPORT CERTIFICATES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Foreign countries have used export certificates, especially Germany, Czechoslovakia and Sweden. In none of these cases is the situation comparable to the proposed debenture plan. In the first place, the export certificates are given on grain but are only usable for the reimportation of grain.

In both Sweden and Czechoslovakia the scheme apparently is to facilitate the export of certain grades and varieties of grain and imports of other varieties or grades without paying duty.

When the plan was first adopted in Germany the country as a whole was on an import basis when all grains were considered. However, Northeast Germany had a surplus, especially of rye, but in shipping this to Southwest Germany the railway freight and other charges made the prices in Northeast Germany considerably lower than in Western Germany. Originally the idea was to give Northeast Germany world price plus the tariff without raising prices in Western Germany, and in this way practically equalizing the price over the whole country. The export certificates issued in Northeast Germany were used to pay import duties on Grain into West Germany. However, when production was stimulated in Northeast Germany and the number of certificates exceeded the imports, they provided for a time for using the certificate for paying on both coffee and petroleum. There was a protest against this, however, as it amounted to using potential public funds for paying a bounty. The new law enacted in 1925 limits the certificates to the payment of duty on grain.

There is also in effect in both Norway and France an export certificate scheme applying to wheat, due to the fact that both countries must import certain amounts of hard wheat for blending. They use an export certificate on the exportation of soft wheat which can be used in turn to pay tariff on the importation of hard wheat.

April 20, 1929.

¹ "The Annals", Volume CXLII, March, 1929, Page 381.

Address to the Associated Press: Law Enforcement and Respect for the Law
April 22, 1929

Members and friends of the Associated Press:

I have accepted this occasion for a frank statement of what I consider the dominant issue before the American people. Its solution is more vital to the preservation of our institutions than any other question before us. That is the enforcement and obedience to the laws of the United States, both Federal and State.

I ask only that you weigh this for yourselves, and if my position is right, that you support it – not to support me but to support something infinitely more precious – the one force that holds our civilization together – law. And I wish to discuss it as law, not as to the merits or demerits of a particular law but all law, Federal and State, for ours is a government of laws made by the people themselves.

A surprising number of our people, otherwise of responsibility in the community, have drifted into the extraordinary notion that laws are made for those who choose to obey them. And in addition, our law enforcement machinery is suffering from many infirmities arising out of its technicalities, its circumlocutions, its involved procedures, and too often, I regret, from inefficient and delinquent officials.

We are reaping the harvest of these defects. More than 9,000 human beings are lawlessly killed every year in the United States. Little more than half as many arrests follow. Less than one-sixth of these slayers are convicted, and but a scandalously small percentage are adequately punished. Twenty times as many people in proportion to population are lawlessly killed in the United States as in Great Britain. In many of our great cities murder can apparently be committed with impunity. At least 50 times as many robberies in proportion to population are committed in the United States as in Great Britain, and 3 times as many burglaries.

Even in such premeditated crimes as embezzlement and forgery our record stands no comparison with stable nations. No part of the country, rural or urban, is immune. Life and property are relatively more unsafe than in any other civilized country in the world. In spite of all this we have reason to pride ourselves on our institutions and the high moral instincts of the great majority of our people. No one will assert that such crimes would be committed if we had even a normal respect for law and if the laws of our country were properly enforced.

In order to dispel certain illusions in the public mind on this subject, let me say at once that while violations of law have been increased by inclusion of crimes under the 18th amendment and by the vast sums that are poured into the hands of the criminal classes by the patronage of illicit liquor by otherwise responsible citizens, yet this is but one segment of our problem. I have purposely cited the extent of murder, burglary, robbery, forgery, and embezzlement, for but a small percentage of these can be attributed to the 18th amendment. In fact, of the total number of convictions for felony last year, less than 8 percent came from that source. It is, therefore, but a sector of the invasion of lawlessness.

What we are facing today is something far larger and more fundamental – the possibility that respect for law as law is fading from the sensibilities of our people. Whatever the value of any law may be, the enforcement of that law written in plain terms upon our statute books is not, in my mind, a debatable question. Law should be observed and must be enforced until it is repealed by the proper processes of our democracy. The duty to enforce the laws rests upon every public official and the duty to obey it rests upon every citizen.

No individual has the right to determine what law shall be obeyed and what law shall not be enforced. If a law is wrong, its rigid enforcement is the surest guaranty of its repeal. If it is right, its enforcement is the quickest method of compelling respect for it. I have seen statements published within a few days encouraging citizens to defy a law because that particular journal did not approve of the law itself. I leave comment on such an attitude to any citizen with a sense of responsibility to his country.

In my position, with my obligations, there can be no argument on these points. There is no citizen who would approve of the President of the United States assuming any other attitude. It may be said by some that the larger responsibility for the enforcement of laws against crime rests with State and local authorities and it does not concern the Federal Government. But it does concern the President of the United States, both as a citizen and as the one upon whom rests the primary responsibility of leadership for the establishment of standards of law enforcement in this country. Respect for law and obedience to law does not distinguish between Federal and State laws – it is a common conscience.

After all, the processes of criminal-law enforcement are simply methods of instilling respect and fear into the minds of those who have not the intelligence and moral instinct to obey the law as a matter of

conscience. The real problem is to awaken this consciousness, this moral sense, and if necessary to segregate such degenerate minds where they can do no future harm.

We have two immediate problems before us in government: to investigate our existing agencies of enforcement and to reorganize our system of enforcement in such manner as to eliminate its weaknesses. It is the purpose of the Federal administration systematically to strengthen its law enforcement agencies week by week, month by month, year by year, not by dramatic displays and violent attacks in order to make headlines, not by violating the law itself through misuse of the law in its enforcement, but by steady pressure, steady weeding out of all incapable and negligent officials no matter what their status; by encouragement, promotion, and recognition for those who do their duty; and by the most rigid scrutiny of the records and attitudes of all persons suggested for appointment to official posts in our entire law enforcement machinery. That is administration for which my colleagues and I are fully responsible so far as the human material which can be assembled for the task will permit. Furthermore, I wish to determine and, as far as possible, remove the scores of inherent defects in our present system that defeat the most devoted officials.

Every student of our law enforcement mechanism knows full well that it is in need of vigorous reorganization; that its procedure unduly favors the criminal; that our judiciary needs to be strengthened; that the method of assembling our juries needs revision; that justice must be more swift and sure. In our desire to be merciful the pendulum has swung in favor of the prisoner and far away from the protection of society. The sympathetic mind of the American people in its overconcern about those who are in difficulties has swung too far from the family of the murdered to the family of the murderer.

With a view to enlisting public understanding, public support, accurate determination of the facts, and constructive conclusions, I have proposed to establish a national commission to study and report upon the whole of our problems involved in criminal-law enforcement. That proposal has met with gratifying support, and I am sure it will have the cooperation of the bar associations and crime commissions in our various States in the widespread effort now being made by them. I do not propose to be hasty in the selection of this commission. I want time and advice, in order that I may select high-minded men, impartial in their judgment, skilled in the science of the law and our judicial system, clear in their conception of our institutions. Such a commission can perform the greatest of service to our generation.

There is another and vastly wider field than the nature of laws and the methods of their enforcement. This is the basic question of the understanding, the ideals, the relationship of the individual citizen to the law itself. It is in this field that the press plays a dominant part. It is almost final in its potency to arouse the interest and consciousness of our people. It can destroy their finer sensibilities or it can invigorate them. I am well aware that the great majority of our important journals day by day give support to these high ideals.

I wonder, sometimes, however, if perhaps a little more support to our laws could not be given in one direction. If, instead of the glamor of romance and heroism which our American imaginative minds too frequently throw around those who break the law, we would invest with a little romance and heroism those thousands of our officers who are endeavoring to enforce the law, it would itself decrease crime. Praise and respect for those who properly enforce the laws and daily condemnation of those who defy the laws would help. Perhaps a little better proportioned balance of news concerning those criminals who are convicted and punished would serve to instill the fear of the law.

I need not repeat that absolute freedom of the press to discuss public questions is a foundation stone of American liberty. I put the question, however, to every individual conscience, whether flippancy is a useful or even legitimate device in such discussions. I do not believe it is. Its effect is as misleading and as distorting of public conscience as deliberate misrepresentation. Not clarification, but confusion of issues arises from it.

Our people for many years have been intensely absorbed in business, in the astonishing upbuilding of a great country, and we have attempted to specialize in our occupations, to strive to achieve in our own specialities and to respect competency of others in theirs. Unconsciously, we have carried this psychology into our state of mind toward government. We tend to regard the making of laws and their administration as a function of a group of specialists in government whom we hired for this purpose and whom we call public servants. After hiring them it is our purpose casually to review their actions, to accept those which we approved, and to reject the rest.

This attitude of mind in destructive government is predicated upon the fact that every man will take his part in the creation of law, of self-government, for self-government is predicated on the fact that every responsible

citizen will take his part in the creation of law, obedience to law, and the selection of officials and methods for its enforcement.

Finally, I wish to again reiterate that the problem of law enforcement is not alone a function or business of government. If law can be upheld only by enforcement officers, then our scheme of government is at an end. Every citizen has a personal duty in it – the duty to order his own actions, to so weigh the effect of his example, that his conduct shall be a positive force in his community with respect to the law.

I have no criticism to make of the American press. I greatly admire its independence and its courage. I sometimes feel that it could give more emphasis to one phase or another of our national problem, but I realize the difficulties under which it operates. I am wondering whether the time has not come, however, to realize that we are confronted with a national necessity of the first degree, that we are not suffering from an ephemeral crime wave but from a subsidence of our foundations.

Possibly the time is at hand for the press to systematically demand and support the reorganization of our law enforcement machinery – Federal, State, and local – so that crime may be reduced, and on the other hand to demand that our citizens shall awake to the fundamental consciousness of democracy which is that the laws are theirs and that every responsible member of a democracy has the primary duty to obey the law.

It is unnecessary for me to argue the fact that the very essence of freedom is obedience to law; that liberty itself has but one foundation, and that is in the law.

And in conclusion let me recall an oft-repeated word from Abraham Lincoln, whose invisible presence lives hourly at the very desk and in the very halls which it is my honor to occupy:

Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the character of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap. Let it be taught in the schools, in seminaries, in colleges. Let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in the legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the Nation, and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions sacrifice unceasingly upon its altar.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1 p.m. at the annual luncheon of the Associated Press in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City.

The President's News Conference of
April 23, 1929

APPOINTMENT OF LAWRENCE M. JUDD

THE PRESIDENT. This is a famine day. I have one appointment. That is Mr. Lawrence M. Judd to be the Governor of Hawaii, as Governor [Wallace Rider] Farrington, after several terms, refuses to continue any longer.

Q. Where is he from, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Hawaii. They can give you some notes on his previous career and doings outside, I expect.

GENEVA MEETING ON DISARMAMENT

There is one point on some of the questions that came up that is entirely background, and not for quotation. This is for your own information in respect to the conference. I don't want to discuss that conference in its progress, of course, and this was clarification of one point.

It has been the view of Mr. Stimson and the rest of us that the key of reduction of armament was to find a new formula. I endeavored to explain that to you some weeks ago – a new method of evaluating naval strength which took into account the other factors besides tonnage. The tonnage factor is only one, as you know, of the five or six factors that are involved, and that the whole purpose of further progress would rest upon the successful finding of some base outside of the one factor of tonnage, on which there can be no general agreement. And tonnage does not represent the fighting strength of ships.

The other point on which there seems to be some little confusion – there is no question of compromise of ideas or compromise of any – I should not express it that way. It is a question of finding a new base for discussion, that often enough when discussions come to an end on a particular line, an entirely new base enables progress to be made. So do not quote me on no "compromise" because it is not a question of compromise one way or the other. It is finding a new base for discussion.

There is nothing in the air about the calling of naval conferences, but merely to see if on this occasion we can work out a base which would render progress possible.

The other point emphasized by Mr. Gibson was change in psychology from limitation, which has become more or less a term for increased construction, back to the fundamental conception of these relationships, which is a reduction in armament. There is no question involved here of relative strength. That is not under discussion. The American Government has always insisted upon parity, no departure from any ideas of that character.

That is all that I have today.

Q. Anything on Cabinet meetings, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Nothing this morning.

NOTE: President Hoover's fifteenth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, April 23, 1929.

In his remarks, the President referred to the sixth session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, which convened in Geneva on April 15, 1929. On April 22, Ambassador Hugh Gibson, Chairman of the American delegation, addressed the session. The text of his address, which had been agreed upon in conference with President Hoover, follows:

Mr. Chairman:

I have sought your permission to make a general statement of the views of my Government in regard to the question of disarmament and have felt warranted in doing so at this stage of the proceedings because while we have not entered upon a second reading of the draft convention, we are bringing up for reconsideration various questions which have been previously discussed. It is felt therefore that in view of certain changed conditions it may facilitate the approach to these questions if I am permitted to take this occasion for stating my Government's views as to the means best calculated to promote an early agreement.

During the first reading of the draft convention, it was the duty of each one of us to put forward the views of his government on the various problems before the Commission and endeavor to persuade his colleagues that those views should be adopted. It was only in this way that we were able to throw full light upon the complicated questions, the solution of which we seek. When we come to the second reading, however, a renewal of the old discussions is no

longer in order. Our first duty is for each one of us to examine all phases of the problem before us with a view to discovering what measures of concession can be offered by each delegation. Agreement upon a single text can be achieved only by a maximum of such concession.

For the purposes of my presentation the disarmament problem may be divided into two parts, land and naval armaments. As regards land armaments, the American delegation will be able when we reach this question in our discussion to defer to the countries primarily interested in land armaments with such measure of concession as I trust will materially facilitate agreement among them.

My country's defense is primarily a naval problem. The American Government has found no reason for modifying its view that the simplest, fairest, and most practical method is that of limitation by tonnage by categories, a method which has been given practical and satisfactory application in the Washington treaty. While it is realized that this does not constitute an exact and scientific gage of strategic strength, we have nevertheless found that it constitutes a method which has the advantage of simplicity and of affording to each power the freedom to utilize its tonnage within the limitation of each category according to its special needs.

The American delegation has urged this view throughout the first reading, but, in view of the unacceptability to some other delegations of our unmodified thesis, my Government has sought in the various methods presented some solution which might offer the possibility of compromise and general acceptance. During the third session of the Preparatory Commission, the French delegation brought forward a method which was an attempt to combine its original total tonnage proposals with the method of tonnage by categories. Under this method, a total tonnage was assigned to each nation, and this total divided among categories of ships by specified tonnage. If I am not mistaken, certain modifications were suggested in informal discussions, so as to provide that the tonnage allocated to any given category might be increased by a certain percentage to be agreed upon, such increase to be transferred from any other category or categories not already fixed by existing treaty.

In the hope of facilitating general agreement as to naval armaments, my Government is disposed to accept the French proposal as a basis of discussion. It is, of course, the understanding of my Government that this involves an agreement upon the method alone and not upon any quantitative tonnage or the actual percentages to be transferred from one category to another. All quantitative proposals of any kind should properly be reserved for discussion by a final conference.

My Government is disposed to give full and friendly consideration to any supplementary methods of limitation which may be calculated to make our proposals, the French thesis, or any other acceptable to other powers, and if such a course appears desirable, my Government will be prepared to give consideration to a method of estimating equivalent naval values which takes account of other factors than displacement tonnage alone. In order to arrive at a basis of comparison in the case of categories in which there are marked variations as to unit characteristics, it might be desirable in arriving at a formula for estimating equivalent tonnage to consider certain factors which produce these variations, such as age, unit displacement, and caliber of guns. My Government has given careful consideration to various methods of comparison, and the American delegation will be in a position to discuss the subject whenever it comes before the Commission.

In alluding briefly to these possible methods, I desire to lay special emphasis on the fact that for us the essential thing is the achievement of substantial results. Methods are of secondary importance.

I feel that we are able to deal to best advantage with the specific questions on our agenda only if we bear clearly in mind the recent important changes in world conditions.

Since our last meeting, the nations of the world have bound themselves by solemn undertaking to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. We believe (and we hope that our belief is shared by the other nations) that this agreement affirming humanity's will to peace will advance the cause of disarmament by removing doubts and fears which in the past have constituted our principal obstacle. It has recently been my privilege to discuss the general problem of disarmament at considerable length with President Hoover, who has always been an ardent advocate of peace and good understanding. I am in a position to realize, perhaps as well as anyone, how earnestly he feels that the pact for the renunciation of war opens to us an unprecedented opportunity for advancing the cause of disarmament, an opportunity which admits of no postponement.

Any approach to the disarmament problem on purely technical grounds is bound to be inconclusive. The technical justification of armaments is based upon the experience of past wars and upon the anticipation of future wars. So long as the approach to the problem is based upon old fears and old suspicions, there is little hope of disarmament. The lessons of the old strategies must be unlearned. If we are honest, if our solemn promise in the pact means anything, there is no justification for the continuation of a war-taxed peace. Great armaments are but the relic of another age, but they will remain a necessary relic until the present deadlock is broken and that can be accomplished only by the decision of the powers possessing the greatest armaments to initiate measures of reduction.

In the opening statement at the Three Power Naval Conference in 1927 I took occasion, in suggesting certain tonnage levels as a basis of discussion, to say that the United States is prepared to agree to a plan for limitation at still lower levels which maintain the relative status of existing treaties with respect to the powers represented at that Conference. This is still the attitude of my Government and I am authorized to state that on this basis we are willing to agree to any reduction however drastic of naval tonnage which leaves no type of war vessel unrestricted.

A large part of the suggestions for limitation hitherto made seem to have been of such a nature as to sanction existing armaments or even to set higher levels with tacit encouragement to increase existing establishments. This is

only a timid expedient and an agreement on the basis of existing world armaments (or at higher levels) can never be justified before enlightened public opinion as a positive achievement. At best it is purely negative. Fundamentally, our purpose should be to release large numbers of men from military service to productive effort, and, second, to reduce the heavy burden of taxation. So long as the nations are burdened with increasing taxation for the maintenance of armament it is idle to pretend that the world is really advancing toward the goal of disarmament. In recent years the word "limitation" has come to be used chiefly in describing agreements at existing levels or still higher levels, and is generally looked upon as having nothing to do with actual reduction. It is useless to attempt to correct this impression by explaining that limitation may be at any level lower or higher than those existing. As a practical matter, it would seem to be best to accept the general public understanding of these terms. Let us therefore take the bold course and begin by scrapping the term "limitation" in order to concentrate upon a general reduction of armaments.

My Government believes that there can be no complete and effective limitation of armament unless all classes of war vessels, including cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, are limited. It could not agree to any method which would result in leaving any class of combatant vessels unrestricted. In its reply, under date of September 28, 1928, to communications from the British and French Governments concerning an understanding reached between them as a basis of naval limitation, my Government pointed out that this understanding applied to only one type of cruiser and one type of submarine and would leave totally unlimited a large class of effective fighting units. This note also called attention to the American position at the Geneva Naval Conference and the fact that a proposal for general reduction was urged by the American delegation.

This willingness of my Government, I may even say its eagerness, to go to low levels, is based upon the fundamental belief that naval needs are relative, namely, that what we may require for our defense depends chiefly upon the size of the navies maintained by others. Aside from the signatories of the Washington treaty, there is no conceivable combination of naval power which could threaten the safety of any of the principal naval powers. What justification can there be for the powers which lead in the respective classes of naval vessels to sanction further building programs in those classes? In the case of the United States we have already expressed our willingness to agree on a basis that would mean a substantial reduction of our present destroyer and submarine types. In the case of cruisers it is only possession by others of greatly superior strength in this class which has led to the adoption of the present building program.

My Government can not find any justification for the building and maintenance of large naval establishments save on the ground that no power can reduce except as a result of general reduction. Let us ask ourselves honestly what these establishments are for. As regards the relations of the maritime powers among themselves, there is no such need. Even if the danger of war is admitted, it could be guarded against just as well by the maintenance of relative strength at low levels as at higher levels. The principal naval powers have nothing to fear from the naval strength of the countries nonsignatory to the Washington treaty. There is no conceivable combination of naval strength among the nonsignatory powers which need give concern. As an example, the cruiser strength of all the nonsignatory countries in the world does not attain to one-half of the cruiser tonnage of the greatest single fleet.

The people of every country are crying out against the burdens of taxation and demanding the suppression of unnecessary expenditure. My Government is convinced that expenditure for disproportionate naval establishments is indefensible in that it can be avoided by a sensible agreement among the naval powers. And we must recognize that the people who pay taxes are bound to feel well founded resentment against any policy which commits them to needless taxation through failure to reach rational agreements.

My Government believes firmly in its idea that naval needs are relative and that radical general reduction is possible only on the theory of relative needs. I trust that these views may commend themselves to other governments and that it may be possible to agree upon such reductions. If, however, it is impossible to agree on this thesis, it is obvious that there will remain only the thesis of absolute naval needs. This would mean that all thought of reduction is abandoned, that each country retains a free hand in building with an inevitable tendency toward competition. Surely we can hardly envisage such a sequel to our solemn undertaking to keep the peace.

My Government has always felt that we need no exact balance of ships and guns, which can be based only upon the idea of conflict; what is really wanted is a commonsense agreement, based on the idea that we are going to be friends and settle our problems by peaceful means. My Government has never believed that an effective approach to the problem of disarmament could be made by methods of reduction of armaments alone. It feels that genuine disarmament will follow only from a change of attitude toward the use of force in the settlement of international disputes. It is for that reason that I venture to make this appeal that the countries here represented examine the whole problem afresh in the hope that they will find in general world conditions and in the solemn obligation they have taken among themselves a reassurance as to their security and that they will find in this the confidence to enable them to dispense with the armaments which hitherto have seemed so essential.

Message Endorsing the Leonard Wood Memorial for the Eradication of Leprosy
April 23, 1929

[Released April 23, 1929. Dated April 18, 1929]

I WISH to express my sympathetic interest in The Leonard Wood Memorial for the Eradication of Leprosy, and to commend this great humanitarian effort now being made in the Philippines by your organization. The accomplishment of the aim of The Leonard Wood Memorial is in the highest degree commendable and is not only a fitting monument to one of our noblest citizens, but a means of expressing a spirit of real helpfulness towards the Filipino people, and eventually to the world, through the eradication of the ravages of this dread disease.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, Honorary Chairman of the Leonard Wood Memorial for the Eradication of Leprosy.

Proclamation 1876, Amending the Migratory Bird Regulations
April 23, 1929

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation:

WHEREAS, The Secretary of Agriculture, by virtue of the authority vested in him by section three of the Migratory Bird Treaty Act (40 Stat., 755), has submitted to me for approval, regulations further amendatory of the regulations approved and proclaimed July 31, 1918, which the Secretary of Agriculture has determined to be suitable amendatory regulations permitting and governing the hunting, taking, capture, killing, possession, sale, purchase, shipment, transportation, carriage, and export of said birds and parts thereof and their nests and eggs, as follows:

Regulation 3, Means by which Migratory Game Birds may be Taken, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

REGULATION 3. – MEANS BY WHICH MIGRATORY GAME BIRDS MAY BE TAKEN

The migratory game birds specified in regulation 4 hereof may be taken during the open season with a gun only, not larger than No. 10 gauge, fired from the shoulder, except as specifically permitted by regulations 7, 8, 9, and 10 hereof; they may be taken during the open season from the land and water, with the aid of a dog, the use of decoys, and from a blind or floating device; but nothing herein shall be deemed to permit the use of an automobile, airplane, powerboat, sailboat, any boat under sail, any floating device towed by powerboat or sailboat, or any sinkbox (battery), except that sinkboxes (batteries) may be used in the taking of migratory waterfowl in coastal sounds and bays (including Back Bay, Princess Anne County, State of Virginia) and other coastal waters; and nothing herein shall be deemed to permit the use of an airplane, or a powerboat, sailboat, or other floating device for the purpose of concentrating, driving, rallying, or stirring up migratory waterfowl.

Regulation 4, Open Seasons on and Possession of Certain Migratory Game Birds, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

REGULATION 4. – OPEN SEASONS ON AND POSSESSION OF CERTAIN MIGRATORY GAME BIRDS

For the purpose of this regulation, each period of time herein prescribed as an open season shall be construed to include the first and last days thereof.

Waterfowl (except wood duck, eider ducks, and swans), rails, coot, gallinules, woodcock, Wilson snipe or jacksnipe, and mourning doves may be taken each day from half an hour before sunrise to sunset during the open seasons prescribed therefor in this regulation by the means and in the numbers permitted by regulations 3 and 5 hereof, respectively, and when so taken may be possessed any day in any State, Territory, or District during the period constituting the open season where killed and for an additional period of 10 days next succeeding said open season, but no such bird shall be possessed in a State, Territory, or District at a time when such State, Territory, or District prohibits the possession thereof.

Waterfowl (except wood duck, eider ducks, and swans), coot, and Wilson snipe or jacksnipe. – The open seasons for waterfowl (except wood duck, eider ducks, and swans), coot, and Wilson snipe or jacksnipe shall be as follows:

In Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts (except in Nantucket and Dukes Counties, and Barnstable County south and east of the Cape Cod Canal), Ohio, West Virginia, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Nevada, and that portion of Idaho comprising the counties of Boundary, Bonner, Kootenai, Benewah, and Shoshone, and that portion of Washington lying east of the summit of the Cascade Mountains the open season shall be from September 16 to December 31;

In New York (except Long Island), Illinois, and Missouri the open season shall be from September 24 to January 7;

In that portion of Massachusetts known as Nantucket and Dukes Counties, and Barnstable County south and east of the Cape Cod Canal, and in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Utah, Idaho (except in the counties of Boundary, Bonner, Kootenai, Benewah and Shoshone), California, Oregon, and that portion of Washington lying west of the summit of the Cascade Mountains the open season shall be from October 1 to January 15;

In that portion of New York known as Long Island, and in New Jersey, Delaware, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, that portion of Texas lying west and north of a line beginning on the Rio Grande River directly west of the town of Del Rio, Texas; thence east to the town of Del Rio; thence easterly following the center of the main track of the Southern Pacific Railroad through the towns of Spofford, Uvalde, and Hondo; thence to the point where the Southern Pacific Railroad crosses the I. & G.N.R.R., at or near San Antonio; thence following the center of the track of said I. & G.N.R.R. in an easterly direction, to the point in the city of Austin, where it joins Congress Avenue, near the I. & G.N.R.R. depot; thence across said Congress Avenue to the center of the main track of the H. & T.C.R.R. where said track joins said Congress Avenue, at or near the H. & T.C.R.R. depot; thence following the center line of the track of said H. & T.C.R.R. in an easterly direction through the towns of Elgin, Giddings, and Branham, to the point where said railroad crosses the Brazos River; thence with the center of said Brazos River in a general northerly direction, to the point on said river where the Beaumont branch of the Santa Fe Railway crosses the same; thence with the center of the track of the said G.C. & S.F.R.R., in an easterly direction through the towns of Navasota, Montgomery, and Conroe, to the point at or near Cleveland, where said G.C. & S.F.R.R. crosses the Houston, East and West Texas Railroad; thence with the center of said H.E. & W.T.R.R. track to the point in said line, where it strikes the Louisiana line, *the open season shall be from October 16 to January 31*; and in that portion of Texas lying south and east of the line above described the open season shall be from November 1 to January 31;

In Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana the open season shall be from November 1 to January 31; and

In Alaska the open season shall be from September 1 to December 15.

Rails and gallinules (except coot). – The open season for sora and other rails and gallinules (except coot) shall be from September 1 to November 30, except as follows:

In Massachusetts the open season shall be from September 16 to December 15; and

In Louisiana the open season shall be from November 1 to January 31.

Woodcock. – The open seasons for woodcock shall be as follows:

In Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, and North Dakota the open season shall be from October 1 to October 31;

In Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut the open season shall be from October 20 to November 19;

In New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa the open season shall be from October 15 to November 14;

In Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Missouri the open season shall be from November 10 to December 10;

In Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Oklahoma the open season shall be from November 15 to December 15; and

In North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana the open season shall be from December 1 to December 31

Doves. – The open seasons for mourning doves shall be as follows:

In Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, California, Nevada, Idaho, Oregon, that portion of Texas lying west and north of a line beginning on the Rio Grande River directly west of the town of Del Rio, Texas; thence east to the town of Del Rio; thence easterly following the center of the main track of the Southern Pacific Railroad through the towns of Spofford, Uvalde, and Hondo; thence to the point where the Southern Pacific Railroad crosses the I. & G.N.R.R., at or near San Antonio; thence following the center of the track of said I. & G.N.R.R. in an easterly direction, to the point in the city of Austin, where it joins Congress Avenue, near the I. & G.N.R.R. depot; thence across said Congress Avenue to the center of the main track of the H. & T.C.R.R. where said track joins said Congress Avenue, at or near the H. & T.C.R.R. depot; thence following the center line of the track of said H. & T.C.R.R. in an easterly direction through the towns of Elgin, Giddings, and Brenham, to the point where said railroad crosses the Brazos River; thence with the center of said Brazos River in a general northerly direction, to the point on said river where the Beaumont branch of the Santa Fe Railway crosses the same; thence with the center of the track of the said G.C. & S.F.R.R., in an easterly direction through the towns of Navasota, Montgomery, and Conroe, to the point at or near Cleveland, where said G.C. & S.F.R.R. crosses the Houston, East and West Texas Railroad; thence with the center of said H.E. & W.T.R.R. track to the point

in said line, where it strikes the Louisiana line, *the open season shall be from September 1 to December 15*; and in that portion of Texas lying south and east of the line above described the open season shall be from November 1 to December 31;

In South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama (except in Mobile and Baldwin Counties), Mississippi, and Louisiana the open season shall be from September 1 to September 30 and from November 20 to January 31;

In that portion of Alabama known as Mobile and Baldwin counties the open season shall be from November 1 to January 31; and

In North Carolina the open season shall be from November 20 to January 31.

Regulation 9, Permits to Collect Migratory Birds for Scientific Purposes, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

REGULATION 9. – PERMITS TO COLLECT MIGRATORY BIRDS FOR SCIENTIFIC PURPOSES

A person may take in any manner and at any time migratory birds and their nests and eggs for scientific purposes when authorized by a permit issued by the Secretary, which permit shall be carried on his person when he is collecting specimens thereunder and shall be exhibited to any person requesting to see the same, except that nothing herein shall be deemed to permit the taking of any migratory game bird on any day from sunset to one-half hour before sunrise.

Application for a permit must be addressed to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., and must contain the following information: Name and address of applicant, his age, and name of State, Territory, or District in which specimens are proposed to be taken, and the purpose for which they are intended. Each application shall be accompanied by two certificates certifying to the fitness of such person to hold a Federal permit. These certificates will be accepted from well-known ornithologists, principals or superintendents of educational or zoological institutions, officials or members of zoological, natural history, or other scientific organizations, or instructors in zoology in high schools, colleges, or universities, or by any one of the above together with a certificate by the chief game official of the State in which the applicant is a resident or of the State in which he desires to conduct his operations.

The permit may limit the number and species of birds, birds' nests, or eggs that may be collected thereunder, and may authorize the holder thereof to possess, buy, sell, exchange, and transport in any manner and at any time migratory birds, parts thereof, and their nests and eggs for scientific purposes; or it may limit the holder to one or more of these privileges. Public museums, zoological parks and societies, and public, scientific, and educational institutions may possess, buy, sell, exchange, and transport in any manner and at any time migratory birds and parts thereof and their nests and eggs for scientific purposes without a permit, but no specimens shall be taken without a permit. The plumage and skins of migratory game birds legally taken may be possessed and transported by a person without a permit.

A taxidermist, when authorized by a permit issued by the Secretary, may possess, buy, sell, exchange, and transport in any manner and at any time migratory birds and parts thereof legally taken, or he may be limited to one or more of these privileges. A taxidermist granted a permit under this regulation shall keep books and records correctly setting forth the name and address of each person delivering each specimen of a migratory bird to him together with the name of each species, the date of delivery, the disposition of such specimen, and the date thereof, which said books and records shall be available for inspection at all reasonable hours on request by any duly authorized representative of the Department of Agriculture.

Each permit shall be valid until revoked by the Secretary unless otherwise specified therein, shall not be transferable, and shall be revocable at the discretion of the Secretary. A permit duly revoked by the Secretary shall be surrendered to him by the person to whom it was issued, on demand of any employee of the United States Department of Agriculture duly authorized to enforce the provisions of the migratory bird treaty act.

A person holding a permit under this regulation shall report annually to the Secretary on or before the 10th day of January during the life of the permit the number of skins, nests, or eggs of each species collected, bought, sold, received, possessed, mounted, exchanged, or transported during the preceding calendar year.

Every package in which migratory birds or their nests or eggs are transported shall have clearly and conspicuously marked on the outside thereof the name and address of the sender, the number of the permit in every case when a permit is required, the name and address of the consignee, a statement that it contains specimens of birds, their nests, or eggs for scientific purposes, and, whenever such a package is transported

or offered for transportation from the Dominion of Canada into the United States or from the United States into the Dominion of Canada, an accurate statement of the contents.

Now, THEREFORE, I, HERBERT HOOVER, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DO HEREBY APPROVE AND PROCLAIM the foregoing amendatory regulations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 23d day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one [SEAL] hundred and fifty-third.

HERBERT HOOVER

By the President:

HENRY L. STIMSON

Secretary of State.

NOTE: Since 1916, Federal power over the hunting of migratory birds had rested on a convention between the United States and Great Britain (39 Stat. 1702), under which the United States and Canada agreed to prohibit various practices, impose closed seasons on certain birds, and establish bag limits on others. Pursuant to the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918 (40 Stat. 755), the Biological Survey of the Department of Agriculture was entrusted with the exercise of these powers, and in the 1920's a considerable debate developed over how stringent the controls should be. Amendments contained in the proclamation, reflecting in part the findings of a waterfowl census, reduced bag limits and imposed stricter controls.

Address to the American Institute of Architects: Improvement of the National Capital
April 25, 1929

I AM GLAD that the opportunity has come to me as President to contribute to impulse and leadership in the improvement of the National Capital. This is more than merely the making of a beautiful city. Washington is not only the Nation's Capital, it is the symbol of America. By its dignity and architectural inspiration we stimulate pride in our country, we encourage that elevation of thought and character which comes from great architecture.

Our Government in Washington has grown greatly during the past 15 years. We have a working force of nearly 70,000 employees as compared with 35,000 a score of years ago.

War and economic recovery have delayed us in providing even our bare necessities of office space. Nearly 25,000 employees are today in rented buildings or temporary structures built during the war which were expected to last but a year or two. Many of the buildings are insanitary. Above all, the departments are divided among scores of unworkable and scattered buildings. For instance, Agriculture is housed in 46 different places in the city and the Treasury in 27 places, Commerce in 20 places. We are paying rents and losing efficiency in sums far greater than the interest upon adequate buildings. Many of the buildings we occupy are an eyesore to the city. We have an authorized building program for, say, 18,000 employees, yet if we would satisfy even our present need, we should have new buildings to accommodate more than 30,000 Government workers.

Congress has authorized the beginning of a great program which must extend over many years. It is our primary duty to do more than erect offices. We must fit that program into the traditions and the symbolism of the Capital. Our forefathers had a great vision of the Capital for America, unique from its birth in its inspired conception, flexibility, and wonderful beauty. No one in 150 years has been able to improve upon it.

The founders of the Republic also gave us a great tradition in architecture. In after years we have held to it in some periods and in others we have fallen sadly away from it. Although it is perhaps too early to envisage such a glorious future, I do hope to live to see the day when we shall remove from Washington the evidences of those falls from the high standards which would have been deplored by the founders of our Republic and have been deplored by the citizens of good taste ever since these transgressions.

Probably one of the major buildings which we regret most is the State, War and Navy Building. I have been vastly interested to find that the Congress of that day had a splendid taste, for they directed it to be the duplicate of the Treasury Building, but the administration of that day delivered it externally over to an architectural orgy. I have been lately advised that for a comparatively modest sum we can strip it of its function to represent the different types of architecture known to man and bring it back to the sound classic lines of the Treasury, as Congress intended. And this again points to the responsibility of the administration, for Congress is today, as then, giving generous authority and asking that we do our part in design and construction.

It is the wish and the demand of the American people that our new buildings shall comport with the dignity of the Capital of America, that they shall meet modern requirements of utility, that they shall fulfill the standards of taste, that they shall be a lasting inspiration. In architecture it is the spiritual impulse that counts. These buildings should express the ideals and standards of our times; they will be the measure of our skill and taste by which we will be judged by our children's children.

Mr. Mellon has insisted that the great responsibility before us is not one which can be discharged by any one individual. It must be the product of the common mind of many men, devout to secure for America the vast realization of the expression of our Nation. And I am confident that we have within the Nation the taste, skill, and artistic sense to perform our task for our architects have already given to America the leading place in their great art.

It is on this national stage that the great drama of our political life has been played. Here were fought the political battles that tested the foundations of our Government. We face similar problems of our time, and here centuries hence some other Americans will face the great problems of their time. For our tasks and their tasks there is need of a daily inspiration of surroundings that suggest not only the traditions of the past but the greatness of the future.

NOTE: The President spoke at an evening meeting of the American Institute of Architects in the United States Chamber of Commerce Building. The meeting centered on the development of the city of Washington and included the

unveiling of exhibition models of buildings to be erected in the Federal Triangle, authorized by legislation in 1926 (44 Stat. 630, 874). The meeting, portions of which were carried over national radio, was also attended by the planning groups involved and Members of Congress, the Cabinet, and the Supreme Court.

In the early 1920's, Mr. Hoover had served as a member of the American Civic Association's Committee of One Hundred on the Federal City. Subsequently, he worked closely with those responsible for the National Capital Park and Planning Commission and after 1926 he helped shape plans for the Federal Triangle development.

Remarks on Receiving the John Fritz Medal, Awarded by Engineering Organizations
April 25, 1929

IT IS a genuine pleasure to welcome so many distinguished representatives of the leading engineering societies of our country. A man never loses his love for the profession of his choice, no matter whither the opportunities for service may divert his steps in later life or how interesting the activities in those other fields may become. I am, therefore, especially happy today to be among men who are peculiarly fitted by training and experience to understand sympathetically my work and my motives. Of all the honors which have been bestowed, I rate most highly the approval of my professional brethren as expressed in the John Fritz Medal. I thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at a presentation ceremony in the White House on Thursday, April 25, 1929.

The John Fritz Medal Board of Award included representatives from the American Society of Engineers, the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, and the American Institute of Electrical Engineers.

Letter to Chairman Clarence D. Clark Regarding His Position in the International Joint Commission

April 25, 1929

[Released April 25, 1929. Dated April 18, 1929]

My dear Senator Clark:

I regret deeply that the condition of your health has been such of late as to give anxiety to your friends, and seems to preclude the strain which would ensue from important negotiations which are likely to be designated to the International Joint Commission.

Furthermore, none of the section east of the Mississippi River, which comprises a large part of our boundary relations with Canada, is now represented on the Commission. These areas are pressing strongly that they should be represented, especially in view of the character of problems that are now likely to arise.

Under these dual circumstances I feel it would be desirable to make a change in the Commission in the matter of the position held by you and I should be glad to know if this would meet with your convenience.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

[Honorable Clarence D. Clark, International Joint Commission, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The International Joint Commission, with three members from the United States and three from Canada, was organized in 1911 to prevent disputes and settle questions concerning the use of boundary waters between the two countries.

Mr. Clark, who served as United States Senator from Wyoming from 1895 to 1917, was appointed to the Commission on July 16, 1919, and was elected Chairman of the United States Section on April 15, 1923. He retired on April 25, 1929, at the age of 78.

The President's News Conference of
April 26, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. This is a famine day again. I have questions on three subjects that are not for quotation, but just for your information.

LAW ENFORCEMENT COMMISSION

One of them is as to whether Justice [Harlan Fiske] Stone has been selected for the Law Enforcement Commission.

I think every one of the Justices of the Supreme Court have been suggested for that commission and nearly every circuit judge in the United States for one of those positions; and that is the extent to which that has gone. Whoever sent that story out was misled.

Q. Mr. President, may I ask a question? Wouldn't he have to resign from the bench?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think we want to enter that.

"I'M ALONE" ARBITRATION

The other question is whether we have appointed an arbitrator for the *I'm Alone* commission. We have not. At least I have no recommendation from Secretary Stimson.

MEDITERRANEAN FRUIT FLY

The other relates to the Mediterranean fruit fly in Florida. We have sent recommendations to Congress to make an emergency appropriation to deal with this particular pest because it is probably the most dangerous thing that has attacked American horticulture. It is regarded by all of the experts as probably the greatest menace that could come into American horticulture, and the proposal of the Government is to spend the money to stamp it out instantly without dilly-dallying with it at all. We have asked Congress for \$4 million and propose to go right after it.

That is all that I have – that I am able to give you.

NOTE: President Hoover's sixteenth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, April 26, 1929.

The *I'm Alone* was a Canadian-registered rumrunner, sunk off the coast of Louisiana by the United States Coast Guard on March 22, 1929. One life was lost in the incident. The Canadian Government protested and its claims were submitted to arbitration as provided for in the Liquor Smuggling Treaty of 1924. The case was considered by two commissioners, one chosen by each side.

55

Message in Connection With the Observance of National Music Week

April 28, 1929

[Released April 28, 1929. Dated April 16, 1929]

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT of a people must proceed in step with material well-being, if they are to enjoy the fullest happiness. Musical appreciation should therefore be promoted, as one of the liberal arts of life.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to C. M. Tremaine, secretary of the National Music Week Committee.

The President's News Conference of
April 30, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't a single question from the press this morning. Apparently you have no curiosity whatever. So I don't know that I have any starting point for a discussion.

WILLIAM A. DEGROOT

I had an inquiry from one member of the press yesterday with regard to Mr. DeGroot in New York. I haven't yet received a report from the Attorney General on that subject, and therefore I haven't anything that I can add to it.

THE ROLE OF THE PRESS IN NEWS CONFERENCES

But I think you will have to take a part of this labor upon yourselves and indicate some directions in which you would like a little information. A press conference is a conference that works both ways, and I do not know that I can stand up here and deliver orations or essays or mandates or anything of that kind unless I have some suggestions from your side.

So that is all I have on my mind today, I am sorry to say.

NOTE: President Hoover's seventeenth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, April 30, 1929.

William A. DeGroot was United States Attorney for the Eastern District of New York. See Item 60.

57

Letter Accepting Honorary Chairmanship of the Sponsorship
Committee of the Edison Pioneers

April 30, 1929

[Released April 30, 1929. Dated April 12, 1929]

My dear Mr. Barstow:

I have your kind letter of March 30th, requesting that I accept the Honorary Chairmanship of the Sponsorship Committee of the Edison Pioneers.

I shall be delighted to act in any capacity that will be a genuine tribute to Mr. Edison's services.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. W. S. Barstow, The Edison Pioneers, Dearborn, Michigan]

NOTE: The Edison Pioneers were a group of individuals who had been associated with Thomas A. Edison during his early career. In 1929, they played the leading role in organizing "Light's Golden Jubilee," a celebration commemorating the 50th anniversary of Edison's invention of the incandescent lamp. Following a series of "light festivals" in various cities, the celebration came to a climax on October 21 with a ceremony in Dearborn, Mich., sponsored by Henry Ford and featuring the dedication of a restored Menlo Park Laboratory and a new Edison Institute of Technology. President Hoover was honorary chairman of the committee organizing the celebration and also a featured speaker at the Dearborn ceremony. For his address there and other related documents, see Items 157, 245, and 246.

58

Message to the Volunteers of America on the 50th Anniversary
of the Ministry of General Ballington Booth

April 30, 1929

[Released April 30, 1929. Dated April 5, 1929]

My dear Mr. Young:

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the ministry of General Ballington Booth is rightly the occasion for general felicitations, and I gladly extend mine both to him and to Mrs. Maud Booth. Their work in developing the Volunteers of America into an organization of its present high social value is a distinctive contribution to human welfare.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Dr. Alton M. Young, Volunteers of America, Inc., 34 West 28th Street, New York City]

NOTE: General Booth, the son of Salvation Army founder William Booth, was the originator and head of Volunteers of America. At the time of the President's message, the Volunteers were holding a convention in New York.

Letter Accepting Resignation of Eugene Meyer as Federal Farm Loan Commissioner
May 1, 1929

[Released May 1, 1929. Dated April 29, 1929]

My dear Mr. Meyer:

I received your letter of April 3rd in which you tender your resignation as Federal Farm Loan Commissioner and as a member of the Federal Farm Loan Board.

I intensely regret that your decision is irrevocable and that, in the circumstances, the duty devolves upon me to accept your resignation.

I particularly wish to take this opportunity to express the appreciation which all of us hold for the work you have accomplished as Farm Loan Commissioner during the past two years. I know that you undertook the difficult task of reconstruction at a time when the Farm Loan System was confronted with a critical situation and public confidence had been impaired. Under your leadership the administration and supervision of the System has been greatly strengthened, this great institution of service to the farmers has been placed on a sounder basis and public confidence has been materially improved, and will be of lasting benefit to the agricultural interests of the country.

I am aware that after ten years of public service you unwillingly undertook this additional two years of service, and I can realize your desire to be relieved. I earnestly wish, however, that you could remain in public service where your high qualifications and sense of service so respond to public interest.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Hon. Eugene Meyer, Farm Loan Commissioner, Federal Farm Loan Board, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Mr. Meyer had been appointed in 1927, after the disclosure of a series of bankruptcies, frauds, and irregularities in the Federal land, intermediate credit, and joint-stock land banks supervised by the Federal Farm Loan Board.

Letter to William A. n Removing Him From Office

May 1, 1929

Sir:

You are hereby removed from the Office of the United States Attorney, eastern district of New York, effective immediately.

HERBERT HOOVER

Through the Attorney General.

[William A. DeGroot, Esq., United States Attorney, Brooklyn, N.Y.]

May 1, 1929.

NOTE: The White House also released the text of a letter to the President from Attorney General William D. Mitchell recommending removal, as follows:

Sir:

I recommend that an order be made removing William A. DeGroot from the office of United States Attorney for the Eastern District of New York.

On January 28, 1929, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of Administration, at the direction of Attorney General Sargent, orally requested DeGroot's resignation. He then declined to submit it. On April 3, 1929, I wrote Mr. DeGroot asking for his resignation, but he did not acknowledge the letter. On April 24, 1929, I renewed my request for his resignation. I am in receipt of a telegram from him dated April 29th, declining to submit his resignation. He has announced publicly that he will not resign.

Attached hereto is a copy of a statement to the press issued by me under date of April 30th, which reviews in a general way the relations between the Department and Mr. DeGroot during and since the year 1927. Every official in this Department who has had contact with Mr. DeGroot's office agrees that conditions in that office are unsatisfactory, that the personnel should be reorganized, that Mr. DeGroot is incompetent, and an effective administration of that office can only be obtained by his removal.

Under date of February 2, 1929, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Court of Claims Division reported that Mr. DeGroot's office was slow, dilatory, and frequently pays no attention to departmental communications.

On the same date the Assistant Attorney General in charge of land and Indian affairs and the Pardon Attorney both reported that the transaction of government business by Mr. DeGroot's office had been unsatisfactory.

Under date of February 4, 1929, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of Prohibition reported that Mr. DeGroot's office was in a state of disorganization and has been for a long time, and under date of February 11, 1929, in reporting to the Attorney General in the case of a rum ship seizure which was handled through Mr. DeGroot's office, reported:

"Here is one of the most aggravating instances of incompetency and non-cooperation" on the part of Mr. DeGroot's office.

The Prohibition Commissioner for Mr. DeGroot's district advises that his experience with the United States Attorney's office in Brooklyn had been unsatisfactory, that he was getting practically no cooperation from that office, and is unable to get prosecutions in cases in which there is political influence.

Under date of February 1, 1929, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of Administration reported, respecting Mr. DeGroot's office.

"This office has given the Department more concern in the last few years than any other in the country."

This Department has been struggling for two years to improve conditions in DeGroot's office, without much success. His removal was recommended by the Assistant Attorney General in charge of Administration on February 1st, last.

On January 25, 1929, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division reported adversely with details on the administration of Mr. DeGroot's office, and recommended his removal.

There have been repeated charges of irregularities on the part of members of DeGroot's staff. He has never shown any desire or disposition to investigate or take action in such cases. Since March 31, 1927, there have been seven instances of forced resignations or removals brought about by this Department among members of Mr. DeGroot's staff for gross irregularities.

There seems to be no difference of opinion among judges, members of the bar, or officials or attorneys in the Department of Justice, as to the existence of unsatisfactory conditions in Mr. DeGroot's office and as to the necessity for supplanting him by a competent and reliable man who will thoroughly reorganize the office and make immediate and extensive changes in the personnel. It would be a waste of time to comply with Mr. DeGroot's request for any further hearing.

The conclusions I have expressed are supported by a mass of details in the files of this Department, with which I have not burdened you.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM D. MITCHELL
Attorney General

[The President, The White House]

THE PRESIDENT. I have a better supply of questions today. However, so many of them came in just 10 minutes ago that I am not going to deal with them until next time – some of them.

REDUCTION OF RAILWAY RATES

A number of them relate to this reduction in railway rates. And, by the way, anything I have got to say on this occasion is purely background to you, because I have no news or statements of my own at the moment.

That problem is simply that all the practicable, normal storage of the country today is filled. There is a very large amount of wheat still in the hands of the farmer from the last crop. We have the prospect of a larger crop than normal in front of us, and the necessity for us to get a clearance from storage if we are to handle the marketing of the new crop when it comes in.

Some weeks ago a conference was held at Topeka at the request of Governor [Clyde M.] Reed of Kansas, with various railway presidents – railway representatives. Nothing essential came from it. Senator [Arthur] Capper subsequently interested himself in the question, and one of the Southern gulf lines took some action.

About a week ago I requested Secretaries Hyde and Lamont to confer with the presidents of the Eastern trunk lines and Midwest railways to see what further could be done. And as a result the railways have undertaken to cooperate to the extent of a reduction of the railway rate from Midwest points of 9 cents a bushel on grain for export, that is, 9 cents is approximately the average from all Midwest points. The Gulf, Kansas City, and Southern (?)¹ in their reduction, I think, made it 7 cents.

The railways have given this very considerable concern in the hope that it will start the export movement again, and it is a fine action in cooperation.

Q. Mr. President, in that connection have you received any protest at all from the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce or the New York State Barge Lines and operators?

THE PRESIDENT. There is some protest. The flour people want a compensatory rate. That is a matter they want to take up with the I.C.C., likewise the barge people. I am not settling railway rates, I am getting cooperation.

GENEVA MEETING ON DISARMAMENT

I have a number of questions on the Geneva Conference. I think the Secretary of State has cleared up most of those in the course of the day. It seems difficult to get a general understanding as to what is going on in Geneva.

This is not a disarmament conference – it is not a new event. It is the sixth meeting of the Preparatory Commission, and as I have said many times before, its purpose is to secure common language – a common denominator in questions of arms in order that there might be found the key by which the door could be opened to actual disarmament.

The work of that Commission naturally falls into the two branches – land and naval problems. On the land side, the American delegation had previously taken positions on certain technical methods of evaluating military strength. We had the view that it was extremely improbable that there would ever be a reduction in arms – in military strength that would concern or involve the United States, because we have already reduced our armies to a point far beneath any probable reduction that will ever take place in Europe. And through taking positions on technical questions of evaluating the fighting strength of armies, we had placed ourselves in the position of opposing or supporting particular theses that concern European countries and do not concern us.

So that Mr. Gibson's² and our representatives' attitude has been solely to retire from expression of opinion pro and con on those technical questions, so that we shall not be in the position of obstructing any method which the European delegates may find which would clarify their own action.

Our representatives felt that it would probably facilitate agreement amongst them if we withdrew from any previously expressed opinions on matters which were solely the concern of Europe. And thus we do not become a party to any European contentions.

There has been no abandonment, either directly or indirectly, in the general American position that the problem before the world is a reduction of armament. No expression, direct or indirect, on this implication has ever been given by any American representative in Europe, and any statement to the contrary is perhaps sent across for mischievous purposes.

On the naval side, the Commission has not yet entered into the particulars of new methods of endeavoring to evaluate the fighting strength of ships. We have, as I have told you before, felt that tonnage alone would never result in a successful disarmament conference, and that we must get nearer the approximate evaluating of fighting strength by some formula if we were to find the key that would open the door to any real conference on disarmament. The Commission will no doubt get into that discussion. It will be purely a technical discussion between technical people, and I have no doubt that their conclusions will be given out to the world when they come to them.

And the rest of your questions, so far as I am able, I will try and deal with next Tuesday. That will give me a little more than usual time, but I will need it considering the character of the questions.

NOTE: President Hoover's eighteenth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, May 3, 1929.

¹ The question mark appears in the transcript

² Hugh Gibson was the Chairman of the American delegation to the sixth session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference.

62

Message in Connection With Rural Life Sunday

May 3, 1929

[Released May 3, 1929. Dated April 16, 1929]

My dear Mr. White:

I am glad to send you the following statement which you are at liberty to quote from this letter for publication in connection with the world-wide prayer service in behalf of the farmer and his work:

"The blessing of heaven to be invoked on May 5th by Christian churches, of all creeds and in all lands, upon the farmer and his work, will comfort many with the knowledge that their burdens are in the anxious sympathetic thoughts of men of good will everywhere."

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

[Charles L. White, President, Home Missions Council, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City]

NOTE: At the time, the Home Missions Council was seeking to have the fifth Sunday after Easter designated as Rural Life Sunday.

Message to the National Federation of Men's Bible Classes*May 5, 1929*

THERE IS no other book so various as the Bible, nor one so full of concentrated wisdom. Whether it be of law, business, morals, or that vision which leads the imagination in the creation of constructive enterprises for the happiness of mankind, he who seeks for guidance in any of these things may look inside its covers and find illumination. The study of this Book in your Bible classes is a postgraduate course in the richest library of human experience.

As a nation we are indebted to the Book of Books for our national ideals and representative institutions. Their preservation rests in adhering to its principles.

NOTE: The President's message was read at the Federation's convention in Baltimore by Representative Walter H. Newton of Minnesota.

Message to the 33d Convention of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers
May 5, 1929

[Released May 5, 1929. Dated April 1, 1929]

YOUR PROGRAM covers the broad relations of the home, the school, the church and the state. You ask me for a message about the relation of the state to the others.

The state is all of us. Some of us have no home, some have known no school, some are outside the church. The state alone embraces us all. It is the one family to which we all belong, either by birth or by adoption. It is the one loyalty we all acknowledge, the one shelter we all enjoy, and the one discipline we must all accept.

Let me emphasize its discipline. We have achieved so much of liberty that we are seldom conscious of restraints. We resent restraints when we encounter them. I would not see our freedom less; but self-government implies that those who govern themselves shall not only make their own laws, but shall also obey them. We have repudiated the right of others to rule us; then we must rule ourselves. The alternative is anarchy.

Obedience to law is thus the first duty of the citizen of a self-governing state. As with other disciplines, it must begin in the home and be continued in the school. No conception of one's personal duty to the state needs more emphasis just now. The growth of crime threatens us all. It is in large degree the result of belief of some that the people do not wish to have the laws enforced or that we cannot enforce the laws made by the people; or that a citizen may choose what law he will obey. Unless such illusions can be dispelled the whole of our liberties are lost.

Therefore, it is not only by precept to the young, but also by the example of their parents and teachers, that obedience to law should be taught as the first lesson in self-government.

NOTE: The message was read at the convention in Washington, D.C.

65

Letter on the Award to Alfred E. Smith
of the Laetare Medal From the University of Notre Dame
May 5, 1929

[Released May 5, 1929. Dated April 24, 1929]

My dear Dr. O'Donnell:

I have your letter of the 22nd, informing me that the Laetare Medal from the University of Notre Dame will on the 5th of May be awarded to Governor Alfred E. Smith.

I am glad you have thus given me the opportunity to join in congratulations to Governor Smith for the honor which you confer upon so distinguished an American and to the University for its public spirit in honoring so great a public servant.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Rev. Charles L. O'Donnell, C.S.C., President, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana]

NOTE: Alfred E. Smith was Governor of New York from 1919–1920 and 1923–1928 and was the Democratic nominee for President in 1928. The Laetare Medal was awarded annually to an outstanding Catholic layman.

Message on the Opening of the 12th Exposition of Chemical Industries
May 6, 1929

[Released May 6, 1929. Dated April 25, 1929]

My dear Dr. Little:

I thank you cordially for your invitation to attend the opening of the Twelfth Exposition of Chemical Industries on May 6th at the Grand Central Palace, New York.

I am sorry that the pressure of public business will make it impossible for me to accept. However, I sympathize so strongly with the purpose of such expositions that I wish you would kindly convey the following message from me on that occasion:

"The chemical industries are among the foremost of those that ally themselves continuously with workers in pure science, and thereby quickly transform discoveries of creative research into practical products for human use. The fact that your Exposition equally interests chemists, engineers and manufacturers symbolizes this close bond, so desirable in all industry. I wish you all success."

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

[Dr. Arthur D. Little, Chairman, Advisory Committee, Twelfth Exposition of Chemical Industries, Grand Central Palace, New York City]

The President's News Conference of
May 7, 1929

GENEVA MEETING ON DISARMAMENT

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have a small statement you can quote if you will. You can get a confirmation of it from Mr. Akerson later if you wish.

I am greatly gratified at the promising character of the results for naval reduction arising out of the recent Geneva conference. All of the principal naval powers have expressed adherence to the principles suggested by the American delegation, which include the conception of reduction instead of limitation of naval strength. They have expressed their desire for full and frank discussion which would lead to the development of the American formula into a practical step. The manner by which these discussions are to be initiated has not yet been determined, but the question will be followed up promptly

Q. Mr. President, there is a little confusion in the public mind as between the terms reduction and limitation. Does reduction mean reduction of existing equipment?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think we will go into that, because it requires a large amount of discussion as to limits, but the sense of it, I think, is perfectly clear that reduction means an actual saving on either construction or present equipment. Nothing else is reduction.

NOMINATION OF CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, JR., TO BE SOLICITOR GENERAL

I have nothing else that I can deal with. There is just one point for your information on which you might be accurately informed, not by way of quotation or statement.

Mr. Hughes' name was presented by the New York leaders some weeks ago, together with others. Amongst them were Mr. Bond, of Syracuse, who later found that he could not disassociate himself from his firm. Mr. Hughes was subsequently supported by leaders of the bench and the bar not only from New York State but throughout many other parts of the country. There seems to be some confusion as to the relation of the New York organization, and I merely wanted you to have that for your own information.

I have nothing more.

NOTE: President Hoover's nineteenth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, May 7, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on naval reduction (see Item 68).

George E. Akerson was Secretary to the President and George H. Bond was a member of Bond, Schoeneck and King in Syracuse, N.Y.

The nomination of Charles Evans Hughes, Jr., to be Solicitor General of the United States was submitted to the Senate on May 8.

Statement on Progress Toward Naval Reduction at the Geneva
Meeting of the Preparatory Commission on the Disarmament Conference
May 7, 1929

IN REPLY to inquiries from the press the President said:

"I am greatly gratified at the promising character of the results for naval reduction arising out of the recent Geneva conference. All of the principal naval powers have expressed adherence to the principles suggested by the American delegation, which include the conception of reduction instead of limitation of naval strength. They have expressed their desire for full and frank discussion and the development of the American formula into a practical step. The manner by which these discussions are to be initiated has not yet been determined, but the question will be followed up promptly."

69

Message to the People of Orleans, France, on the 500th Anniversary
of the Raising of the Siege of the City by Jeanne d'Arc

May 8, 1929

ON THIS, the five hundredth anniversary of the raising of the siege of Orleans by Jeanne d'Arc, I wish to extend to the inhabitants of the Municipality of Orleans, who during the war so unselfishly and devotedly cared for our wounded, my felicitations and greetings.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent by cablegram to the mayor of Orleans, France.

70

Message to the Hall of Fame Ceremonies

May 9, 1929

[Released May 9, 1929. Dated May 8, 1929]

I GREATLY REGRET that I cannot accept your kind invitation to be present at the ceremonies attending the unveiling of the bust of President James Madison at the Hall of Fame on Thursday or to make an address by radio. Ceremonies of this character are a noble inspiration to the young and they help us all to keep alive the great tradition of our self-government by recalling the parts played by the great men and women of American history whose participation in public affairs shaped our ideals and moulded our institutions.

NOTE: The message was sent by telegram to Robert Underwood Johnson, 327 Lexington Ave., New York City, to be read at the Hall of Fame ceremonies at New York University.

71

Message to the 20th Annual Journalism Week at the University of Missouri
May 10, 1929

[Released May 10, 1929. Dated May 9, 1929]

INCREASING INTEREST in international affairs fostered by more complete journalistic reports and editorial discussion tends to improve international relations and reduce difficulties in the way of mutual good will. I wish you a most profitable discussion of your theme.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent by telegram to Dr. Waiter Williams, Dean of the School of Journalism, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

72

Message to King Michael of Rumania on Rumania's Independence Day

May 10, 1929

ON THIS happy occasion of the anniversary of Rumanian independence, I send to Your Majesty sincere felicitations and cordial wishes for Your Majesty's welfare and the continued prosperity of the Rumanian nation.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Majesty Michael I, King of Rumania, Care of President of the Regency Council, Bucharest]

The President's News Conference of
May 10, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have one question today, and I am not quite in a position to make an adequate reply to it, so this is a famine day, I am sorry to say. I have nothing on my mind, and apparently you have nothing on yours very much. I am sorry I haven't anything

Q. Mr. President, are you going away tomorrow?

THE PRESIDENT. I am thinking of going away about 10 or 11 o'clock.

NOTE: President Hoover's twentieth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, May 10, 1929.

74

Message in Connection With National Hospital Day

May 11, 1929

[Released May 11, 1929. Dated April 1, 1929]

Dear Dr. Burlingham:

The growth of public hospitals in this country is one of the finest manifestations of the equality of opportunity that is the foremost aspiration of the American people. Our citizens will never rest content until the poorest children in our cities, the loneliest mothers on our most isolated farms, have the comfort and protection of such institutions. I am glad to lend the encouragement of the Presidency to the movement symbolized by National Hospital Day.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Dr. Louis H. Burlingham, Barnes Hospital, St. Louis, Mo.]

TARIFF INCREASES

THE PRESIDENT. I have a little grist this morning. First, you can quote this, if you want to, or put it in any form you like.

I propose to promulgate the tariff increases which were recently recommended by the majority of the Tariff Commission on linseed, milk, cream, and window glass.

The tariff on linseed is increased from 40 cents a bushel at present, by 16 cents, to 56 cents a bushel; on milk from present tariff of 2 1/2 cents to 3 3/4 cents a gallon; on cream, from present tariff of 20 cents to 30 cents per gallon. On window glass increases vary from 5/8 cent per pound to 1 1/2 cents per pound, depending upon size.

The Tariff Commission is limited in its recommendations to 50 percent of the duty as imposed in the 1922 law, and therefore, some of the increases are less than those recommended by the Ways and Means Committee of the House. None of them are in excess of their recommendations.

I have consulted the congressional leaders as to the desirability of issuing these proclamations, and they agree that the farmers and others should have the benefit of the Tariff Commission's determinations at once.

Some other reports of the Commission, on which there is either no majority of the Commission or where new facts appear to have developed, have been sent back to the Commission for reconsideration.

APPOINTMENT OF MAJOR GENERAL MASON M. PATRICK

I have appointed Major General Patrick, retired, a member of the District [of Columbia] Public Utilities Commission. General Patrick is a distinguished engineer officer, and his last service, as you all know, was as the chief of the Air Service.

NAVAL REDUCTION PROGRAM

Now, some things for your information. In respect to the questions on the further steps to be taken in the naval reduction program, you will remember that the Preparatory Commission referred the American proposals to the naval powers for study. That is the study now in progress. There is, therefore, no reason for determining further steps until that examination is further advanced.

As to further questions about the conference of 1932 that was provided for in the Washington naval agreement, I have no information to give because we have given no consideration to that conference at all.

OTHER QUESTIONS

Now some other questions:

I have no plans for the summer, and shall make none until the situation becomes somewhat clearer.

No one has been selected for Governor Generalship of the Philippines, nor the Governorship of Porto Rico.

I have no speaking engagements in the near future except the usual Memorial Day exercises at Arlington.

I am not yet ready to announce the membership of the Law Enforcement Commission.

NOTE: President Hoover's twenty-first news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, May 14, 1929.

On the same day, the President signed Proclamation 1879, dealing with rates of duty on glass, Proclamation 1880 on milk and cream, and Proclamation 1881 on flaxseed. The White House released announcements of the proclamations on glass and on milk and cream and the investigations leading to their issuance.

76

Message Commending the Work of the American Arbitration Association
May 14, 1929

[Released May 14, 1929. Dated May 10, 1929]

My dear Mr. Eastman:

Arbitration of commercial disputes in place of avoidable litigation increases business efficiency by promoting good will and mutual confidence. Expeditious, regular settlement of business controversies within industry itself, by its own experts, is fundamental, but machinery is needed to make it effective. The American Arbitration Association provides a practical mechanism through which the method can be applied. I wish the fullest success to the business men meeting under the auspices of the Association to discuss this useful subject.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Lucius R. Eastman, President, American Arbitration Association, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York City]

The President's News Conference of
May 17, 1929

APPOINTMENT OF DWIGHT F. DAVIS

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have within the last hour had a telegram from Mr. Dwight Davis, saying that he would accept the Governor Generalship of the Philippines, and he will be appointed.

TACNA-ARICA DISPUTE

The Tacna-Arica dispute has been settled.¹ The State Department told me a few minutes ago that they would have the whole of the documentation ready for you, they thought, at 4 o'clock, so that you can get it from them. I have nothing to add to the particular publication of it, and there is no particular background to it so far as I know except that after some 7 or 8 years it is settled.

I think that is all I have got on my mind.

NOTE: President Hoover's twenty-second news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, May 17, 1929.

¹ A longstanding dispute between Chile and Peru over possession of the provinces of Tacna and Arica was settled on the basis of a compromise suggested by Mr. Hoover after his preinaugural tour of Central and South America.

78

Message to the Young People of the United Brethren in Christ
May 19, 1929

[Released May 19, 1929. Dated May 15, 1929]

PLEASE SAY for me to the young people of the United Brethren in Christ that they and their kind are the brightest hope of their country, because they retain unspoiled by cynicism the ideals of youth in which alone are found the faith, courage, will and energy by which visions of social and moral advance are translated into actualities.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent by telegram to J. Gordon Howard, General Young People's Superintendent, United Brethren in Christ, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

79

Letter Accepting Honorary Presidency of the International Longfellow Society
May 20, 1929

[Released May 20, 1929. Dated May 15, 1929]

Dear Mr. Jackson:

I thank the International Longfellow Society most cordially for my election as Honorary President and accept with pleasure.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Arthur Charles Jackson, President, The International Longfellow Society, 223 First Street, N.E., Washington, D.C.]

The President's News Conference of
May 21, 1929

THE O'FALLON DECISION AND RAILWAY RATES

THE PRESIDENT. I have some questions about the effect of the O'Fallon decision, and you can say, if you wish, that I am confident that there will be no increase in railway rates as the result of the O'Fallon decision.

LAW ENFORCEMENT COMMISSION

I also have some questions about the meeting of the Law Enforcement Commission. I have asked the Commission to meet at the Cabinet Room here at 2:30 next Tuesday afternoon.

That comprises my entire budget.

The Commission will meet for organization purposes and hope to get under way with its work promptly.

Q. Mr. President, do you suppose the Commission will have a series of meetings here?

THE PRESIDENT. The Commission will determine that. I cannot forecast how they will do their work.

RAILWAY RATES

Q. Mr. President, is that statement on the railway rates for quotation?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, if you like. I would like to have you get it accurately.

"I am confident there will be no increase in railway rates as the result of the O'Fallon decision."

NOTE: President Hoover's twenty-third news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, May 21, 1929.

The St. Louis & O'Fallon Railway Company had protested an Interstate Commerce Commission order involving the valuation of the company's property for rate-making and recapture purposes. The order was sustained by the district court, but was annulled by the Supreme Court in its ruling of May 20, 1929 (279 U.S. 461).

81

**Message on the Acceptance of a Memorial Album From Belgian
and French Officials Honoring Mr. Hoover's Wartime Food Relief Work**

May 22, 1929

I WOULD be grateful if you convey my appreciations to my friends in France at their meeting on May 22.

NOTE: The album was presented on behalf of the France-America Committee at the assemblage of French, Belgian, and American officials at the Maison des Nations Americaines in Paris. It contained the signatures of mayors and other public officials of Belgium and northern France who wished to express their gratitude to the President for his role in the distribution of relief supplies during and after World War I.

Norman Armour, Charge d'Affaires at the American Embassy, accepted the book on behalf of the President and read the President's cablegram of appreciation.

82

Letter to Jane T. Whitaker on Her 100th Birthday

May 22, 1929

[Released May 22, 1929. Dated May 17, 1929]

My dear Mrs. Whitaker:

I have just learned that on May 29th you will celebrate your one hundredth birthday. Please permit me to join with your many friends in extending congratulations and best wishes on that occasion.

I also want you to know of my appreciation of your interest in my campaign last Fall

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

[Mrs. Jane T. Whitaker, Whitaker Road, Westfield, Massachusetts]

NOTE: Mrs. Whitaker had voted for the first time at the age of 99, casting her vote for Mr. Hoover.

Message to a Testimonial Dinner Honoring David A. Brown*May 23, 1929*

PLEASE EXTEND to the Citizens' Committee for the Testimonial Dinner to David A. Brown my sincere regrets that I cannot participate in person and express the good-will and regard which your distinguished guest so well deserves.

Over a period of many years I have known of the large range of civic, patriotic and humanitarian activities of Mr. Brown. In a number of these movements I have enjoyed his close association, especially in his efforts for the relief of war sufferers in many lands. He has rendered noteworthy contribution to the well-being and happiness of many peoples. I greatly admire his outstanding services in the fund raising activity of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. He has been at all times inspired by unselfish ideals and he has succeeded to a remarkable degree in stimulating the generous activities of others.

With my greetings and good wishes to Mr. Brown, I am,

Faithfully yours,

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was read at the dinner in New York City by D. M. Bressler, Chairman of the Citizens' Committee.

Mr. Brown, a Detroit businessman, had headed the National Appeal for Jewish War Sufferers after World War I and since 1925 had been chairman of the United Jewish Campaign.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER FLOOD CONTROL

THE PRESIDENT. I have a number of questions in respect to the brief that was filed by a number of Senators and Representatives from the Southern States. They requested that the proposed contracts for initiation of work should be suspended pending entire reconsideration of the plans and the authorities under the Flood Control Act. Some of them contend that the entire control plan should be revised. As you will recollect, there is a provision in the act which sets up a special engineering commission to examine the conflicts between the so-called Mississippi River Commission plan and the Jadwin¹ plan.

The Mississippi River Commission plan, you will recollect, was estimated to cost \$750 million and the Jadwin plan \$325 million. That Commission was appointed, and it made its report and a determination of its conclusions as between the two plans. That report was presented to the President in favor of the Jadwin plan, and President Coolidge promulgated that plan by a definite order.

The effect of other suggestions in the brief is that the Government should purchase flowage rights over lands along the stretches of the river where there will be no additional waterflow than the main channel. Where the Government is required to purchase land under the law, of course, it is now in progress and monies have been established for that purpose.

But before the merits and demerits of the suggestions can be gone into, I must first determine what the legal questions are that are raised as to whether or not the plan and method have already been conclusively determined by the act and the Executive orders of the President, and for that purpose I have submitted the brief to the Attorney General and the Secretary of War for study and report.

APPOINTMENTS

On appointments I have a number of questions – one with respect to Mr. [Eugene A.] Gilmore, who is Vice Governor of the Philippines. Mr. Gilmore has given distinguished service, and everyone is anxious that he shall retain his position.

I shall appoint Colonel Theodore Roosevelt Governor of Porto Rico. Governor [Horace M.] Towner has expressed a willingness to remain until September or October, and Colonel Roosevelt will have returned to the United States by that time.

Ex-Governor [John H.] Bartlett, who has been Assistant Postmaster General, has consented to become a member of the International Joint Commission. I wish to express some satisfaction over that, because I have more important purposes for that Commission to undertake than it has been engaged with hitherto.

One additional appointment – Mr. Joseph P. Cotton, a leading lawyer of New York, as Under Secretary of State.

GENEVA DISCUSSIONS OF NAVAL ARMAMENTS

I have some further questions on the continued work of the Geneva conference. I explained last week the American method or plan proposed by Mr. [Hugh] Gibson to the other principal naval powers, and I have no doubt it is under consideration by them.

I have nothing more that I am either aware of or can add.

INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION, UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Q. Mr. President, is there anything that you can say in elaboration of the work of the International Joint Commission?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I would rather not add to it now.

PLANS FOR THE WEEKEND

Q. Mr. President, what are your plans for tomorrow?

THE PRESIDENT. I thought I would go out for the usual picnic lunch about 11 o'clock, and come back that evening.

NOTE: President Hoover's twenty-fourth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, May 24, 1929. The White House also released a biographical sketch of Joseph P. Cotton and the text of the President's statement on Mississippi River flood control (see Item 85).

¹ Maj. Gen. Edgar Jadwin was Chief of Engineers, Army Corps of Engineers.

Statement on Mississippi River Flood Control*May 24, 1929*

IN RESPONSE to press questions, the President stated:

"A group of Senators and Representatives interested in the Mississippi flood control have placed before the administration a brief requesting that the proposed contracts for initiation of works should be suspended pending entire reconsideration of the plans and authorities under the Flood Control Act. Some of them contend that the entire flood control plan should be revised, that, in fact, the conflicts between the Mississippi River Commission plan, estimated to cost some \$750 million and the Jadwin plan estimated to cost about \$325 million should be reconsidered.

"The act provided that a special engineering board should be set up to make the determination as between these plans and to report their conclusions to the President. This was done. The report recommended the Jadwin plan and President Coolidge promulgated it by a definite order.

"The effect of other suggestions is that the Government should purchase flowage rights over lands along stretches of the river where there is to be no additional waterflow out of the main channel. Where the United States is required by the law to purchase land, or flowage, or pay damages, this will be done in any event. Monies have been scheduled for such payments out of funds so far appropriated.

"Before the merits or demerits of the subject can be gone into I must first determine the legal questions involved as to whether or not the plan and method have not already been conclusively determined by the Flood Control Act and the Executive decisions of President Coolidge. I have submitted the questions to the Secretary of War and the Attorney General for study and report."

86

Message to President Hipolito Irigoyen on Argentina's Independence Day

May 25, 1929

ON BEHALF of my fellow-citizens and in my own name, I send to Your Excellency hearty felicitations on this anniversary of the independence of Argentina and beg to express the earnest wish that the ties of friendship and good understanding existing between your country and the United States of America may continue to increase and prosper.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Hipolito Irigoyen, The President of Argentina, Buenos Aires]

87

Message to the Association of Grand Jurors on Its Cooperation in Law Enforcement
May 25, 1929

[Released May 25, 1929. Dated May 18, 1929]

My dear Mr. Appleton:

I have your kind letter of May 9th. I wish to express my appreciation of the organized support you are giving to the enforcement of law and the interest you are taking in improvement of the judiciary.

The cooperation of your association with the Law Enforcement Commission which will soon be appointed, will be most helpful.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Robert Appleton, Pres., Association of Grand Jurors, 105 West 40th Street, New York City]

88

Message of Congratulations on the Completion of a
Survey of the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs
May 27, 1929

[Released May 27, 1929. Dated May 25, 1929]

My dear Mr. Delano:

I congratulate all who have shared in the labors of preparing the survey and plan of the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, the completion of which you celebrate at the meeting on Monday evening. The far-sighted vision that led you to look far ahead to the distant evolution of a great and growing city, and the sense of civic responsibility that impelled you to plan for its enlightened development, with wise regard for the health of the inhabitants and the beauty and convenience of their surroundings, are an inspiration to all who trust in the capacity of democracies to evolve leadership that is at once idealistic and practical.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Frederic A. Delano, Chairman, Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, 130 East 22nd Street, New York City]

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**Message to the President of Brazil Acknowledging Congratulations
on the Settlement of the Tacna-Arica Dispute Between Chile and Peru**
May 27, 1929

[Released May 27, 1929. Dated May 22, 1929]

I AM PLEASED to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's courteous message upon the auspicious occasion of the settlement of the Tacna Arica question and to assure Your Excellency that it is sincerely appreciated by myself and by the Government and people of the United States.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Mr. Washington Luis Pereira de Souza, President of the Republic of the United States of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro]

The President's News Conference of
May 28, 1929

RESIGNATION OF MABEL WALKER WILLEBRANDT

THE PRESIDENT. I have only one thing to announce of any importance. Mrs. Willebrandt has sent her resignation to me an hour ago, and I am making an appropriate reply, and we will give you copies of the two letters.

Now for the background of this matter. I would like to say a little something, which I hope you won't take amiss. Mrs. Willebrandt has been a most effective official of this Government. She has shown the utmost devotion and great ability. There is absolutely no truth whatever to the stories that have been spread about disagreements between Mr. Mitchell and Mrs. Willebrandt or between myself and Mrs. Willebrandt or anybody in the Government. Mrs. Willebrandt remained in the administration after March 4, when she wished to go out to the private practice of law, at the request of the Attorney General that she might assist in building up the new steps in contemplation for tightening law enforcement.

She has had an extraordinary offer, which I do not feel justified in again requesting her to sacrifice. She made a considerable sacrifice after March 4 to remain in the Government. She has made recommendations with regard to arrangements in the Government which have been adopted, and there is, therefore, no basis for the statements which have gone abroad with regard to that very estimable lady.

I am not stating that for public quotation, but I do think that any public servant who has given 8 years and as much devotion and capacity as Mrs. Willebrandt has, certainly deserved recognition of that service from the American people.

Q. That is in the second category, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. My general feeling towards her capacity will be set out in my letter, and if you want to reflect that, that is the impression of the Federal Government.

Q. Mr. President, that last sentence – could that be used?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I would rather not have it given the form of direct quotation. But I am explaining to you as something that lies in the administration of the press as distinguished from the public. That is all that I have on my mind this morning that I am able to present to you.

NOTE: President Hoover's twenty-fifth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, May 28, 1929.

On the same day, the White House issued the exchange of letters on Mrs. Willebrandt's resignation as Assistant Attorney General (see Item 91).

Letter Accepting the Resignation of Mabel Walker Willebrandt
as Assistant Attorney General

May 28, 1929

My dear Mrs. Willebrandt:

I have received your resignation with deep regret. In view of the very great opportunity which has come to you for reentry to private practice of the law, and in view of the seven years of sacrifice you have already made to public service, I do not feel that I am justified in again asking you to reconsider.

I had hoped you would be able to continue until we had established the steps of reorganization which have been initiated in the Department. I am glad to know that you will give us your continued cooperation and advice in these special problems.

I cannot, however, allow this opportunity to pass without an expression of the indebtedness of the American people and of the Government for so many years of effective public service. The position you have held has been one of the most difficult in the government and one which could not have been conducted with such distinguished success by one of less legal ability and moral courage.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: Mrs. Willebrandt served as Assistant Attorney General from 1921 to 1929. Her letter of resignation, dated May 26, 1929, and released with the President's letter, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

The Aviation Corporation has offered me the post of Washington Counsel for the holding company and its subsidiaries. In addition to the regular legal business of a corporate enterprise of such magnitude, this has a real challenge. We are on the threshold of rapid expansion of air traffic. The law throughout the forty-eight states and the Federal Government is in the making. The Aviation Corporation proposes to become active in securing uniformity and stability in law and procedure to safeguard life and the streams of capital flowing into aviation and allied enterprises. It offers me, therefore, a field of constructive legal work, where every step of progress will be of widespread service. I want to accept Aviation's offer. I ask you, therefore, to please accept my resignation, relieving me if possible from active duty by June 15.

I genuinely regret leaving official connection with the accomplishments of your administration. I have given, however, more than seven years to public service, and I trust my helpfulness to you may not cease when I become just a private citizen. To have had a small part in your election will always be a source of great satisfaction to me and in my own belief the way I have served my country best. The solution of the problem of lawlessness is sure in your hands, and I relinquish the Prisons work with a sense of achievement in having had the Bureau made a major scientific one and having secured my friend, Sanford Bates, as its Chief.

The Tax work in my Division is well organized and up to date, and will carry forward efficiently under my successor.

Assuring you of my appreciation of your friendship and real gratitude for your national service, I am

Faithfully yours,
MABEL WALKER WILLEBRANDT

[Honorable Herbert Hoover, The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

Remarks at the First Meeting of the National Commission
on Law Observance and Enforcement
May 28, 1929

I PROPOSE no extensive address in inducting this Commission formally into its duties.

Its members have large understanding and long service in the field whose problems it is assembled to study and consider. I have already expressed my views publicly upon its purpose and its necessity.

The American people are deeply concerned over the alarming disobedience of law, the abuses in law enforcement, and the growth of organized crime, which has spread in every field of evil-doing and in every part of our country. A nation does not fail from its growth of wealth or power. But no nation can for long survive the failure of its citizens to respect and obey the laws which they themselves make. Nor can it survive a decadence of the moral and spiritual concepts that are the basis of respect for law nor from neglect to organize itself to defeat crime and the corruption that flows from it. Nor is this a problem confined to the enforcement and obedience of one law or the laws of the Federal or State Governments separately. The problem is partly the attitude toward all law.

It is my hope that the Commission shall secure an accurate determination of fact and cause, following them with constructive, courageous conclusions which will bring public understanding and command public support of its solutions. The general public approval of the necessity for the creation of this Commission and the extraordinary universality of approval of its membership are in themselves evidences of the responsibility that lies upon you and of the great public concern in your task and of the hopes that you may succeed. I do pray for the success of your endeavors, for by such success you will have performed one of the greatest services to our generation.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Cabinet Room at the White House at 2:30 p.m. The White House also released statements made at the meeting by Attorney General William D. Mitchell and the new Commission Chairman, George W. Wickersham, as follows:

STATEMENT BY ATTORNEY GENERAL MITCHELL

The work of this Commission will touch very closely the Department of Justice, and naturally we have a very earnest desire that the Commission's efforts will result in giving to the Department of Justice a basis for distinct improvement and accomplishment in the task of law enforcement.

With that interest in the Commission's work, the Department of Justice can be counted on to cooperate with you to the fullest extent, and I desire to place at the disposal of the Commission every facility of every agency of the Department. No doubt we have in the Department much information relating to the operations of our Federal courts, and of the Federal agencies for the detection of crime and the enforcement of criminal laws, which may be of use to the Commission in the course of its work.

I hope the Commission will feel free to call upon us for any service it requires.

STATEMENT BY CHAIRMAN WICKERSHAM

Mr. President:

I am confident I express the feelings of all members of this Commission when I say, we are deeply sensible of the high compliment you have paid us in your invitation to serve as members of a body called to consider a problem the solution of which you regard as more vital to the preservation of our institutions than any other question before the American people.

Every one of us has had occasion, either from the standpoint of the bench, the bar, the office of public prosecutor, the teacher, or the student of public justice, to consider the fundamental questions of human conduct in its relation to law, the character of our laws, and the machinery for law enforcement. In the light of that experience we realize the gravity of the situation we are called upon to consider. The opinions or conclusions we have formed as the result of such experience will constitute our initial contribution to the solution of the problem submitted to us. But, outside of the limits of our own experience – wholly or in part – we understand there is a vast accumulation of records, including statistics, reports, and other material bearing upon the administration of justice, assembled in departments of the National and State Governments, which should be examined, analyzed, classified and studied as bearing upon the matters before us.

There are also many public and private organizations which have been studying questions bearing upon matters involved in our inquiry, and we expect material assistance from them as well as from other students of our social conditions.

We approach our task with a profound realization of its importance and with minds open to consider on their merits all intelligent suggestions from unprejudiced sources. We are under no illusions as to the difficulty of our task. We know there is no short cut to the millennium. But we have confidence in the fundamental honesty and right-mindedness of the American people and their readiness to support sound methods of reform when the existence of evils is exposed and practical methods for their eradication submitted to popular judgment.

To the discharge of the undertaking you have devolved upon us we pledge our best endeavors, invoking divine guidance in the performance of our task.

Message of Sympathy on the Death of Conde Benoist Pallen

May 28, 1929

[Released May 28, 1929. Dated May 27, 1929]

My dear Mrs. Pallen:

In these dark first moments of your sorrow I hesitate to write to you because I have not had the privilege of acquaintance with you and your late husband, but I cannot forbear to send you my sincerest sympathy and to say how great is, I feel, the public loss of the whole country in the death of one who gave so largely to the men and women of his time of the rich fruits of a sincere and high-minded search for the everlasting truths. I pray that such thoughts as these may help you bear your loss.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

[Mrs. Conde Benoist Pallen, Blackstone Hotel, New York City]

NOTE: Conde Benoist Pallen was the author of poems and books and an editor of various Roman Catholic publications.

Memorial Day Address at Arlington National Cemetery
 May 30, 1929

Fellow countrymen:

Over the years since the Civil War the Grand Army of the Republic have conducted this sacred ceremony in memoriam of those who died in service of their country. The ranks of their living comrades have been steadily thinned with time. But other wars have reaped their harvest of sacrifice and these dead too lie buried here. Their living comrades now join in conduct of this memorial, that it may be carried forward when the noble men who today represent the last of the Grand Army shall have joined those already in the Great Beyond.

This sacred occasion has impelled our Presidents to express their aspirations in furtherance of peace. No more appropriate tribute can be paid to our heroic dead than to stand in the presence of their resting places and pledge renewed effort that these sacrifices shall not be claimed again.

Today, as never before in peace, new life-destroying instrumentalities and new systems of warfare are being added to those that even so recently spread death and desolation over the whole continent of Europe. Despite those lessons every government continues to increase and perfect its armament. And while this progress is being made in the development of the science of warfare, the serious question arises – are we making equal progress in devising ways and means to avoid those frightful fruits of men's failures that have blotted with blood so many chapters of the world's history ?

There is a great hope, for since this day a year ago, a solemn declaration has been proposed by America to the world and has been signed by 40 nations. It states that they

"Solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another."

They

"Agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

That is a declaration that springs from the aspirations and hearts of men and women throughout the world. It is a solemn covenant to which the great nations of the world have bound themselves.

But notwithstanding this noble assurance, preparedness for war still advances steadily in every land. As a result the pessimist calls this covenant a pious expression of foreign offices, a trick of statesmen on the hopes of humanity, for which we and other nations will be held responsible without reserve. With this view I cannot agree.

But, if this agreement is to fulfill its high purpose, we and other nations must accept its consequences; we must clothe faith and idealism with action. That action must march with the inexorable tread of commonsense and realism to accomplishment.

If this declaration really represents the aspirations of peoples; if this covenant be genuine proof that the world has renounced war as an instrument of national policy, it means at once an abandonment of the aggressive use of arms by every signatory nation and becomes a sincere declaration that all armament hereafter shall be used only for defense. Consequently, if we are honest we must reconsider our own naval armament and the armaments of the world in the light of their defensive and not their aggressive use. Our Navy is the first and in the world sense the only important factor in our national preparedness. It is a powerful part of the arms of the world.

To make ready for defense is a primary obligation upon every statesman and adequate preparedness is an assurance against aggression. But if we are to earnestly predicate our views upon renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, if we are to set standards that naval strength is purely for defense and not for aggression, then the strength in fighting ships required by nations is but relative to that of other powers. All nations assent to this – that defensive needs of navies are relative. Moreover, other nations concede our contention for parity. With these principles before us our problem is to secure agreement among nations that we shall march together toward reductions in naval equipment.

Despite the declarations of the Kellogg Pact, every important country has since the signing of that agreement been engaged in strengthening its naval arm. We are still borne on the tide of competitive building. Fear and suspicion disappear but slowly from the world. Democracies can only be led to undertake the burdens of increasing naval construction by continued appeal to fear, by constant envisaging

of possible conflict, by stimulated imaginings of national dangers, by glorification of war. Fear and suspicion will never slacken unless we can halt competitive construction of arms. They will never disappear unless we can turn this tide toward actual reduction.

But to arrive at any agreement through which we can, marching in company with our brother nations, secure reduction of armament, we must find a rational yardstick with which to make reasonable comparisons of their naval units with ours and thus maintain an agreed relativity. So far the world has failed to find such a yardstick. To say that such a measure cannot be found is the counsel of despair, it is a challenge to the naval authorities of the world, it is the condemnation of the world to the Sisyphean toil of competitive armaments.

The present administration of the United States has undertaken to approach this vital problem with a new program. We feel that it is useless for us to talk of the limitation of arms if such limitations are to be set so high as virtually to be an incitement to increase armament. The idea of limitation of arms has served a useful purpose. It made possible conferences in which the facts about national aspirations could be discussed frankly in an atmosphere of friendliness and conciliation. Likewise the facts of the technical problems involved and the relative values of varying national needs have been clarified by patient comparison of expert opinions.

But still the net result has been the building of more fighting ships. Therefore, we believe the time has come when we must know whether the pact we have signed is real, whether we are condemned to further and more extensive programs of naval construction. Limitation upward is not now our goal, but actual reduction of existing commitments to lowered levels.

Such a program, if it be achieved, is fraught with endless blessings. The smaller the armed force of the world, the less will armed force be left in the minds of men as an instrument of national policy. The smaller the armed forces of the world, the less will be the number of men withdrawn from the creative and productive labors. Thus we shall relieve the toilers of the nations of the deadening burden of unproductive expenditures, and above all, we shall deliver them from the greatest of human calamities – fear. We shall breathe an air cleared of poison, of destructive thought, and of potential war.

But the pact that we have signed by which we renounce war as an instrument of national policy, by which we agree to settle all conflicts, of whatever nature, by pacific means, implies more than the reduction of arms to a basis of simple defense. It implies that nations will conduct their daily intercourse in keeping with the spirit of that agreement. It implies that we shall endeavor to develop those instrumentalities of peaceful adjustment that will enable us to remove disputes from the field of emotion to the field of calm and judicial consideration.

It is fitting that we should give our minds to these subjects on this occasion; that we should give voice to these deepest aspirations of the American people, in this place. These dead whom we have gathered here today to honor, these valiant and unselfish souls who gave life itself in service of their ideals, evoke from us the most solemn mood of consecration. They died that peace should be established. Our obligation is to see it maintained. Nothing less than our resolve to give ourselves with equal courage to the ideal of our day will serve to manifest our gratitude for their sacrifices, our undying memory of their deeds, our emulation of their glorious example.

NOTE: The President spoke at the annual memorial exercises at 11 a.m. on Thursday, May 30, 1929.

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Message on the 100th Anniversary of the Philadelphia Inquirer

May 30, 1929

[Released May 30, 1929. Dated May 28, 1929]

I CONGRATULATE you upon the one hundredth anniversary of the Philadelphia Inquirer and likewise all those others who share with you the valuable public service of carrying on its great tradition.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent by telegram to John T. Custis, managing editor, The Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia, Pa.

Message for a Banquet Honoring Professor Arthur M. Cathcart of Stanford University
May 30, 1929

[Released May 30, 1929. Dated May 20, 1929]

My dear Sirs:

I am sorry that I cannot be present in person, but I shall be present in spirit to share with you in paying respects and honor to my old friend and great servant of the University, Professor Arthur Martin Cathcart on the completion of his twenty-five years as teacher of law at Stanford University. On my behalf please extend to him my congratulations and best wishes for many more years of equally distinguished service.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent in a letter addressed to the Cathcart Banquet Committee, Robert M. C. Littler, chairman, Stanford Law School, Stanford University, Calif.

The President's News Conference of
May 31, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I have three categories of questions today.

SPECIAL SESSION ON FARM AND TARIFF LEGISLATION

First, with regard to the recess or sessions of the Congress. The majority leaders, both Senator [James E.] Watson and Congressman [John Q.] Tilson, are united in their recommendations to me that there should be no recess in the special session until farm legislation is complete, and that there should be no recess after that except for a few weeks to accommodate the Senate Finance Committee in its hearings on the tariff bill unless there is a completely fixed agreement in the Senate as to an early date upon which a vote will be taken on the bill, with a further agreed period for debate on the conference reports, which would assure a final vote in the Senate as early as possible. The interest of the country obviously necessitates the rapid determination of both these questions, and I am entirely in accord with their views.

GERMAN REPARATIONS

On the question of the settlement of German reparations, my only comment that I could properly make is that it is a very notable contribution to stability and to progress, and I think the American people should be gratified at the contribution which Messrs. [Owen D.] Young, [John Pierpont] Morgan and [Thomas W.] Lamont have made to bring it to a successful conclusion.

RESIGNATION OF HERBERT M. LORD

My third questions are in respect to General Lord. I have not yet found his successor. I do regret greatly to see General Lord go out of public service. He has been an extraordinarily able Budget Director, and he only leaves because of the opportunity that has been given to him to take a position where he can make a little money for his family and his old age.

VOTE ON TARIFF BILL

Q. Mr. President, I don't suppose you care to give an approximate date as to the vote in the Senate. You said "early."

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think I want to comment on that. That is a matter that the leaders have to deal with, and I don't care to intervene in their particular problems.

NOTE: President Hoover's twenty-sixth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, May 31, 1929.

The White House also issued texts of the President's statements on farm and tariff legislation (see Item 98) and on German reparations (see Item 99).

Statement on the Special Session of the Congress on Farm and Tariff Legislation
May 31, 1929

IN ANSWER to inquiries from the press, the President said:

"The majority leaders, both Senator Watson and Congressman Tilson, are united in their recommendations to me that there should be no recess in the special session until farm legislation is complete, and that there should be no recess after that except for a few weeks to accommodate the Senate Finance Committee in its hearings on the tariff bill unless there is a completely fixed agreement in the Senate as to an early date upon which a vote will be taken on the bill, with a further agreed period for debate on the conference reports, which would assure a final vote in the Senate as early as possible. The interest of the country obviously necessitates the rapid determination of both these questions, and I am entirely in accord with their views."

**Statement on Progress Toward the Settlement of German Reparations
by the Committee of Experts in Paris**

May 31, 1929

IN ANSWER to questions by the press on the settlement of the German reparations, the President said:

"It is a very notable contribution to stability and to progress, and I think the American people should be gratified at the contribution which Messrs. Young, Morgan and Lamont have made to bring it to a successful conclusion."

NOTE: Owen D. Young and John Pierpont Morgan were American members of the Committee of Experts selected by the German, Belgian, French, British, Italian, and Japanese Governments to draw up a plan for the final settlement of German reparations. Thomas W. Lamont was appointed as an alternate member. The Committee began meetings in Paris in February 1929 and its final report was signed on June 7, 1929. Mr. Young served as Chairman of the Committee and its report was commonly referred to as the Young plan.

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Message to Albert, King of the Belgians, in Response to His
Memorial Day Message of Friendship

May 31, 1929

[Released May 31, 1929. Dated May 30, 1929]

MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN join me in expressing deep appreciation of Your Majesty's touching message voicing that true and unalterable friendship which unites our two countries. We are more than grateful for the tribute paid today by the people of your country to the memory of those American soldiers and sailors who rest in Belgian soil and we appreciate to the fullest Your Majesty's remembrance of this day which we dedicate to our honored dead.

Again I thank Your Majesty for your message and wish for your country blessings a hundredfold and for Your Majesty happiness and prosperity for many years to come.

101

Letter to Louis Wiley on His 60th Birthday

May 31, 1929

[Released May 31, 1929. Dated May 3, 1929]

My dear Mr. Wiley:

I am happy to have the opportunity of joining with your old home friends in heartiest congratulations and of sharing with your hosts of friends all over the country the pleasure they will feel at the signal honor your home city is doing you on the occasion of your sixtieth birthday.

My best wishes for many more happy birthdays.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Louis Wiley, Rochester, New York]

NOTE: Louis Wiley was the business manager of the New York Times.

102

Message to the 27th National Saengerfest in New York City

May 31, 1929

My dear Dr. Ewald:

Americans of German blood have contributed to American cultural life in so many directions that it would be invidious to place one of their contributions above another in any scale of values, but in none perhaps has their service been greater than in the field of music. The choral singing that is so distinctively an institution of the race and that has been continued here with undiminished enthusiasm and success is a very positive as well as very delightful addition to the cultural inspirations of this country. I am glad to welcome the twenty-seventh National Saengerfest to be held this evening at Madison Square Garden in New York.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to Dr. Louis Ewald, chairman, National Saengerfest, Madison Square Garden, New York City.

Message to the International Advertising Association's Convention

May 31, 1929

[Released May 31, 1929. Dated May 21, 1929]

Gentlemen:

The economic, social and international values of advertising are now so generally understood that I need not enlarge upon them. But in conveying to you my cordial best wishes for a successful convention of the International Advertising Association, I should like you to know that I estimate its ethical value as of equal importance.

The reiterated act of placing one's commercial aims before the public in cold type, day after day, compels one to subject his own motives to a criticism as severe as that which he expects from the public scrutiny. Also, the agencies established by the advertisers themselves for checking up the truth of advertising in general, have produced most beneficial results. The noteworthy advance in the ethics of business, easily perceptible in the last twenty years, is in no small measure due to the self-examination cheerfully exacted of themselves by business men in their practice of the art of advertising.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

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Letter to Secretary of Commerce Robert P. Lamont on the Establishment
of an Interdepartmental Committee To Study Marine Mail Contracts
May 31, 1929

[Released May 31, 1929. Dated April 26, 1929]

My dear Mr. Secretary:

A number of problems arise under the Merchant Marine Act in relation to contracts which may be let over 10 year periods for carriage of the postal mail.

It is the intention of the law that these contracts should be used in such fashion as to upbuild and strengthen the merchant marine both for the present and the future. The Postmaster General feels that the question involves many problems which affect the Merchant Marine and upon which it is desirable that he should have considered advice of the other interested branches of the Government.

I am, therefore, appointing a committee comprising yourself as Chairman, with a membership consisting of the Postmaster General, the Secretary of the Navy and Chairman O'Connor of the Shipping Board – this committee to consider and make recommendations bearing upon this question.

I may mention that it would be desirable to appoint a sub-committee of experts in the various departments for the preparation of detailed material for submission to the Committee.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[The Honorable, The Secretary of Commerce, Washington, D.C.]

105

Letter Accepting the Resignation of Herbert M. Lord as Director of the Budget
June 1, 1929

[Released June 1, 1929. Dated May 23, 1929]

My dear General Lord:

I regret intensely to accept your resignation as Director of the Budget.

I realize, of course, that it is not possible for men to continue in government service at the remuneration the government affords, and that I have no right to call on you for further sacrifice in the face of the opportunity that has come to you to provide some savings against old age.

I do wish to take this occasion to voice the debt owed to you by the country for your devoted and able service and the high appreciation you have won throughout the government in the conduct of your office.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

[General H. M. Lord, Director of the Budget, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Gen. Herbert Mayhew Lord served as Director of the Budget from 1922 until his resignation. For the President's news conference remarks on General Lord's resignation, see Item 97.

106

Message on the Work of St. John's Guild, New York City,
at Seaside Hospital for Needy Children

June 2, 1929

[Released June 2, 1929. Dated May 20, 1929]

BOTH personally and as Honorary Chairman of the American Child Health Association it is a pleasure to most cordially wish you every success in the new season's work at Seaside Hospital which so effectively serves the needy children of New York.

HERBERT HOOVER

[W. W. Mayers, St. John's Guild, 1 East 42nd Street, New York City]

107

Message to King George V of Great Britain Offering Birthday Greetings

June 3, 1929

ON THIS auspicious anniversary of Your Majesty's birth, I send you my most friendly greetings.

To the earnest prayers of your loving and loyal subjects for your speedy restoration to health, permit me to add my own and those of my fellow countrymen, and may that undaunted courage which has before fortified you be sustained in your present illness.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Majesty King George V, London, England]

NOTE: In November 1928, King George V became ill with pneumonia and other respiratory complications which caused him in December to create a Council of State to rule temporarily. In May 1929, he suffered a relapse, and the Council was not dissolved until November 1929.

RED CROSS INVESTIGATION OF THE FAMINE IN CHINA

THE PRESIDENT. I have a question as to the impending famine due to the more or less failure of crops in some parts of China. Some 3 weeks ago I asked the Red Cross if they would not send an effective mission to China to investigate the entire situation. Mr. [Ernest P.] Bicknell, Mr. [William M.] Baxter [Jr.], and Mr. [Ernest J.] Swift, all of them very experienced men, will arrive in China in about another 7 or 8 days on that mission. The reports as to the size and importance of the famine and the accessibility of the famine areas are fairly divergent, but this mission should be able to make a reliable report and statement for us in the course of another 2 or 3 weeks, I expect.

APPOINTMENT OF FREDERIC A. TILTON

The only other point I have this morning is that Mr. Frederic A. Tilton, of Detroit, a partner in Haskins & Sells, accountants, has yielded to our persuasion to become Third Assistant Postmaster General. That is the division of the Post Office that has charge of fiscal affairs and accounting, and it is the first step taken by the Postmaster General in the reorganization of the Department. We have had some delay due to the difficulty of persuading men of very much larger incomes and positions to accept this sort of position. Mr. Tilton, however, stands in the first rank of public accountants in the United States and I think is going to be able to perform a very great public service. That is all I have on my mind.

NOTE: President Hoover's twenty-seventh news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, June 4, 1929.

On the same day, a biographical sketch of Frederic A. Tilton was issued by the White House.

109

Message to the American Members of the Committee of Experts on the Success of
German Reparations Discussions at Paris

June 4, 1929

I HAVE HEARD with great satisfaction of the successful conclusion of the arduous work of the Experts Committee. It is a most important step toward the restoration of international confidence and of national stability. You and Messrs. Morgan, Perkins, and Lamont have given generously of your time and strength and I send you all my sincere congratulations on the notable achievement of the Committee.

NOTE: The message was directed to Owen D. Young and John Pierpont Morgan, members of the Committee, and Thomas N. Perkins and Thomas W. Lamont, alternate members.

110

Message on the Commemoration of the Second Anniversary of
Clarence Chamberlin's Transatlantic Flight to Germany

June 4, 1929

IT IS FITTING that the second anniversary of Mr. Clarence D. Chamberlin's transatlantic airplane flight to Germany should be commemorated as you are doing, by honoring both him and his gallant competitors who lost their lives.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to Mr. Charles V. Bob, Bankers Club, 120 Broadway, New York City.

Clarence Duncan Chamberlin, with Charles A. Levine as passenger, made a record nonstop flight, in the monoplane Columbia, from Roosevelt Field, N.Y. to Eisleben, Germany, a distance of 3,911 miles, in 42 hours and 31 minutes, June 4-6, 1927.

Letter Accepting the Resignation of Hubert Work as Chairman of
the Republican National Committee

June 4, 1929

My dear Dr. Work:

I intensely regret your determination to resign the Chairmanship of the Republican National Committee. I am, of course, aware that when you accepted the Chairmanship last June, you made it conditional on your retirement soon after election, and I deeply appreciate your willingness to continue on at my urgent request. I fully realize your desire that someone else should undertake the increasing burdens and anxieties of the party chairmanship which are imposed by each new campaign.

Beyond my own appreciation of your great services the Republican Party owes you a deep debt for its accomplishments under your direction for there has never been a campaign conducted with greater success or upon a higher plane, or one that has proved itself so far above all criticism.

You have given many years of distinguished public service and I know your reluctance to undertake further burdens, but I am in hopes that you will some time in the future be willing to again return to public life.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Hon. Hubert Work, Republican National Committee, Washington, D.C.]

Special Message to the Congress Proposing a Study of the
Reorganization of Prohibition Enforcement Responsibilities

June 6, 1929

To the Congress of the United States:

In order to secure the utmost expedition in the reorganization and concentration of responsibility in administration of the federal bureaus connected with prohibition enforcement, so greatly needed to improve their effectiveness, I recommend that the Congress appoint a joint select committee to make an immediate study of these matters and to formulate recommendations for consideration at the next regular session.

I shall be glad to appoint a committee from the Departments to cooperate with such a committee of the Congress. The National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement will also cooperate through their studies of the departmental organization.

The subject involves the transfer of parts of various bureaus and agencies from certain Departments to others and it includes as well the necessity for the unification and strengthening of our border patrols both in connection with prohibition and illegal entry of aliens. As the question embraces numerous laws and regulations in several bureaus, it will require extensive consideration which if given jointly by such committees of the Congress and the Departments prior to the regular session will save many months of delay.

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House
June 6, 1929

113

Letter on the Resignation of J. Reuben Clark as Under Secretary of State

June 6, 1929

My dear Mr. Clark:

As you are leaving office I want to express to you my sincere appreciation of your kindness in consenting to remain in the Department of State until the appointment of a new Under Secretary. Your knowledge of Mexican affairs has been invaluable to the Administration and I am sure that your advice during the dangerous days of the revolution went far toward keeping this Government to the wise course which has proved so successful.

I wish you all possible success in your future work.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Honorable J. Reuben Clark, Department of State]

The President's News Conference of
June 7, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I have nothing today of any kind. I have some questions here on the reparations settlement on which I am unable to comment, as there is everything in the press that we have.

I also have some questions as to holidays during the summer. I am condemned to work this summer and stay in Washington so that I expect nothing out of it but Saturday afternoons and Sunday.

Other than that I have nothing to help you with today.

NOTE: President Hoover's twenty-eighth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, June 7, 1929.

Remarks Upon Laying the Cornerstone of the New Department of Commerce Building
June 10, 1929

ON AN OCCASION which so peculiarly marks the progress of this great national institution it is a particular pleasure to welcome those men who, as former Secretaries of Commerce, have contributed to its upbuilding. And I may perhaps be pardoned for an especial pride on this occasion, having served for 7 years in the Department, and having had some part in the design and initiation of this building. Those who have presided over this Department truly appreciate the significance and the inspiration of this occasion. It marks the emergence of the Department of Commerce into full maturity and service.

Setting the cornerstone of any great public building in the city of Washington is also a milestone of progress, not only of the Capital but of the Nation as a whole. This building will be not only the largest single public structure in the city, but in its actual floor space, it is said to be the largest office building in the world. It represents the most important structure in the new program for better accommodation of our Government and the beautification of our National Capital.

We use today the trowel with which President Washington laid the cornerstone of the Capitol, 136 years ago. Its use cannot but recall the growth of this city and of our country which that period so uniquely represents. When President Washington laid that cornerstone, this particular spot was but a swamp traversed by little more than a cowpath which led from the beginnings of the Capitol to the beginnings of the White House. Even when, 7 years later, the administrative bureaus of the Government were moved from New York and Philadelphia and set up in Washington, they consisted in entire personnel of officials and clerical force of less than 150 persons. Since that time the administrative functions of the Government have been expanded year by year until they now require 20 times as many officials for each million of people as were required then. While there may be complaints over the expansion in other directions, this Department cannot be a subject of them for it is devoted solely to aid and foster the development of higher standards of living and comfort of our people.

The beginnings of the idea to create a Department of Commerce are perhaps obscure. There was no provision in the Constitution for any Cabinet officer, department, or bureau. A nation struggling for liberty and freedom naturally gave more thought to provision for fundamental freedom by formulation of law for its protection than to the administration of those laws, but necessarily administration quickly followed.

In advising upon the divisions into which administrative work should be assigned, it is said that Alexander Hamilton proposed the creation of six departments – State, Treasury, War, Justice, Post Office, and Trade. But out of economy the last named department was not created. It was not until 114 years later that the functions which he then described emerged as the Department of Commerce.

As Secretary of the Treasury, however, Hamilton's vision well comprehended the necessities of Federal Government activity in support of commerce and industry. Of the bureaus which are now included in the Department of Commerce, those of Patents, Census, Lighthouses, and Navigation were established by him in the Treasury. During the hundred years before the founding of the Department, other bureaus were created and finally brought together into a homogeneous organization with full Cabinet representation under President Roosevelt, and with Mr. [George B.] Cortelyou as its first Secretary. The 26 years since its foundation have shown an extraordinary expansion and change until the Department has evolved into its present impressive size and helpfulness.

And its ideals are clear: that by cooperation and not by compulsion it should seek to assist in maintaining and giving the impulse of progress to commerce and industry in a nation whose successful economic life underlies advancement in every other field.

NOTE: The President spoke at a ceremony at the corner of 14th St. and Constitution Ave. NW., at 4 p.m. on Monday, June 10, 1929. The building was occupied on January 1, 1932.

VISIT OF THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER

THE PRESIDENT. I have some questions about the proposed visit of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and I would like to talk to you purely from a background point of view. I do not wish to be quoted directly or indirectly.

We know nothing about Mr. MacDonald's visit except that which has come in the press and through press representatives. We have had no communication whatever outside of those avenues. The Government here would greatly welcome Mr. MacDonald's visit, and the whole American people, I think, would welcome him to the United States. General Dawes will arrive in London on Friday of this week, and in the ordinary course he will learn what is behind the whole of the press discussion. That being all that we know about the situation.

I have also a question which comes in the same category of things only for your information. I understand the Associated Press has sent out a story saying that prior to the British elections Prime Minister Baldwin was invited to visit America, and suggesting that the invitation was an official one and came from the White House. That is the first that I knew anything about that. Some 3 months ago there was some discussion in one of the London papers, I believe, that Mr. Baldwin had expected to visit Canada in case of his reelection, and would undoubtedly come down to the United States. So I suppose that is all there was behind that fire.

FLOOD CONTROL PROJECTS

One other question in respect to the flood control projects. I have not as yet had a report from the Attorney General and the Secretary of War on questions that were propounded by the congressional committee so that I am not able to add anything to that situation today.

That is all I have in mind.

NOTE: President Hoover's twenty-ninth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, June 11, 1929.

Prime Minister J. Ramsay MacDonald took office on June 5, 1929, succeeding Stanley Baldwin. Charles G. Dawes was United States Ambassador to Great Britain.

Statement on the Senate's Action on the Farm Relief Bill*June 11, 1929*

THE VOTE in the Senate today at best adds further delay to farm relief and may gravely jeopardize the enactment of legislation. In rejecting the report of the Senate and House conferees, which report was agreed to by members of both parties, the Senate has in effect rejected a bill which provides for the creation of the most important agency ever set up in the Government to assist an industry – the proposed Federal Farm Board, endowed with extraordinary authority to reorganize the marketing system in the interest of the farmer; to stabilize his industry and to carry out these arrangements in conjunction with farm cooperatives, with a capital of \$500 million as an earnest of the seriousness of the work. It is a proposal for steady upbuilding of agriculture onto firm foundations of equality with other industry and would remove the agricultural problem from politics and place it in the realm of business.

The conferees bill carried out the plan advanced in the campaign in every particular. Every other plan of agricultural relief was rejected in that campaign and this plan was one of the most important issues in the principal agricultural States and was given as a mandate by an impressive majority in these States. Subsidies were condemned in the course of the campaign and the so-called debenture plan – that is the giving of subsidies on exports – was not raised by either party, nor by its proponents.

No serious attempt has been made to meet the many practical objections I and leaders in Congress have advanced against this proposal. It was not accepted by the House of Representatives and has been overwhelmingly condemned by the press and is opposed by many leading farm organizations. For no matter what the theory of the export subsidy may be, in the practical world we live in, it will not bring equality but will bring further disparity to agriculture. It will bring immediate profits to some speculators and disaster to the farmer.

I earnestly hope that the Congress will enact the conferees report and allow us to enter upon the building of a sound agricultural system rather than to longer deprive the farmer of the relief which he sorely needs.

BUDGET SURPLUS

THE PRESIDENT. I have one solitary and easy question. The only inquiry that I am able to answer on this occasion is one with regard to the estimate for the present fiscal year. I find from the Director of the Budget that the estimate at the first of June indicates that we shall close the fiscal year on July 1 with a surplus of about \$100 million to \$110 million. Last February the estimates indicated a deficiency of about \$17 million, and at that time it was thought there would be a deficit, and a considerable drive was made in the Government to defer expenditure until after the first of July. In the meantime, the income has increased beyond all of the anticipated estimates, and we have come to that very handsome result if nothing happens to us within the next 15 days.

All the other pertinent and urgent questions that you may have in your mind are being answered elsewhere – plenty of news.

WEEKEND PLANS

Q. Mr. President, can you say what your plans are for tomorrow?

THE PRESIDENT. I think I will stay here and work – not go anywhere.

NOTE: President Hoover's thirtieth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, June 14, 1929

119

Message to President Gaston Doumergue of France on the
Transatlantic Flight of the French Plane Yellow Bird

June 14, 1929

UPON the occasion of the magnificent flight across the Atlantic by your compatriots I wish to extend to you and to the French people, as well as to the aviators themselves, my sincere congratulations and an expression of my admiration of their gallantry.

NOTE: Three French aviators and a stowaway flew in the monoplane Yellow Bird nonstop from Old Orchard, Maine, to a beach near Comillas, Spain, in 29 hours 52 minutes.

120

Letter Regretting Inability To Attend Independence Day
Americanization Ceremonies in New York City

June 14, 1929

[Released June 14, 1929. Dated June 13, 1929]

My dear Mr. Mayor:

The graciousness of your invitation to speak in the City of New York on the night of July Fourth, and the high object of the occasion of the address that you propose, makes me doubly regretful that I must decline. The posture of business here makes it extremely unlikely that I shall be able to leave Washington on that day, and were that possible I should still have several earlier invitations to consider. The entrance of new citizens upon the full measure of the responsibilities of their new allegiance to our American ideals of law and custom is always a most appealing occasion, and I am sorry indeed that I must miss this opportunity in person to welcome these into the family of our nation.

With my kind regards to you personally,

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Hon. James J. Walker, Mayor of New York, New York City]

Statement on the Enactment of the Farm Relief Bill
and on Plans for the Federal Farm Board

June 15, 1929

AFTER MANY YEARS of contention we have at last made a constructive start at agricultural relief with the most important measure ever passed by Congress in aid of a single industry.

As it would have introduced many cross currents to have initiated any movement toward the selection of the Farm Board until after the legislation was completed, no steps have been taken in this direction beyond the receipt of several hundred recommendations. It will require 2 or 3 weeks to make these selections. The choice of the Board is not easy for its members must in a measure be distributed regionally over the country; it must at the same time be chosen so as to represent so far as possible each major branch of agriculture. Moreover, the Board must be made up of men of actual farm experience, and inasmuch as its work lies largely in marketing in conjunction with farm cooperatives, its membership should be comprised of men who have been actually engaged in directing farmers marketing organizations. It is desirable that the Board should have in its constitution at least one man experienced in general business and one with special experience in finance.

I am asking for a preliminary appropriation of \$150 million at once out of the \$500 million that has been authorized, and as Congress will be in session except for short periods, the Board will be able to present its further requirements at almost any time.

NOTE: As enacted, the Agricultural Marketing Act (H.R. 1), which created the Federal Farm Board, was Public, No. 10 of the 71st Congress, approved June 15, 1929 (46 Stat. 11).

122

Message for the Dedication of a New Y.M.C.A. Building in Philadelphia

June 15, 1929

[Released June 15, 1929. Dated June 14, 1929]

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Please express for me to those gathered at the services of dedication of the new building of the Y.M.C.A. of Philadelphia and those who have taken any part in bringing it into existence my congratulations upon the completion of the building marking the success of their labors in providing a new instrumentality of usefulness in behalf of the service men and young people of Philadelphia. I wish you all every success in this fine and constructive field of human service.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to Alba B. Johnson, vice president and chairman, Young Men's Christian Association, Philadelphia, Pa.

123

Letter to the Speaker of the House Recommending
Appropriations for the Federal Farm Board

June 17, 1929

[Released June 17, 1929. Dated June 15, 1929]

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith for the consideration of Congress an estimate of appropriation for the Federal Farm Board for \$151,500,000, to be immediately available, for commencing operations under the provisions of the Act entitled "The Agricultural Marketing Act," approved June 15, 1929.

This estimate provides \$150,000,000 of the \$500,000,000 authorized to be appropriated by the Act as a revolving fund for use in making loans or advances, and the amount of \$1,500,000 authorized for the administrative expenses of the Federal Farm Board until June 30, 1930.

The details of this estimate, the necessity therefor and the reason for its submission at this time are set forth in the letter of the Acting Director of the Bureau of the Budget which is transmitted herewith and with which I concur.

I should add that the additional amounts, which will be needed by the Board cannot be determined except by the Board itself, but as Congress might shortly recess I have thought it desirable that a preliminary sum should be provided. If the Board finds it necessary to have further funds it should be possible to make provision for them in ample time as Congress will no doubt be in session by the time they are required.

Respectfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[The Speaker of the House of Representatives]

124

Message to the First Meeting of the International Hospital Congress

June 17, 1929

[Released June 17, 1929. Dated June 13, 1929]

PLEASE EXPRESS to the International Hospital Congress my cordial greetings and my best wishes for a most valuable interchange of ideas upon the vitally important subject of your gathering.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to Mr. Rene Sand, president, International Hospital Congress, Hotel Ritz, Atlantic City, N.J.

The President's News Conference of
June 18, 1929

GERMAN REPARATIONS AGREEMENT

THE PRESIDENT. I have a question as to whether the administration would submit the Young reparations agreement to Congress or not, or whether we become a signatory to it. Our Government is not a party to that agreement, and therefore, would not be a signatory to it. There is no occasion to submit the agreement to Congress. The only point for congressional action is an authority to the administration to reduce Germany's treaty obligations in respect to the comparatively minor items of Army occupation costs and mixed claims.

PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT INCIDENTS AT THE CANADIAN BORDER

I have some questions as to the incidents on the border. I deeply deplore the killing of any person. The Treasury Department is making an effort to prevent the misuse of arms. Any case of misuse will be determined by the orderly proceedings of the Department and the courts. I hope that the communities along the border will do their best to help the Treasury and the systematic war that is being carried on by international criminals against the laws of the United States. It is these activities that are at the root of all of our difficulties.

Q. Mr. President, is that for formal quotation?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes – both of them.

RAILROAD CONSOLIDATION PLAN

I have another question as to whether or not I am advised of any intention of the Interstate Commerce Commission to publish an official railroad consolidation plan in the near future. I have no such advice. The Interstate Commerce Commission, as you know, is an independent agency, and does not consult the President.

INTEROCEANIC CANAL BOARD

We have a little statement here as to the creation of the Interoceanic Canal Board to aid the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers in the surveys authorized for the Nicaragua Canal. It will go into details. It gives you the appointments that were put out.

NOTE: President Hoover's thirty-first news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, June 18, 1929.

The White House also released texts of the President's statements on the German reparations agreement (see Item 126) and the Canadian border incidents (see Item 127).

In addition, the White House issued the following announcement of the membership of the Interoceanic Canal Board, together with brief biographical sketches of Mr. Williamson, Mr. Marston, and Mr. Williams:

INTEROCEANIC CANAL BOARD

In accordance with the provisions of Public Resolution No. 99, 70th Congress – authorizing certain surveys for Interoceanic Canals –

"That the President is hereby authorized to cause to be made, under the direction of the Secretary of War and the supervision of the Chief of Engineers, and with the aid of such civilian engineers as the President shall deem advisable, a full and complete investigation and survey", etc., etc. the president has designated the following Board, to be known as the Interoceanic Canal Board, to aid the Secretary of War and the Chief of Engineers in connection with the surveys authorized by the resolution.

Maj. Gen. Edgar Jadwin

Chairman Maj. Ernest Graves, U.S.A., Retired

Mr. Sidney B. Williamson, Civil Engineer

Dr. Anson Marston, Civil Engineer

Mr. Frank M. Williams, Civil Engineer

First Lieutenant John Paul Dean, Corps of Engineers, has been designated to act as Secretary to the Board.

Statement on the German Reparations Plan*June 18, 1929*

I HAVE a question as to whether the administration would submit the Young reparations agreement to Congress or not, or whether we become a signatory to it. Our Government is not a party to that agreement, and therefore, would not be a signatory to it. There is no occasion to submit the agreement to Congress. The only point for congressional action is an authority to the administration to reduce Germany's treaty obligations in respect to the comparatively minor items of Army occupation costs and mixed claims.

Statement on Prohibition Enforcement Incidents at the Canadian Border

June 18, 1929

I HAVE some questions as to the incidents on the border. I deeply deplore the killing of any person. The Treasury Department is making every effort to prevent the misuse of arms. Any case of misuse will be determined by the orderly proceedings of the Department and the courts. I hope that the communities along the border will do their best to help the Treasury and the systematic war that is being carried on by international criminals against the laws of the United States. It is these activities that are at the root of all of our difficulties.

NOTE: The statement referred to a series of incidents along the Canadian-American border in which Treasury Department agents had confronted persons illegally transporting liquor into the United States.

PROHIBITION

THE PRESIDENT. I have one question, and that is whether or not prohibition was discussed at the Cabinet this morning, and I can say that it was not.

APPOINTMENT OF JAMES C. ROOP

I have one or two matters of interest but of no very vital importance. However, one is of more than usual importance. I persuaded Colonel James C. Roop to become Director of the Budget. Roop was the Assistant Director of the Budget in the first year of the Budget under General [Charles G.] Dawes. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and latterly comes from Nebraska. He served as a lieutenant colonel in the Engineers, and in the latter part of the war was Chief of the Purchasing Staff of the A. E. F. He left Government service after the first year of the war and went into private business, where he made a very considerable success. When General Dawes¹ left Santo Domingo he asked Mr. Roop to come down and finish the budget work for the Dominican Republic, where he will be for another month, and then be here to take over the Budget Bureau. Mr. Roop makes a very considerable personal sacrifice to come into government service.

COLORADO RIVER PROCLAMATION

I had expected to be able to issue the Colorado River proclamation today, but that will not be possible, as the Attorney General has not completed checking up on the details required so that will go over to Monday.

FEDERAL FARM BOARD MEMBERSHIP

One point of interest developed in the selection of the Farm Board. Under Secretary Hyde a telegram of inquiry was sent to all of the State farm organizations and the national organizations, and the editors of agricultural papers, and to the heads of agricultural colleges, asking what their opinion was on the selection of an important businessman or an important banker for membership on the Board, and I do not know how many replies are here, apparently a hundred or two, which I will give to you – practically unanimous from every part of the country. If you are interested in the reaction of the farm organizations and the farmers themselves to the Board containing at least one important outstanding businessman as distinguished from men that come up from the agricultural world, you will find that the farmers strongly confirm it. As you know, Secretary Hyde has sent out to all of the farm organizations, 250 organizations and colleges, to ask for their suggestions as to membership of the Board. We will have all of that in hand this week.²

CURRENCY REDEMPTION

Some papers went over my desk this morning indicating that there might be a story that some feature writers would be interested in if you would look up the amount of currency that has been issued by the United States for which the Treasury still holds itself accountable in the light that it is practically recalled under the issuance of the new size currency,³ and that the situation so far as I can recollect of one issue there never has been a best before as to how much currency is lost and how much come in for redemption. The total amount of currency issued is \$5,065 million. My recollection is that the fractional currency of the Civil War was called in, amounting to about \$50 million, and \$13 million of it was never redeemed. And it might interest some of you to inquire of the Treasury what they think the effect of recalling this currency might be on improving the assets of the Government.

Q. Might waste money on that. Mr. President, how often may you change the paper currency? Do you know whether the law permits . . .

THE PRESIDENT. I have never looked into that phase of it. Some of the establishment of issuance goes back to the Civil War in the categories of national bank notes, United States notes, so some of the

currency is probably pretty old. I would not assure you that the Government would be getting such a ratio as 50 to 13.

That is all I have.

NOTE. President Hoover's thirty-second news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, June 21, 1929.

¹ Former Vice President Charles G. Dawes headed an advisory group of American financial experts who were invited by the President of the Dominican Republic to examine the country's finances and budget.

² See Item 140.

³ In July 1929, the Treasury Department began the issuance of smaller-sized paper currency, progressively retiring old-size currency unfit for circulation.

129

Letter to the International Falls City Council on Its
Protest Against Prohibition Enforcement Incidents
June 21, 1929

[Released June 21, 1929. Dated June 18, 1929]

Gentlemen:

I have your telegram of today's date. The matter has been referred to the Treasury Department for action.

You may rest assured that there is no intention on the part of the Federal Government in any way to transgress the limits of the law.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[City Council, International Falls, Minnesota]

NOTE: The text of the City Council's telegram follows:

Dear Mr. President:

The International Falls City Council voted and passed upon the following resolution:

"Whereas, at an open meeting of business men and city officials of this border city last June 14 an informal appeal to the President was drawn up, asking him to end the terrorism inflicted upon our citizens and neighbors by Federal customs patrolmen, engaged in prohibition enforcement;

"And whereas, this appeal has remained unanswered, even though the vicious and unlawful conduct of said Government agents have continued unabated – except that there has been no fresh murder of one of our innocent neighbors;

"Therefore, be it resolved that we, the City Council of the City of International Falls, in regular session assembled, do hereby remind the President that the memorialization of the citizens' appeal was and is the articulate pleading of the community;

"And be it further resolved that the City Council of the City of International Falls does hereby join its official voice in requesting from our President an urgent response to the plea for help from our people."

INTERNATIONAL FALLS CITY COUNCIL.

[Hon. Herbert Hoover, Washington, D.C.]

130

Message for the Dedication of the Orange, New Jersey, War Memorial

June 22, 1929

[Released June 22, 1929. Dated June 19, 1929]

My dear Mr. Fariservis:

I know with what emotions of reverent pride and tender memory you and the other men and women of Orange will unveil your permanent memorial to the men from Orange who died in the World War. Though it will be impossible for me to be physically present, I shall share them in spirit, and shall, like you, feel that this monument is dedicated not only to those heroic dead but also to the ideal that such sacrifice as theirs may not in future be required.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Walter A. Fariservis, Orange Association for Permanent War Memorial, 429 William Street, East Orange, New Jersey]

131

Message to the National Association of Real Estate Boards

June 24, 1929

[Released June 24, 1929. Dated June 18, 1929]

My dear Mr. Culver:

I cordially share your view that an outstanding opportunity for public service awaits the Realtors in the field of stimulation of home ownership, which is so vitally related to the health, happiness and civic pride of our people.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Harry H. Culver, President, National Association of Real Estate Boards, 310 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.]

NOTE: The message was read and displayed at the realtors' annual convention in Boston, beginning on June 25, 1929.

SUMMER HOME IN MASSACHUSETTS

THE PRESIDENT. I have one question asking if I am going to take a summer home in Gloucester, Massachusetts, and the answer is that I am not.

COLORADO RIVER COMPACT AND BOULDER CANYON DEVELOPMENT

I signed this morning the Colorado River proclamation, making effective the compact between six of the seven States in the Colorado River Basin. I have a particular interest in that consummation because I was the chairman of the Colorado River Commission that formulated the compact. The compact itself relates entirely to the distribution of water rights between the seven States in the basin. It has nothing per se to do with the Boulder Canyon development, but the compact has some points of very considerable interest.

In the first place, it is the final settlement of quarrels that have extended over 25 years and which have estopped the development of the river. The disputes and difficulties over the respective rights of the different States have served to prevent any advance in that quarter during the whole of this time. And it has an interest, also, in that it is the most extensive action ever taken by a group of States under the provisions of the Constitution permitting compacts between States. The only instances hitherto were rather minor compacts between two States on boundary questions and one case of the New York Port Authority, which was of importance, but a compact between two States. This is, however, a compact now between seven States, and represents the most important action ever taken in that particular, and opens the avenue for some hope in the settlement of regional questions as between the States rather than the imposition of these problems on the Federal Government. So that it has an additional interest in that particular.

The compact was originally signed by the seven States subject to ratification by their legislatures now 5 years ago, and it has a similarity to matters in international negotiation in the difficulties that it has to pursue in the path of ultimate consummation, but for the first time in history a compact involving so many interests has been made effective.

It expedites the Boulder Canyon development because it clarifies the difficulties which have held up all development, and there is only one point still left open, and that is the relation of Arizona to the compact. I am in hopes that Arizona and California may get together to solve their mutual problems which have hitherto prevented Arizona from joining in the compact. With Arizona in the whole basin will have settled its major dispute for all time.

THE BUDGET

As a matter of some background in connection with the budget for next year, the discussions of which have been going on, the circular sent out did not amplify the situation from the public point of view – purely an interdepartmental circular.

The expenditures for the present fiscal year are estimated to be \$3,926 million, and in addition to this expenditure at that rate, as most of the expenditure during the present fiscal year is more or less continuing, would bring the total up to a very considerable sum. In the appropriations that were passed for the next fiscal year beginning July 1, there was no provision for the new naval program, farm relief, or District of Columbia improvements, nor the Florida fruit fly, and a great number of other items, which in themselves total somewhere over 250 million – nearly 300 million. So that if we are to hold the expenditure down to \$3,900 million, or thereabouts, the equivalent of this present fiscal year, it will be necessary to make serious reductions in some other directions, and still enable us to comply with the additional burden imposed by congressional action. What those directions will be we do not as yet know, and the Budget and the departments are carefully examining the situation to see where we can make some cuts in order to enable us to accommodate the expenditure burden so far as we can without increasing the gross expenditure.

There was one word misused in that statement, a typographical error coming out of this office, that has caused some speculation – the word "restore" – the original word was "reaffirm," but it amounts to nothing.

That is all I am able to deal with today.

NOTE: President Hoover's thirty-third news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, June 25, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the president's statement on the signing of the Colorado River Compact proclamation (see Item 133).

Statement on Signing a Proclamation on the Colorado River
Compact and the Boulder Canyon Project

June 25, 1929

AT THE press conference this morning, the President said:

"I signed this morning the Colorado River proclamation, making effective the compact between six of the seven States in the Colorado River Basin. I have a particular interest in its consummation not only because of its great intrinsic importance but because I was the chairman of the Colorado River Commission that formulated the compact. The compact itself relates entirely to the distribution of water rights between the seven States in the basin. It has nothing per se to do with the Boulder Canyon development except that it removes the barriers to such development. It has some points of very considerable interest.

"It is the final settlement of disputes that have extended over 25 years and which have estopped the development of the river. The difficulties over the respective water rights of the different States have served to prevent development in a large way for nearly a quarter of a century. And it has an interest also in that it is the most extensive action ever taken by a group of States under the provisions of the Constitution permitting compacts between States. The only instances hitherto were mostly minor compacts between two States on boundary questions except the one case of the New York Port Authority, which was of first importance, but is [a] compact between two States. This compact is, however, an agreement between seven States, and represents the most important action ever taken in that fashion under the Constitution. It opens the avenue for some hope of the settlement of other regional questions as between the States rather than the imposition of these problems on the Federal Government.

"The compact was originally, signed 5 years ago by the seven States subject to ratification by their legislatures. It has a similarity to matters in international negotiation in the difficulties that it has to pursue in the path of ultimate consummation, but for the first time in history a compact involving so many interests has been made effective.

"There is only one point still left open, and that is the relation of Arizona to the compact. I am in hopes that Arizona and California may compose their mutual problems which have hitherto prevented Arizona from joining in the compact. With Arizona in the whole basin will have settled their major question of water rights for all time."

Proclamation 1882, Colorado River Compact and the Boulder Canyon Project
June 25, 1929

By the President of the United States of America
Public Proclamation:

Pursuant to the provisions of Section 4(a) of the Boulder Canyon Project Act approved December 21, 1928 (45 Stat. 1057) it is hereby declared by Public Proclamation:

(a) That the States of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming have not ratified the Colorado River Compact mentioned in Section 13(a) of said act of December 21, 1928, within six months from the date of the passage and approval of said act.

(b) That the States of California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming have ratified said compact and have consented to waive the provisions of the first paragraph of Article XI of said compact, which makes the same binding and obligatory only when approved by each of the seven States signatory thereto, and that each of the States last named has approved said compact without condition, except that of six-State approval as prescribed in Section 13(a) of said act of December 21, 1928.

(c) That the State of California has in all things met the requirements set out in the first paragraph of Section 4(a) of said act of December 21, 1928, necessary to render said act effective on six-State approval of said compact.

(d) All prescribed conditions having been fulfilled, the said Boulder Canyon Project Act approved December 21, 1928, is hereby declared to be effective this date.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the city of Washington this 25 day of June, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the One [SEAL] Hundred and Fifty-third.

HERBERT HOOVER

By the President:
HENRY L. STIMSON
Secretary of State

Telegram Expressing Appreciation for a Resolution
of Support by the Virginia Republican Convention

June 27, 1929

I THANK YOU for your message and deeply appreciate the expressions of encouragement and support adopted by the Virginia Republican Convention. They furnish added proof of the purpose of the people of your great state to rise and remain above the level of single party control in local government. The example initiated by the people of Virginia themselves under their own chosen leadership will prove an inspiration to other states throughout the South to do likewise and thus establish and maintain that wholesome rivalry between parties out of which come clean and efficient administration of public affairs in which the people of all parties alike are primarily interested.

HERBERT HOOVER

[Honorable R. H. Angell, State Chairman, Republican National Committee, Richmond, Virginia]

The President's News Conference of
June 28, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I have one question that I can't very well answer without making trouble for other people.

CHIEF OF THE MILITIA BUREAU

I have one question about filling the office of the Chief of the Militia Bureau. That matter is in the hands of the Secretary of War, so you will have to ask him.

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE GOVERNMENT

I have one question as to whether we are going to have a business meeting of the Government the end of this month, and we will not as I want to wait until the new Director of the Budget comes on the job to learn something of his duties. So it will be some time in September.

APPOINTMENTS TO THE FEDERAL FARM BOARD

The other thing –I am able to announce the acceptance of three men on the Farm Board. There are other men to whom offers have been made, but we have not yet gotten their acceptances, so I am only able to announce three of them.

I want to give you this background about the selection of these men. Secretary Hyde and myself have been earnestly endeavoring to develop the membership of the Board in cooperation with the farm organizations in the country. We first sent out an inquiry as to their suggestions, and then taking the suggestions that seemed to us to command the most attention we have taken it up again with various other farm organizations interested, and ultimately have come to a conclusion and made offers to several persons, of whom three have accepted, so that in a very large sense we are making up the Board with the cooperation and approval of the active farm organizations.

As an indication of that, I am giving to you the names of the farm organizations which have endorsed Mr. [James C.] Stone, Mr. [Carl] Williams, and Mr. [Cyrus B.] Denman. They make a very formidable list and represent very large bodies of farmers. The material is all mimeographed so that you can get it outside. That is all that I can tell you today on that.

NOTE: President Hoover's thirty-fourth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, June 28, 1929.

The White House also released brief biographical information on the three appointees to the Federal Farm Board and lists of the farm organizations, agricultural colleges, farm cooperatives, agricultural journals, Members of Congress, and public figures endorsing each.

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Message to Commander Richard E. Byrd on the
Second Anniversary of His Transatlantic Flight
June 29, 1929

[Released June 29, 1929. Dated June 20, 1929]

My dear Commander Byrd:

On this second anniversary of your transatlantic flight to France, I wish personally and upon behalf of the Nation to congratulate you and your gallant comrades upon that triumph of courage and skill over the resisting forces of Nature, and to wish you all success in your present similar conquests of the Antarctic.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The President's message was broadcast in a special radio program to Little America in the Antarctic where, in January 1929, Commander Byrd had established a base for exploration culminating in a flight to the South Pole in November. On April 7, the White House made public a message of April 5 which President Hoover sent to Adolph S. Ochs of the New York Times to be read to Commander Byrd during a radio program sponsored by the Times and WGY shortwave. The message and Commander Byrd's reply follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

I am sorry that the Antarctic night is about to interrupt the most interesting side of your work but with the radio you will not become lonesome. My best wishes to you and your comrades.

HERBERT HOOVER

COMMANDER BYRD'S REPLY

President Hoover:

We were all very happy to get your message specially as we recall your interest and encouragement when we were struggling to organize our first two polar expeditions. I wish I could let you know the feeling I have about the conduct of the red-blooded fellows with me. Unfortunately I cannot seem to be able to put it properly into words. They have shown great courage and made superhuman effort which has resulted in Little America constructed of hundreds of tons of material transported over miles of treacherous ice. We found the ice of the Bay 7 miles farther seaward than formerly and it might have licked us but for the indomitable spirit of the men. Recently they have toiled cheerfully building tunnels and snowhouses for scientific purposes exposed to temperatures as low as 70 degrees below freezing. They feel a pride in putting on a show down here that will be worthy of Uncle Sam. All join me in well wishes and respectful greetings.

RICHARD E. BYRD

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Message to the Robert Burns Memorial Association

June 29, 1929

[Released June 29, 1929. Dated June 25, 1929]

My dear Mr. Smith:

The road to world peace is through a maze of all the tangled complexities of human nature, and may be traversed only by dealing with them in a practical spirit and with much patience. Nevertheless, all men of good-will must press steadily toward that goal if civilization is to survive. In this forward march of the human spirit, poets lead the way with their visions of the ideal, and therefore you do well, in your memorial to Robert Burns, to stress his aspiration toward the time when "Man to Man, the world o'er, shall brothers be."

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. John R. W. Smith, President, The Robert Burns Memorial Assn., 1318 Edwards Avenue, Westchester, New York]

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Message to the Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America
June 30, 1929

[Released June 30, 1929. Dated June 27, 1929]

My dear Mr. Slomovitz:

Please say for me to the members of the Zionist Organization of America, gathered in annual convention at Detroit on June 30th, that I pray their deliberations may be, as always, richly fruitful in that spiritual wisdom for which the Jewish race has been noteworthy in all ages.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Philip Slomovitz, President of the Zionist District of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan]

FEDERAL FARM BOARD

THE PRESIDENT. First, I am able to announce two acceptances on the Farm Board – Mr. [Charles C.] Teague of California, about whom we will give you a note, and Mr. [Alexander] Legge of Chicago.

Mr. Legge probably makes as great a sacrifice as any citizen ever made to enter public service. It will reduce the gentleman's salary from something over \$100,000 a year to \$12,000 a year, as an evidence of his desire to be of service to the American farmer.

Mr. Teague likewise makes a very great sacrifice in income. I do not know precisely what his remuneration is as the head of the two largest farmer cooperative associations, but it is certainly far in excess of \$12,000 a year.

Mr. Legge will be the Chairman of the Board for the first year, and Mr. [James C.] Stone will undoubtedly be the Vice Chairman. You will recollect that in the selection of an outstanding businessman for the Board we consulted with some 150 farm organizations and found that they were desirous that that should be done, and I further consulted the leaders – or had the leaders of numbers of those associations consulted – on the question of selecting Mr. Legge, and they were very desirous that he should be secured if possible.

We ought to have some more acceptances in the course of a day or two, but that fills five members of the Board out of the eight.¹

While talking of sacrifice I should include also the other three members of the Board, who also are making a tremendous sacrifice to come into this Board – each one of them. All of the men whom I have invited to come on the Board have considered that here was an opportunity to do probably as great a service as will come to our generation, and that there was no call upon them to which they should not respond. With the exception of Mr. Legge, all of the men so far chosen have been at the direct proposal of farm organizations.

TAX REDUCTION POSSIBILITIES

I have a question of possible tax reduction. It is always a pleasant subject.

We are giving a great deal of study to the possibilities in that direction, and we all hope that a situation may work out on the safe side of a surplus for tax relief. But we must determine three essential things before any conclusion could be arrived at.

First, we must know what the effect will be of the legislation during the last 12 months, which has greatly increased the expenditures for the present fiscal year beyond the amount budgeted. The new enlarged program for naval armaments, the increased expenditure for Army and Navy aviation, the rebuilding of the Army posts, increased expenditures to veterans' services, in addition to the necessities for the Mediterranean fly – which by the way, may be a considerable item on the farm relief – have all intervened since the budget for the fiscal year that we have just entered was passed by Congress, and we are not yet certain as to what the volume of those expenditures will accumulate to.

And we must know how far we can reduce expenditure in the Government in other directions to partly compensate for these increases that have been imposed by the legislation of the last 6 or 8 months. We do know that the expenditure during the past fiscal year just ended exceeded by \$200 million the amount budgeted and passed by Congress as the budget. The completion of the budget for the year beginning the first of next July will give us a fairly clearer idea as to what the permanent burdens of the increased legislation may be and again as to what we can save in other directions.

And then beyond that on the revenue side, we must have some experience as to whether or not the increase in revenue is due to temporary stock exchange activity or other temporary causes, and then we can come to a final conclusion.

All of those things ought to develop during the next 4 or 5 months. By the first of November we ought to be able to see fairly clearly where our commitments and income are likely to land us.

I have one announcement to make. I have decided to call a White House conference on the health and protection of children. That conference will be comprised of representatives of the great voluntary associations – I have a rough note here, and Miss [Myra] McGraph will take this, so you don't need to bother taking it – together with the Federal and State and municipal authorities who are interested in those problems. The purpose will be to determine the facts as to our present progress and the future needs in this field, and to develop such measures for more effective official and voluntary action and their coordination as will develop further care and protection to children at large.

That conference will not be assembled for another 9 months, and perhaps 12 months, in order that there may be time to complete an exhaustive advance study of the facts and forces in progress and of the experience with the different measures which are now in progress over the country, which, as you know, are a very large activity.

And in order that we may make an effectual determination of those things, we will set up a series of committees in each special field of the leaders in those fields, with expert assistance.

The subjects to be covered embrace such things as the problems of dependent children, of regular medical examination, of school or public clinics for children, hospitalization, adequate milk supplies, community nurses, maternity instruction and nurses, teaching of health in the schools, facilities for playgrounds and recreation, voluntary organizations of children, child labor, and scores of subjects of that character.

Now, to cover the expenses not only of the preliminary committees and of the conference but also of the follow-up work that needs to be done for a national effort of that character in order to secure that it results in some definite and positive influence, I have received the sum of \$500,000 from purely private sources.

This will be the first national conference in review of this subject since the conference called by President Roosevelt in 1909.

I propose to include all of the interested groups, amongst them the educational associations so far as they relate to the teaching of health, et cetera, but it is not the purpose of this conference or its work to invade the obligations or the province of parents and their responsibilities.

I have communicated with a great number of voluntary associations throughout the country. They are all very anxious that such a conference should be called in order that there might be a new platform and a new basis for more coordinated and renewed effort in those directions.

The country – the Nation is fundamentally concerned with the equality of opportunity, and the very first step in equal opportunity is health in children.

The work of the conference will be under the direction of Dr. [Ray Lyman] Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, and with the cooperation of Secretary of Labor Mr. [James J.] Davis. Dr. Harry E. Barnard, who was formerly State Commissioner of Health of Indiana, will be the Executive Secretary.

A preliminary committee is in process of assembling, who will lay out the chart of the work and assist in selecting the members of special committees.

And that is all that I have today.

NOTE: President Hoover's thirty-fifth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, July 2, 1929. The White House also issued texts of the President's statements on tax reduction (see Item 141) and on the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection (see Item 142).

In connection with the announcement of Federal Farm Board appointments, the White House issued a brief biography of Mr. Legge and a list of "organizations favoring the including of a strong businessman or banker on the farm board."

¹ The White House later announced additional appointments to the Board, as follows: on July 8, William F. Schilling; on July 12, Charles S. Wilson; and on July 30, Samuel R. McKelvie. Biographical information and endorsers were released in connection with the appointments.

Statement on the Possibility of a Tax Reduction

July 2, 1929

AT THE press conference at the White House Tuesday, July 2, 1929, the President said:

"We are giving careful study to the possibility of tax reduction. We all hope that the situation may work out on the side of a safe surplus for material relief. We must determine three things before there can be any conclusion upon the subject.

"First, we must know what the effect will be of the legislation during the last 12 months which has greatly increased expenditures for the present fiscal year beyond the original budget. The new enlarged program for naval armaments, the increased expenditure on Army and Navy aviation, the rebuilding of Army posts and increased expenditures on veterans' services – in addition to the necessities in the Mediterranean fly and farm relief work – have all intervened since the budget was passed by Congress.

"Second, we must know how far we can reduce expenditures of the Government in other directions to partially compensate for these increases imposed during the past 12 months. We know that expenditures for the fiscal year just passed exceed the original budget by over \$200 million and much of the legislation expanding expenditures has not yet come into effect. The completion of the budget for the year beginning July 1, 1930, will be helpful in determining the rate of these increased expenditures.

"Third, we must know how far the increase in revenue is due to the temporary stock exchange activity."

Statement on Plans for a White House Conference on Child Health and Protection

July 2, 1929

AT THE press conference at the White House on Tuesday, July 2, 1929, the President said:

"I have decided to call a White House conference on the health and protection of children. This conference will be comprised of representatives of the great voluntary associations, together with the Federal and State and municipal authorities interested in these questions. Its purpose will be to determine the facts as to our present progress and our future needs in this great field and to make recommendations for such measures for more effective official and voluntary action and their coordination as will further develop the care and protection of children.

"The conference will not be assembled for another 9 months or a year in order that there may be time for complete and exhaustive advance study of the facts and forces in progress, of the experience with the different measures and the work of the organizations both in voluntary and official fields.

"In order that these determinations may be effectively made and intelligent presentation given at the conference, a series of committees will be appointed from the leaders in different national organizations and will be assisted by experts.

"The subjects to be covered embrace problems of dependent children; regular medical examination; school or public clinics for children; hospitalization; adequate milk supplies; community nurses; maternity instruction and nurses; teaching of health in the schools; facilities for playgrounds and recreation; voluntary organization of children; child labor; and scores of allied subjects.

"To cover the expenses of the preliminary committees and the conference and follow-up work which will be required to carry out the conclusions of the conference, a sum of \$500,000 has been placed at my disposal from private sources.

"This will be the first national conference held in review of this subject since the conference called by President Roosevelt in 1909. That conference resulted in a great impulse to social and protective activities in behalf of children.

"It is proposed to include in the interested groups, the educational associations so far as education bears upon health and protection of child life. It is not the purpose of such efforts to invade or relieve the responsibilities of parents but to advance those activities in care and protection of children which are beyond the control of the individual parent.

"I have communicated with a number of the larger voluntary bodies and public officials throughout the country and find they are unanimous in the belief that such a national review is urgently needed in order to establish a new platform for further advance, and they are in agreement with me in the necessity for exhaustive examination of the whole situation and the preparation of material before such a conference is called if we are to secure effective results from the conference.

"We as a nation are fundamentally concerned with reinforcement of the equality of opportunity to every child, and the first necessity for equal opportunity is health and protection.

"The work of the conference will be under the direction of Secretary of the Interior, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, with the cooperation of the Secretary of Labor, James J. Davis. Dr. Harry E. Barnard, formerly State Health Commissioner of Indiana, has been selected as Executive Secretary of the conference and a small preliminary committee is in process of appointment which will expand its own membership and will determine the special subjects to be investigated by special committees outlined above and make recommendations for their personnel."

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Message to the International Christian Endeavor Convention

July 4, 1929

[Released July 4, 1929. Dated July 2, 1929]

My dear Mr. Poling:

Please convey to the members of the International Christian Endeavor Convention my cordial greetings and my deep appreciation of their cooperative spirit in working toward the furtherance of obedience to law and of world peace, for the one is vital to the perpetuation of our free institutions of government and the other is vital to the happiness and prosperity of all mankind.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

[Daniel A. Poling, President, International Society of Christian Endeavor, Kansas City, Missouri]

NOTE: The President's message was read at the convention at Kansas City, Mo

The President's News Conference of
July 5, 1929

MEETING OF THE FEDERAL FARM BOARD

THE PRESIDENT. I called a first meeting of the Farm Board for Monday, the 15th. I think we will have some more acceptances by that time. In any event, the six members who have already accepted will be able to take the initial steps of finding quarters and offices and setting up an immediate machinery so that we won't lose any time even if there is a little delay in selecting the last one or two members.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BUILDING PROGRAM

One other thing that might interest you, as a background, is about the building program here in the District. Mr. Mellon and I have been making something of a study of that program, and the \$50 million appropriation, which you will recollect is spread over 10 years, is not going to meet the necessities of the Government for space and accommodation for our clerical staffs.

We are anxious to secure as soon as we can the erection of the Department of Justice and Labor and the Archives, and the independent establishments' buildings, which are not in this \$50 million program, although the triangle authorizations cover the acquirement of sites, but do not cover construction.

Further than that, we would like to put that construction on the basis of rotation. If we can have the continuous excavation of foundations and the placing of the steel in rotation, one building after another, and the stone and the finishing, all of them falling in one after another, we can save a very large amount on construction cost. When once the labor is assembled the contractors are able to bid considerably less for each one of those steps. What is more, the different contractors get experience from building to make much closer bids.

In order to cover the other buildings, including the putting of new clothing on the State Department, which we are all very anxious to do – the State, War and Navy Building – would require somewhere about another \$2 1/2 million a year. We have 10 million at the present time on the present appropriation. If we extend that program up to 12 1/2 million from 10 we believe that we could bring all these other buildings in the rotation so that the end of the 10 year program would cause practically completed Federal accommodations. All that is subject, of course, to congressional authorization, but I think it is a good sense program that will appeal to most people.

Q. You mean a \$75 million program instead of \$50 million?

THE PRESIDENT. We would add 2 1/2 million on to the 10 already appropriated.

If we were authorized to do that we could get ahead with the designs of all those buildings and the plans completed so as to bring them into actual rotation

Q. Mr. President, have you decided to make some changes in the State, War and Navy Building?

THE PRESIDENT. I think everybody is agreed that if we can do that for \$2 1/2 million it is a wise expenditure on behalf of bad feeling (?).¹

Q. The plans that Mr. Mellon had over there some few weeks ago, have they been approved – plans for refacing the State Department?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that they are made out in detail, but in general that is the line

FEDERAL FARM BOARD

Q. Mr. President, did you say six members had accepted membership on the Farm Board?

THE PRESIDENT. Including Mr. Hyde. We ought to have a couple more before long.

INTERIOR CHANGES IN THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICES

Q. Did you say anything about making changes in the interior of these offices here?

THE PRESIDENT. We are working out a method by which we can still work here. We are going at it right away – a little tunnel (?)¹ across the front and divert traffic, all of you gentlemen, from the other side.
1 The question mark appears in the transcript.

GUESTS IN VIRGINIA

Q. Are you going to have any guests with you down in Virginia?

THE PRESIDENT. Walter Newton and Vernon Kellogg. I am also taking Bill Hard and Mark Sullivan for general entertainment (?).¹

NOTE: President Hoover's thirty-sixth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, July 5, 1929.

Walter Newton was Secretary to the President and Vernon L. Kellogg had served with Mr. Hoover in postwar European food relief activities. William Hard and Mark Sullivan were journalists who had written books, articles, and commentary about the President and current events.

¹ The question marks appear in the transcript.

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Message to President Juan Bautista Perez on Venezuela's Independence Day

July 5, 1929

THE GOVERNMENT and people of the United States unite in friendly greetings on this Independence Day of Venezuela.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Juan Bautista Perez, President of Venezuela, Caracas]

Message to the Chicago Daily News on the Dedication of Its New Building

July 8, 1929

[Released July 8, 1929. Dated July 5, 1929]

I CONGRATULATE the Chicago Daily News on its splendid new building and the fifty-four years of distinguished public service which has made it possible. I congratulate Chicago on the fact that one of its great institutions has made such an important contribution to the beauty of the city and by establishing the principle of air rights construction opened the way to a greater development of its business and commercial resources.

I cordially extend my best wishes to the Chicago Daily News and its management. I hope that with the finer facilities of its new home and equipment, the Daily News will continue to be a leader of public enterprises and a moulder of sound public opinion valuable alike to its community and the nation.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to Walter A. Strong, publisher, Chicago Daily News, Chicago, Ill., and was read at the dedication ceremony by Secretary of Commerce Robert P. Lamont.

The Daily News Building was built over the Chicago and Northwestern railroad yards. The President started the new presses by pushing a button in Washington, D.C.

The President's News Conference of
July 9, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't anything this morning for announcement or quotation.

THE POSTAL DEFICIT

There is a background question here that arises out of the discussions yesterday on the postal deficit that I might amplify a little for you, as I have the figures here about the volume of that deficit.

The deficiency in the 1924 fiscal year was 13 million in round numbers.

In 1925 it was 23 million.

In 1926 it was 39 million.

In 1927 it was 27 million.

In 1928 it was 32 million.

And for the fiscal year just closed it was 95 million, which did not include the payments necessary under the direction of the Court of Claims for transportation of mails, which added 42 million, or made a total deficit for last year of 137 million.

The deficit, after making allowance for increased earnings over the next 5 years on the present basis of directed expenditures and revenues would amount to about 85 million a year. That does not include the building program, which in itself should probably be considered a part of the Post Office deficit, because the construction of post offices over the country is a matter of machinery that does not any more than keep pace with the necessities of the organization. If we added that, it being 35 million, it would mean an estimated deficit on the present basis over the next 5 years of about 120 million a year.

This arises largely out of legislation. In the last session of Congress legislation increasing payments to employees and allowances to postmasters, together with legislation decreasing rates, both combined to increase the deficit by probably 30 million a year. There is other legislation in the hands of Congress, all of which would increase the deficit. There is no legislation before the committees that I know of that would diminish the deficit.

My own impression is that the Post Office is a business institution – a service given by the Government to the public, and that the cost of that service should be borne by the persons who receive the benefits of the service, and not by the taxpayers. What we are going to do first is to have an exhaustive investigation into the parts of the service that are creating this deficit. For that reason we have Mr. [Frederic A.] Tilton as one of the Assistant Postmasters General with the hope of an accurate and complete investigation that will show where the postal service makes its deficit, department by department, or rather division by division

Q. Mr. President, is there any right or authority to increase rates?

THE PRESIDENT. I think probably there is some flexibility in the air-mail, not in the others. The airmail is still in the experimental stage.

Q. The rate is rather low now, isn't it?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know whether it is or not, without some further investigation. There is difficulty there of stimulating a new type of traffic, and a loss at the present time might be a benefit later. We are unable to come to any conclusion about it because the investigation there is incomplete.

That is all I have on my mind.

NOTE: President Hoover's thirty-seventh news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, July 9, 1929.

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Exchange of Messages With King Vittorio Emmanuele
on the Italian Reception of Two American Aviators
July 13, 1929

[Released July 13, 1929. Dated July 12, 1929]

I WISH to thank Your Majesty for your gracious telegram, as well as for the cordial reception which the American aviators, Messrs. Williams and Yancey, have received from the people of Italy.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Majesty Vittorio Emmanuele Third, King of Italy, Rome]

NOTE: Captain Lewis A. Yancey and Roger Q. Williams flew nonstop from Old Orchard, Maine, to Santander, Spain, on July 8 and 9, 1929. Their destination was Rome, but head winds and fog forced a premature descent. They later flew to Rome where they received a warm welcome.

The President's message was in response to a message from King Vittorio Emmanuele, which read as follows
The American aviators have happily alighted on the soil of Italy, and I am happy to express to you, Mr. President, the keen pleasure I and the Italian nation feel at the superb test of the bold American wing.

VITTORIO EMMANUELE

[His Excellency President Hoover, Washington]

Letter on the Loan of "Billy Opossum" as a High School Mascot

July 13, 1929

My dear Robert:

I am glad to have your formal report on the efficiency of Billy Opossum – it will be incorporated into his service record. Precautions will be taken to maintain his health and spirits for the further needs of the Prince Georges County High School teams.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Robert M. Venemann, Hyattsville High School, Hyattsville, Md.]

NOTE: An opossum found on the White House grounds was captured, kept with other White House animals, and named Billy Opossum. After he was lent to Hyattsville High School to serve as a mascot, the managers of the school's athletic association expressed their appreciation in the following letter:

Dear President Hoover:

Please accept the hearty thanks of our association for your kindness in acceding to our request for the use of the White House opossum as a mascot during the closing weeks of school. Having won successively the Prince Georges County high school championships in soccer, basketball, track and baseball this year, we cannot fail to appreciate the value of this little animal as a purveyor of good fortune.

Accordingly, we have restored Billy Possum to the keeping of the White House in the hope that he will bring you full measure of good luck. Trusting, however, that with your kind permission we again may be honored with his effective leadership in our athletic program next Fall.

Respectfully and sincerely,
ROBERT M. VENEMANN,
WILLIAM E. ROBINSON

Remarks at the First Meeting of the Federal Farm Board*July 15, 1929*

I HAVE no extended statement to make to the Federal Farm Board as to its duties. The wide authority and the splendid resources placed at your disposal are well known.

I am deeply impressed with the responsibilities which lie before you. Your fundamental purpose must be to determine the fact and to find solution to a multitude of agricultural problems, among them to more nearly adjust production to need; to create permanent business institutions for marketing which, owned and controlled by the farmers, shall be so wisely devised and soundly founded and well managed that they, by effecting economies and giving such stability, will grow in strength over the years to come. Through these efforts we may establish to the farmer an equal opportunity in our economic system with other industry.

I know there is not a thinking farmer who does not realize that all this cannot be accomplished by a magic wand or an overnight action. Real institutions are not built that way. If we are to succeed it will be by strengthening the foundations and the initiative which we already have in farm organizations, and building steadily upon them with the constant thought that we are building not for the present only but for next year and the next decade.

In selecting this Board I have sought for suggestions from the many scores of farmers' cooperatives and other organizations and yours were the names most universally commended; you are thus in a sense the representatives of organized agriculture itself. I congratulate each of you upon the distinction of his colleagues and by your appointment I invest you with responsibility, authority, and resources such as have never before been conferred by our Government in assistance to any industry.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Board's meeting in the Cabinet Room at the White House at 10 a.m.

The President's News Conference of
July 16, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we still maintain a considerable congregation!

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES

I had hoped to have some figures for purposes of discussing a question which was lodged here last week on some phases of Government expenditure, but I have not enough figures yet to make it a real discussion. I will have to suspend it.

FEDERAL FARM BOARD MEMBERSHIP

I have also some questions about the Western member of the Farm Board. No conclusion has been reached as to that but this is purely background for you.

There are two or three divisions in the wheat groups amongst cooperative and farm activities in the marketing of grain. It has been very difficult to find anyone who commended himself to all the groups. We are still laboring on that problem and I hope to develop someone who will command respect, but it may take another week or two. In the meantime, the present Farm Board contains three or four men who have had grain experience and with Mr. [Chris L.] Christensen, who also has had large grain experience and who is now [Executive] Secretary of the Board, they will be able to get ahead with their programs and get ready for consultations with the various Midwest groups on the measures which the Farm Board proposes. Therefore, there need be no delay in any necessary action.

Q. Do you care to tell us what the three qualifications are, on which there is difference of opinion?

THE PRESIDENT. There are, in 10 of the States, organized wheat pools that represent one form of cooperative activity of great importance. There are two or three different categories of farmer-owned and farmer-controlled elevators, which is another phase of cooperative marketing of grain. There has hitherto been some conflict between these groups.

That is about all I have on my mind that I am able to tell today. I hope to have more of a story on Government expenditures but I will give you that next time.

NOTE: President Hoover's thirty-eighth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, July 16, 1929.

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Telegram to the President of Liberia on the Death of
William T. Francis, United States Minister

July 16, 1929

I WISH to thank Your Excellency for your kind telegram of condolence upon the death of Mr. Francis, whose loss deprives the United States of one of its most devoted public servants and Liberia of a sincere and loyal friend.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Charles D.B. King, President of the Republic of Liberia, Monrovia, Liberia]

NOTE: William T. Francis served as United States Minister to Liberia from July 9, 1927, until his death of yellow fever.

Letter Agreeing To Act as Honorary Referee of a British-American Track and Field Meet
July 16, 1929

I SHALL be pleased to act as an honorary referee to the field games between the visiting teams of Oxford and Cambridge and the American teams from Princeton and, Cornell, and only regret that my duties here will not permit me to be present and witness them in person.

The character building influence of clean sports is such that they deserve every encouragement, and besides that, I should have been glad of the opportunity to welcome these fine young men visiting our shores.

NOTE: The letter was made public by John T. McGovern, chairman of the committee in charge of the meet, which was held in New York City. As printed above, this item follows the text set forth in a contemporary news account.

Proclamation 1885, Exportation of Arms or Munitions of War to Mexico
July 18, 1929

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation:

WHEREAS, by a Proclamation of the President issued on January 7, 1924, under a Joint Resolution of Congress approved January 31, 1922, it was declared that there existed in Mexico such conditions of domestic violence as were or might be promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States; and

WHEREAS, by the Joint Resolution above mentioned it thereupon became unlawful to export arms or munitions of war to Mexico except under such limitations and exceptions as the President should prescribe:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, HERBERT HOOVER, President of the United States of America do hereby declare and proclaim that, as the conditions on which the Proclamation of January 7, 1924, was based no longer obtain, the said Proclamation is hereby revoked.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this eighteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and [SEAL] fifty-fourth.

HERBERT HOOVER

By the President:

H. L. STIMSON

Secretary of State.

NOTE: During the Mexican rebellion which began in March 1929, the Hoover administration kept in effect an arms embargo originally proclaimed during the De La Huerta insurrection of 1924, thus denying aid to the insurrectionists. At the same time, surplus arms from United States Army stocks were made available to the Mexican Government. Once the fighting was over, Mexico requested that the arms embargo be lifted, and this was the action taken under Proclamation 1885.

INDEMNIFICATION OF FLORIDA FRUIT GROWERS

THE PRESIDENT. I have several inquiries from Florida as to what the administration would propose to do to assist in the financial distress of fruit growers from damage caused by the action of our Federal and State officials in destroying fruit in the work of extermination of the Mediterranean fruit fly.

In accordance with a very long established precedent, such as that of the foot and mouth disease and other pests that the Federal Government has taken a part in the extermination of, where there has been actual destruction due to Federal action and State action, there is a moral obligation for some sort of reparations; and I will recommend to Congress in the next session, or as soon as they reconvene, that the Federal Government should contribute to the indemnification of those people whose actual fruit, et cetera, has been destroyed through Federal activities.

Q. Mr. President, have you any idea of the amount – what the amount will be?

THE PRESIDENT. No. There has been a change in policy as the result of the recommendation of the commission which Mr. Hyde appointed – an important change in policy through which Florida fruit of the next crop will very considerably modify the amount of losses which will be suffered by the growers. So it is a little difficult to say how much it will come to. There has been a good deal of fruit destroyed.

Q. Roughly speaking, is that millions?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, yes, it runs into several millions. There will be constant destruction of fruit in areas of unquestioned infection. This change of policy enables the fruit to be marketed outside of the direct spots of infection, but the introduction of that new policy will greatly assist the growers of Florida and at the same time greatly reduce the amount of damage they are going to suffer.

USE OF COMMISSIONS

I have a question here as to whether I propose to name any more commissions. I might say that I certainly do. I hope to name new commissions for the whole of the next 4 years, for to me it is the necessary step in determining the fact on any public question, and the only basis of constructive action is to be found in the first determination of the fact, so that there will be many more commissions, I hope, as time goes on, for these purposes.

Q. Have you any particular ones in mind?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't. I am just taking that as a right – as many as I like.

Q. Is this answer in the first category?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. And the Florida statement is in the first category.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES

Here is a little matter of background on Federal expenditure, not sufficiently important to warrant quotation from me.

We have been making an investigation into the probable increases of Federal expenditure during the next 4 years as imposed by the laws so far passed by Congress, and other obligations that may be mandatory, and the important increases from existing legislation lying in the military expenditure, public roads, Post Office deficit, and farm relief. I have a table here, which we will get out for you, which shows the growth of expenditure from 1926 to 1933. It will give you 4 years of experience and 4 years of estimates.

The 1926 expenditures on Army, Navy, public works, and Post Office deficit is \$790 million.

Those of 1929 fiscal year were just about an even billion, and for 1933 it is estimated at \$1,148 million. However, I will give you this table so that you can see how it works.

The increased naval expenditure is due to the aviation program and cruisers and capital ship replacements.

Increased Army costs are due to the aviation program and rebuilding of Army quarters, and, as you know, the Post Office deficit is due to the increased wages and decreased hours and lower rates.

The public works item in this table includes rivers and harbors, flood control, Boulder Dam, public buildings, public roads, every nature of public works entirely outside of whether they belong in any one department or not. But it is an indication to you as to the growth of expenditure.

One item, of course, that we haven't attempted to tabulate is farm relief. It is impossible to estimate distribution. We will probably have an expenditure this year of at least 150 million, and it is difficult to estimate the full period.

Of course, there is some natural growth to expenditure, but the growth of expenditure, while it shows an increase in our estimates over these 4 years of about 150 million on the above items, and about 150 million on the farm relief, it is about 300 million a year we might accumulate by 1933. We will probably have some compensation in the reduction of public debts and some other items. However, Miss [Myra] McGrath can give you that if you want to refer to it.

Q. Have you considered any estimates yet?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, the Budget Bureau will be receiving them some time before the first of August from the different departments. They are all at work.

That is all that I have got on my mind.

NOTE: President Hoover's thirty-ninth news conference was held in the White House at 3 p.m. on Friday, July 19, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the statement on the probable increase in Federal Government expenditures (see Item 156)

Statement on Federal Government Expenditures

July 19, 1929

AN INVESTIGATION has been made as to the probable increase in Federal Government expenditures over the next 4 years as imposed by laws which have already passed Congress and other obligations which are practically mandatory.

The important increases imposed by existing legislation lie in four principal directions – military expenditure, public works, increase in Post Office deficit, and farm relief. The following table shows the growth of these expenditures as imposed by present laws.

Fiscal year	Army	Navy	Public works	Post Office Deficit	Total
1926	267,300,000	312,700,000	170,800,000	39,500,000	790,300,000
1927	265,600,000	318,900,000	166,500,000	27,300,000	778,300,000
1928	293,300,000	331,300,000	183,400,000	32,100,000	840,100,000
1929	320,200,000	364,500,000	229,600,000	94,700,000	1,009,000,000
1930	341,800,000	399,200,000	275,800,000	84,000,000	1,100,800,000
1931	350,700,000	422,500,000	275,400,000	80,600,000	1,129,200,000
1932	348,900,000	452,000,000	264,900,000	80,000,000	1,145,800,000
1933	350,900,000	452,000,000	265,900,000	80,000,000	1,148,800,000

The increased naval expenditure is due to the expanded aviation, the new cruiser construction and the capital ship replacement programs. There is hope for some relief in this direction if there be a reduction in naval arms. The increased army expenditures are due to the aviation program and to rebuilding quarters.

The normal Post Office deficit is increased by the lower rates, increased wages and decreased hours of employment.

The public works expenditure here given embraces rivers and harbor improvement, flood control, Boulder Dam, public buildings, public roads, et cetera. This expenditure is more likely to be increased by 4 or 5 millions per annum than to be decreased.

It is impossible at the present time to schedule the volume of farm relief in annual amounts. The burden for the fiscal year 1930 will apparently be at least \$150 million.

There is also the natural growth of other agencies of the Government to keep pace with the population and the social need. These amounts, however, we do not anticipate will run into large figures.

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Statement for a Magazine Issue Commemorating "Light's Golden Jubilee."

July 20, 1929

BY INVENTING the electric lamp Mr. Edison did vastly more than provide a new lamp. He removed an untold burden of toil from the backs of men and women for all time.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The President's statement was issued in his capacity as the Honorary Chairman of the Sponsoring Committee of the Edison Pioneers. The statement was requested by the magazine *Electrical World* for use in a special issue devoted to "Light's Golden Jubilee," marking the 50th anniversary of Thomas A. Edison's invention of the electric incandescent lamp.

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Message to President Miguel Abadia Mendez on Colombia's Independence Day
July 20, 1929

ON BEHALF OF my fellow countrymen and in my own name, I extend to Your Excellency congratulations on this Independence Day of Colombia.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Miguel Abadia Mendez, The President of Colombia, Bogota]

The President's News Conference of
July 23, 1929

MILITARY NEEDS AND EXPENDITURES

THE PRESIDENT. Last week there was published a statement of information that I gave to you on the estimated increase of Federal expenditure over the next 4 years as imposed by legislation already passed by Congress. Those estimates indicated that by 1933 an increased burden of somewhere from 250 to 300 million over the expenditures of the fiscal year that has just passed and somewhere from 400 million to 500 million above the expenditures of 4 years ago.

Now of this, the purely military expenditure – that is, excluding all the nonmilitary activities of the two departments – represents just about one-half of the increases. The total military expenditure, that is, Army and Navy combined, was estimated at 803 million as shown on the sheet I gave you last time, for 1933. It is an increase of about 120 million over that of the last fiscal year and about 224 million over 4 years ago. All of which compares with a total of about 266 million, the average 3-year prewar expenditure, for military activities of the Army and Navy, or an increase by 1933 of about 530 million a year.

These amounts do not include any of the money that we justly spend on veterans and pensions, which in themselves amount to about 820 million a year.

The American people should understand that current expenditure of the Army and Navy constitutes the largest military budget of any nation in the world today, and at a time when there is less real danger of extensive disturbance of peace than at any time in more than half a century.

Moreover, there are many bills pending by the Congress that will increase this expenditure. The hope of tax reduction lies very largely in the ability to economize military expenditure and still maintain an adequate defense. Our national situation is considerably modified by the Kellogg Pact. We hope, growing out of that – negotiations we have in progress – to save materially on naval expenditure by international agreement in reduction of naval arms.

In the matter of the Army outlay I am in agreement with the Secretary of War to set up, within the General Staff, a commission of leading Army officers to reconsider the whole of our Army program over the next 4 years, to see what services and other outlays have become obsolete through the development of science and war methods, what development programs can well be considered over longer periods, always in view of the general world outlook, and at the same time that we should maintain a completely adequate preparedness; thereby to conduct an investigation that will be entirely constructive and not in any sense destructive of defense. If you like you can quote that.

Q. May we have copies, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

WITHDRAWAL FROM NICARAGUA

There is one other little item. We have decided today to withdraw 1,200 more marines from Nicaragua. Twelve hundred out of 3,500 leaves 2,300 approximately.

Q. Mr. President, is there any reason for that – more peaceful down there?

THE PRESIDENT. Order is gradually being established and we are withdrawing the marines as fast as we can.

That is all I have on my mind.

NOTE: President Hoover's fortieth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, July 23, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on military expenditures (see Item 160).

Statement on Military Expenditures

July 23, 1929

LAST WEEK there was published a statement showing the estimated increase in Federal expenditure over the next 4 years, as imposed by legislation already passed by Congress.

These estimates indicate by 1933 an increased burden of somewhere from \$250 million to \$300 million above the expenditures of the fiscal year just ended and from \$400 million to \$500 million above the expenditures of 4 years ago.

Of this, the purely military and naval expenditures excluding nonmilitary activities of these departments, represent about one-half. The combined expenditure is estimated at \$803 million in 1933, an increase of \$120 million over the last fiscal year, and \$224 million over 4 years ago. All of which compares with a total \$266 million average prewar total for the combined military services of the Army and Navy or an estimated increase by 1933 of \$530 million over prewar. These amounts do not include any amount which we justly spend on veterans who suffered in past wars which in itself amounts to about \$820 million per annum. Moreover, many bills are pending before Congress that will still further increase this sum.

The American people should understand that current expenditure on strictly military activities of the Army and Navy constitutes the largest military budget of any nation in the world today and at a time when there is less real danger of extensive disturbance to peace than at any time in more than half a century.

The hope of tax reduction lies in large degree in our ability to economize on the military and naval expenditure and still maintain adequate defense. Our whole situation is certainly modified by the Kellogg Pact.

We hope to save materially on naval expenditures by international agreement on naval arms. In the matter of Army outlay, I am in agreement with the Secretary of War to set up within the General Staff a commission of leading Army officers to reconsider our whole Army program, to see what services and other outlays have become obsolete through advancement of science and war methods; and what development programs can be well spread over longer periods in view of the general world outlook and at the same time maintain completely adequate preparedness. Such an investigation to be constructive and not destructive.

NOTE: For the statement on estimated increases in Federal expenditures, see Item 156.

The study entitled "Report of the Survey of the Military Establishment by the War Department General Staff" was completed November 1, 1929. It covered the major functions, state of preparedness, costs, and the minimum requirements necessary for the military service to fulfill its mission.

Remarks Upon Proclaiming the Treaty for the Renunciation of War (Kellogg-Briand Pact)

July 24, 1929

IN APRIL 1928, as a result of discussions between our Secretary of State of the United States and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, the President directed Secretary Kellogg to propose to the nations of the world that they should enter into a binding agreement as follows:

"Article 1 – The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

"Article 2 – The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

That was a proposal to the conscience and idealism of civilized nations. It suggested a new step in international law, rich with meaning, pregnant with new ideas in the conduct of world relations. It represented a platform from which there is instant appeal to the public opinion of the world as to specific acts and deeds.

The magnificent response of the world to these proposals is well indicated by those now signatory to its provisions. Under the terms of the treaty there have been deposited in Washington the ratifications of the 15 signatory nations – that is, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Poland, Union of South Africa, and the United States of America.

Beyond this the Treaty has today become effective also with respect to 31 other countries, the Governments of which have deposited with the Government of the United States instruments evidencing their definitive adherence to the Treaty. These countries are: Afghanistan, Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, Guatemala, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Portugal, Peru, Rumania, Russia, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Siam, Spain, Sweden, and Turkey.

Moreover, according to information received through diplomatic channels, the instruments of definitive adherence of Greece, Honduras, Persia, Switzerland, and Venezuela have been fully completed according to their constitutional methods and are now on the way to Washington for deposit.

I congratulate this assembly, the states it represents, and indeed, the entire world upon the coming into force of this additional instrument of humane endeavor to do away with war as an instrument of national policy and to obtain by pacific means alone the settlement of international disputes.

I am glad of this opportunity to pay merited tribute to the two statesmen whose names the world has properly adopted in its designation of this Treaty. To Aristide Briand, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, we owe the inception of the Treaty and to his zeal is due a very large share of the success which attended the subsequent negotiations. To Frank B. Kellogg, then Secretary of State of the United States, we owe its expansion to the proportions of a treaty open to the entire world and destined, as I most confidently hope, shortly to include among its parties every country of the world.

Mr. Stimson has sent forward today a message of felicitation to M. Briand and to the people of France for whom he speaks. I am happy, Mr. Kellogg, to extend to you, who represented the people of the United States with such untiring devotion and with such a high degree of diplomatic skill in the negotiations of this Treaty, their everlasting gratitude.

We are honored here by the presence of President Coolidge under whose administration this great step in world peace was initiated. Under his authority and with his courageous support you, Mr. Kellogg, succeeded in this great service. And I wish to mark also the high appreciation in which we hold Senators Borah and Swanson for their leadership during its confirmation in the Senate.

May I ask you who represent governments which have accepted this Treaty, now a part of their supreme law and their most sacred obligations, to convey to them the high appreciation of the Government of the United States that through their cordial collaboration an act so auspicious for the future happiness of mankind has now been consummated. I dare predict that the influence of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War will be felt in a large proportion of all future international acts. The magnificent opportunity and the

compelling duty now open to us should spur us on to the fulfillment of every opportunity that is calculated to implement this Treaty and to extend the policy which it so nobly sets forth.

I have today proclaimed the Treaty to the American people in language as follows:

"Whereas a Treaty between the President of the United States of America, the President of the German Reich, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Italy, His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, the President of the Republic of Poland, and the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, providing for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy and that the solution of disputes among Parties shall never be sought except by pacific means, was concluded and signed by their respective Plenipotentiaries at Paris on August twenty-seven, 1928,

"And whereas it is stipulated in the said Treaty that it shall take effect as between the High Contracting Parties as soon as all the several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at Washington,

"And whereas the said Treaty has been duly ratified on the parts of all the High Contracting Parties and their several instruments of ratification have been deposited with the Government of the United States of America, the last on July twenty-fourth, 1929;

"Now, therefore, be it known that I, Herbert Hoover, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Treaty to be made public to the end that the same and every article and clause thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

"Done in the city of Washington this twenty-fourth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fifty-fourth."

NOTE: The President spoke at 1 p.m. in the East Room at the White House, in a ceremony attended by former President Coolidge, former Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg, members of the Cabinet, and Ambassadors and Ministers from 45 nations.

As printed above, this item follows an advance text released by the White House. For a facsimile of President Hoover's reading copy, with holograph changes, see Appendix D.

Statement on Cruiser Construction Suspension,
Following a British Statement of Principles

July 24, 1929

THE PRESIDENT said:

"I have read with real satisfaction the statement which the Prime Minister has made in the House of Commons. The American people are greatly complimented by his proposed visit and he will find a universal welcome.

"Mr. MacDonald's statement marks a new departure in discussion of naval disarmament. The Prime Minister introduces the principle of parity which we have now adopted and its consummation means that Great Britain and the United States henceforth are not to compete in armament as potential opponents but to cooperate as friends in the reduction of it. The Prime Minister has stated clearly and unmistakably the principles on which he is acting. I cannot but be responsive to the generous terms in which he has spoken of the attitude and purpose of the United States. We join in his efforts in the same spirit.

"Mr. MacDonald has indicated the good will and positive intention of the British Government by suspension of construction of certain portions of this year's British naval program. It is the desire of the United States to show equal good will in our approach to the problem.

"We have three cruisers in this year's construction program which have been undertaken in the Government navy yards, the detailed drawings for which are now in course of preparation. The actual keels would, in the ordinary course, be laid down some time this fall. Generally speaking, the British cruiser strength considerably exceeds American strength at the present time and the actual construction of these three cruisers would not be likely in themselves to produce inequality in the final result.

"We do not wish, however, to have any misunderstanding of our actions and, therefore, we shall not lay these keels until there has been an opportunity for full consideration of their effect upon the final agreement for parity which we expect to reach, although our hopes of relief from construction lie more largely in the latter years of the program under the law of 1928."

Statement on France's Ratification of the Mellon-Berenger
Agreement for Settling Its War Debt

July 28, 1929

THE PRESIDENT said:

"I am very much gratified to learn that France has ratified the agreement providing for the settlement of the debt of the French Republic to the United States, thus disposing, in so far as lies within her power, of one more of the great financial problems left over by the World War. With the high sense of honor and financial responsibility that have always characterized the actions of the French people, it was always certain that to the full extent of their ability they would meet their obligations. The definite settlement of the amounts to be paid in complete discharge of this debt is a cause for mutual satisfaction, removing as it does a question that has occasioned much controversy and debate.

"The settlement calls for payments of \$35 million in the fiscal year 1930, gradually rising over a period of 11 years until they reach a maximum of \$125 million annually.

"I think in fairness to the American people I am justified in mentioning the liberality of the settlement. The total debt of the French Republic to the United States as of June 15, 1925, was approximately \$4,230 million. On a 5 percent basis, which is the rate of interest borne by the obligations given by the French Government, the present value of the payments provided for by the Mellon-Berenger agreement is \$1,680 million, or, in other words, a reduction of approximately 61 percent of the total indebtedness. This settlement in effect wipes out the entire indebtedness of France which arose during the war period and simply provides for the payment of advances to France after the armistice, which aggregate, including accrued interest, \$1,655 million. While some of the after-armistice advances were made for the liquidation of obligations incurred in this country by the French Government during the war, considerable advances during the war period itself were for permanent improvements; for shipping; for the meeting of obligations to private creditors incurred prior to the entrance of the United States into the war, and advances to the Bank of France for credit and exchange purposes.

"I am giving these facts so that in recognition of the honorable way in which France has to meet its obligations, they will understand that our people too feel that this settlement involves a measure of sacrifice on their part. There is every reason to hope and believe that such an agreement, based as it is on mutual sacrifice and consideration, cannot but promote a better understanding between these two great nations and serve further to cement a friendship that has lasted for a century and a half."

NOTE: The French Chamber of Deputies ratified the 1926 agreement on July 21, with the Senate concurring on July 26. It was approved by the United States House of Representatives on December 12 and passed by the Senate on December 16. President Hoover signed the agreement on December 18, 1929.

Remarks at the First Meeting of the White House
Child Health Conference Planning Committee
July 29, 1929

THROUGH Secretary Wilbur and Secretary Davis, I have invited you here as the nuclei of a planning committee to inaugurate a most important movement to the Nation as a whole. That is, that we should take national stock of the progress and present situation in the health and protection of childhood; that out of this investigation we should also develop commonsense plans for the further advancement in these directions.

I have suggested that in order that these investigations and recommendations may be brought about in the most effective manner, that a number of committees should be organized to cover different phases of the subject, embracing the leadership in thought and knowledge of these subjects throughout the Nation; that after these investigations have been carried forward and conclusions reached by these committees, then that we should call a White House conference of public officials, associations, and others interested in these questions, to consider the recommendations. Further, that such of the policies that may be adopted by that conference should be followed up by definite organization throughout the country.

We realize that major progress in this direction must be made by voluntary action and by activities of local government. The Federal Government has some important functions to perform in these particulars, all of which will need to be considered, but we may save years in national progress if we can secure some measure of unity as to view and unity as to program, more especially as these views and programs are to be based on searching examination of fact and experience.

Generous means have been provided to enable you to carry forward this task without difficulty, and I wish to assure you of the complete support of the Executive.

I need not urge upon you the fundamental importance of this undertaking. The greatest asset of a race is its children, that their bodily strength and development should prepare them to receive the heritage which each generation must bequeath to the next. These questions have the widest of social importance, that reaches to the roots of democracy itself. By the safeguard of health and protection of childhood we further contribute to that equality of opportunity which is the unique basis of American civilization.

NOTE: The planning committee met at 2:30 p.m. at the White House. In addition to Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur and Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, the group included pediatricians, journalists, and others interested in child health.

The President's News Conference of
July 30, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't anything to state for quotation or publication today.

REVIEW OR THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

I have inquiries on one subject, that is, the discussions between myself and the Army staff and the War Department officials about the study there. I can't add anything to the public statement I have made already.

For your own information, we spent a great many hours in discussing the details of that study to be undertaken in complete review of the establishment in light of the situation today, with the purpose of studying every possible avenue of economy. When these studies are complete from the various branches of the staff, they will be reviewed by a board to be set up within the staff, and thereby, I have placed on the Army itself the first responsibility of this inquiry; and I haven't any doubt that they will cooperate with the Executive in an endeavor to meet the public need of an adequate preparedness at the least possible cost.

I know the very high character of the men in the staff and in the Army, and I know they are going to take advantage of this opportunity to make a complete review of their setup, and they welcome the chance to do it.

So that is about all I have.

Q. Can we have copies of that, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, for background; not a matter of public interest particularly any more until we have the studies made.

NOTE: President Hoover's forty-first news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, July 30, 1929. For information on the study to which the President referred, see Item 160 and note.

Letter to the National Commander of the American Legion
on Naval Parity With Great Britain

July 31, 1929

[Released July 31, 1929. Dated July 30, 1929]

My dear Mr. McNutt:

I am glad to have your assurance that the American Legion supports the policy of parity for our navy with that of Great Britain. This principle is enunciated by our naval authorities as a complete defense of the United States in any contingency and defense is all that we seek.

The first step of the renewed consideration of reduction of the excessive world naval armament has been acceptance of that principle as a preliminary to discussion between Great Britain and the United States. This is a forward step of the first importance.

It seems to me that every person of common sense will agree that it is far better to at least try to establish such a relation by agreement before we resign ourselves to continued attempts to establish it by rival construction programs on both sides of the Atlantic. We need not disguise the fact that (aside from the capital ship limitations under the Washington Treaty) competitive building has been in progress on both sides since the Great War, and we have arrived only at disparity, not parity. It creates burdensome expenditure, a constant stream of suspicion, ill will and misunderstandings. Moreover, by constant expansion of naval strength we cannot fail to stimulate fear and ill-will throughout the rest of the world toward both of us, and thus defeat the very purposes which you have so well expressed as being the object of the Legion, when you say, "The Legion stands uniformly for movements which will make permanent peace more certain and assure better understanding between nations."

I fear you have been misinformed as to the actual problems that lie before us if we are to succeed in such a negotiation, for they are far more intricate and far more difficult than can be solved by the simple formula which you suggest. But I feel confident that the American Legion will be sympathetic with principles of parity by negotiation and of reduction and limitation of armament instead of competitive building, with its continuous expansion and all its train of world dangers.

I am further confident that the American Legion will join with me in endeavoring to establish and cooperate with others in an atmosphere of good-will and sincerity within which to find such a solution.

We and other nations have entered into a solemn covenant that we shall not resort to war as an instrument of national policy, that we shall seek to settle disputes by pacific means and if we are honest in this undertaking it follows that every effort should be made to establish confidence in our intentions and to hold our preparedness programs solely within the area of efficient defense. I am confident that these policies are consonant with the many declarations of the American Legion and the sentiment of the American people.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Paul V. McNutt, National Commander, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana]

Exchange of Messages With President Carlos Ibanez del Campo of Chile
on the Ratification of the Tacna-Arica Agreement

August 1, 1929

PERMIT ME to express my sincere appreciation of your message upon the occasion of the signing by the plenipotentiaries of Chile and Peru of the protocol recording the exchange of the instruments of ratification of the Treaty signed on June 3 last at Lima, whereby the problem of Tacna and Arica has been brought to a definite and happy solution. Please accept at the same time my cordial good wishes and those of the people and Government of the United States for your personal well-being, and for the ever increasing prosperity of your great country.

NOTE: The instruments of ratification of the agreement were exchanged in Santiago on July 28. The message from President Ibanez follows:

On the morning of today the plenipotentiaries of Chile and Peru have signed the proce's verbal which records the exchange of the instruments of ratification of the Treaty signed in Lima on June 3, last. The cooperation which the United States has lent to this work of American harmony that has just ended in a solemn ceremony commands the gratitude of Chile and I therefore fulfill the high duty of so expressing it to the Arbiter whose weighty and delicate work ends in the international act concluded on this day.

Please accept, Excellency, this manifestation of the Chilean gratitude and my own, together with the wishes that I make for the prosperity of the North American people and the happiness of the President of the United States.

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Telegram Greeting King Haakon of Norway on His Birthday

August 3, 1929

ON THIS happy anniversary of Your Majesty's birth I send to you most hearty greetings and best wishes for Your Majesty's happiness and well-being and for the continued prosperity of the Norwegian Nation.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Majesty Haakon VII, King of Norway, Oslo]

The President's News Conference of
August 6, 1929

REFORM OF THE FEDERAL PRISON SYSTEM

THE PRESIDENT. I have one question this morning that I can comment on. It arises out of the incident at Leavenworth and the situation of the Federal prisons.

I have had an opportunity for lengthy discussions with the Attorney General, and I have the recommendations of Mr. [Sanford] Bates, who is the new Director of Prisons, and I have accepted their view that further Federal accommodations for prisoners cannot be any longer delayed. We will ask Congress at the regular session to give us the necessary authority and appropriations to revise the system.

Atlanta is 120 percent over capacity in inmates at the present time, and Leavenworth 87 percent, all of which is the cause of infinite demoralization and the direct cause of outbreaks and trouble.

Of course, the increased number of prisoners is due to the general increase in crime, the largest item in our Federal prisons being the violators of the Narcotics Act. They comprise now about 33 percent of the inmates at Leavenworth and Atlanta. Prohibition contributes about 14 percent. The balance is made up of increases all along the line.

Q. Mr. President, do they figure that the increase in narcotic cases is directly or indirectly due to prohibition or related in any way?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, no. Our plans necessitate an expenditure of about \$5 million, and will comprise some additions and revisions of the old prisons, and probably a new prison somewhere in the Northeastern States.

Q. To meet those increases?

THE PRESIDENT. That is the idea.

It is proposed, also, to ask authority of Congress to increase the number of probation officers, as Mr. Bates is convinced he can find a larger number of prisoners who merit probation, and not only their own good but the good of the Federal Government will be served by having them out, but we have no staff now adequate to take care of increased probation. So with a new appropriation we hope to get some later.

That is all I have got on my mind.

NOTE: President Hoover's forty-fifth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, August 6, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on plans for Federal prison reform (see Item 170).

Statement on Plans for Federal Prison Reform*August 6, 1929*

THE PRESIDENT, in response to an inquiry from the press, said:

"I have one question this morning that I can comment on. It arises out of the incident at Leavenworth and the situation of the Federal prisons.

"I have had an opportunity for lengthy discussions with the Attorney General, and I have the recommendations of Mr. [Sanford] Bates, who is the new Director of Prisons, and I have accepted their view that further Federal accommodations for prisoners cannot be any longer delayed. We will ask Congress at the regular session to give us the necessary authority and appropriations to revise the system.

"Atlanta is 120 percent over capacity in inmates at the present time, and Leavenworth 87 percent, all of which is the cause of infinite demoralization and the direct cause of outbreaks and trouble.

"Of course, the increased number of prisoners is due to the general increase in crime, the largest item in our Federal prisoners being the violators of the Narcotics Act. They comprise now about 33 percent of the inmates at Leavenworth and Atlanta. Prohibition contributes about 14 percent. The balance is made up of increases all along the line.

"Our plans necessitate an expenditure of about \$5 million, and will comprise some additions and revisions of the old prisons, and probably a new prison somewhere in the Northeastern States.

"It is proposed also to ask authority of Congress to increase the number of probation officers, as Mr. Bates is convinced he can find a larger number of prisoners who merit probation, and not only their own good but the good of the Federal Government will be served by having them out, but we have no staff now adequate to take care of increased probation. So with a new appropriation we hope to get some later."

NOTE: On August 1, 1929, a riot at the Federal prison at Leavenworth, Kans., involved some 900 inmates and lasted 5 hours. One prisoner was killed and three wounded in the riot.

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Message to President Hernando Siles on Bolivia's Independence Day

August 6, 1929

ON BEHALF of my fellow countrymen, and in my own name, I send cordial felicitations on this Independence Day anniversary.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Hernando Siles, The President of Bolivia, La Paz]

Letter Proposing Incorporation of Camp Rapidan Into the Shenandoah National Park
August 7, 1929

[Released August 7, 1929. Dated August 2, 1929]

My dear Mr. Carson:

I have received the title deed for 164 acres of land for the camp site in the Shenandoah Mountains. This camp has come to have some public aspects due to the many contributions in its making. As I told you some months ago, I should like to put it in permanent form for the use of my successors. Moreover, as it lies in the area of the future Shenandoah National Park, when the park becomes public property it will be desirable that no private property should be held within its boundaries.

It is difficult to acknowledge all of the generous contributions to the making of the camp. You selected the site, and through you, the residents along the Rapidan deeded their fishing rights. The Marine Corps generously volunteered to furnish the labor in erecting cabins and tents, in providing water supply, cutting brush, etc. The Power Company and the Telephone Company put in their connections without charge, making it possible for us to secure these services. The Shenandoah Park Association, together with the State of Virginia, and especially the Madison County supervisors, have advanced the improvement of the road which will form one of the fine openings to the new park. Local residents have contributed labor to the opening of fine trails. And this week the Engineer Corps volunteers to further improve the road as one of its summer exercises.

All this marks the greatest of interest and kindness in a desire to provide a week-end retreat for the President, for which your own energies in organizing these activities have not been the least of contributions.

My contribution has been the purchase and preparation of the building materials, etc., together with some labor costs. I desire that the camp shall ultimately become the property of the Shenandoah National Park so that at the expiration of my term of office, they may hold it for the use of my successors for a week-end camp, or if future Presidents do not wish to avail themselves of it, it is at the disposal of the park itself. Therefore, I would be glad to either deed it now or await the transfer of the park to the Federal Government, whichever you think best.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. W. E. Carson, Riverton, Virginia]

NOTE: William E. Carson was chairman of the Virginia State Conservation and Development Commission.

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Message to the World Scout Jamboree

August 7, 1929

[Released August 7, 1929. Dated July 18, 1929]

My dear Mr. Schiff:

I understand that you, together with representatives of the Boy Scouts of America, are about to start for England to take part in the World Celebration of twenty-one years of scouting – the coming of age of this great movement.

I hope you will express on my behalf the appreciation the whole of America has for this magnificent contribution to the development of our youth. The assembling of fifty thousand young men and boys from seventy different races and nationalities, in good fellowship without competition, and the self discipline which makes this possible are in themselves without precedent, and constitute, I trust, an augury for development of common ideas and friendship amongst nations.

As Honorary President of the Boy Scouts of America, I think I may speak on behalf of the millions of boys in the United States who have received benefits from scouting, and I send my hearty congratulations to the assembly.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Mortimer Schiff, 52 William Street, New York City]

NOTE: Mortimer L. Schiff was a vice president of the Boy Scouts of America.

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Message to Dr. Hugo Eckener on the Round-the-World Flight of the Graf Zeppelin
August 7, 1929

I WISH you a successful voyage. The Graf Zeppelin is making a constant contribution to the development of the art of air transportation.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Captain Hugo Eckener, Graf Zeppelin, Lakehurst, New Jersey]

NOTE: The German dirigible balloon Graf Zeppelin left Lakehurst, N.J., on August 8, 1929, circled the globe, and returned to Lakehurst on August 29. Following the flight, Dr. Eckener was greeted in Washington by the President (see Item 189).

Dr. Eckener's reply to the President's telegram, sent from Lakehurst on August 7, was made public by the White House as follows:

Deeply appreciate your kind wishes. May I, thru you express my profound thanks for the welcome we have received from the American people and the splendid cooperation we have had from the Navy Department which has made these trips possible.

Sincerely,
HUGO ECKENER

[The President, White House]

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Message to President Isidro Ayora on Ecuador's Independence Day

August 10, 1929

ON BEHALF of my fellow countrymen and in my own name I send to Your Excellency cordial greetings on this anniversary of Ecuador's independence.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Isidro Ayora, The President of Ecuador, Quito]

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Message to President Paul von Hindenburg on the Anniversary
of the Founding of the German Republic

August 12, 1929

[Released August 12, 1929. Dated August 11, 1929]

I BEG of Your Excellency to accept my heartiest congratulations on this anniversary of the founding of the German Republic.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency President von Hindenburg, Berlin, Germany]

APPOINTMENTS

THE PRESIDENT. Someone wants to know about a report that the President is contemplating appointing a city manager for the District of Columbia. I had not heard of the subject.

Someone else wants to know if we are going to appoint the Chief of Engineers in the next few days. I am not going to appoint him in the next few days. He must be appointed sometime.

I have one other matter of some general interest in that I have reappointed Mr. Albert C. Williams as a member of the Federal Farm Loan Bureau. I expect we are going to have difficulty in keeping these two boards apart, but this is the Loan Board. Mr. Williams, as you know, has been on the Board for some years, and is from Texas.

DEVELOPMENT OF CALIFORNIA WATER RESOURCES

I have some matters of interest to the State of California – perhaps not so much of general interest. I have been engaged for some time, in collaboration with the Governor [Clement C. Young] of California in the development of two problems in that State. One is the coordination of their State and Federal water development in that State. The other is over the San Francisco-Oakland or Alameda Bridge.

Some years ago I advocated the coordination of the Federal and different State agencies in the determination of the fact and the development of water supply in the State of California. There are some nine different independent agencies that have a relationship to that problem.

The Governor of California in the last session of the legislature arranged for an appropriation from the State government to carry out an investigation of water supply problems. And we have agreed to the appointment of a commission, upon which the Federal Government will be represented by a delegate from the War Department, one from the Power Commission and one from the Department of the Interior. The Governor will appoint representatives of the different departments in the State government and some leading citizens. The purpose of that commission is to determine the fact and to develop some coordinated policies with regard to the development of the water resources of California in connection with irrigation, navigation, flood control, and power.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY BRIDGE COMMISSION

The other question is the San Francisco bridge, a matter that has agitated that community for some years. Recently the State Legislature of California, at the request of the Governor, made certain authorities in that matter, and we have agreed upon the appointment of that commission to comprise two representatives of the Navy Department, two of the War Department, one from each of the communities on the two opposite sides of the bay, two from the State of California, and one further citizen of the West whom I shall appoint and who will probably be Mr. Mark Requa.

The purpose of that commission is to see if they can determine the proper location and to secure the assent of the different Federal and State agencies and the local community to the proper location of the bridge, which has been subject to contention now for as far back as I can recollect.

NOTE: President Hoover's forty-third news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, August 13, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on the development of California water resources and the San Francisco Bay Bridge Commission (see Item 178).

Statement on California Water Resources and the San Francisco Bay Bridge

August 13, 1929

AT THE press conference, Tuesday, August 13, 1929, the President said:

"I have recently engaged in some collaboration with the Governor of California in respect to two questions involving the Federal Government and State government of California. The first relates to the determination of policies for the long view development of California water resources, and the second to the erection of a bridge across San Francisco Bay.

"Some years ago I advocated the coordination of the multitude of activities, governmental and otherwise, engaged in direct and indirect control and development of California water supply and the provision of some definite policies instead of the haphazard and often conflicting action of different agencies. Governor [Clement C.] Young has forwarded this idea by enactment of certain State legislation which now enables us to bring about a larger measure of such coordination. The first step is the creation of a commission to supervise an exhaustive investigation of the engineering facts and to determine the policies which should be pursued in the long view development of the State, as to irrigation, flood control, navigation, and power.

"In order that all of the commission should embrace all agencies I have requested the War Department which controls the navigation channels and flood control, the Power Commission which controls water power permits, and the Interior Department which is interested in irrigation, each to designate a member of the commission which the Governor is now appointing. The Governor's representatives will embrace the State agencies and leading citizens.

"The State of California has passed a liberal appropriation representing the interest of the State and the Federal agencies will support the investigation with the staff and its accumulated information.

"The second question that I have discussed with the Governor is the disputed question of a bridge across San Francisco Bay. There can be no question as to the necessity for such a bridge for the economic development of these communities. In addition to the cities of San Francisco, Oakland, and Alameda the Governor of California through recent legislation has recently taken an interest in this problem. In order that we may have an exhaustive investigation with a view to final determination which I hope will be acceptable to all parties, I have consulted the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy as well as Mr. Meek, the representative of Governor Young, and I shall appoint a commission comprising two representatives from the Navy, two from the Army, and I shall ask the authorities of San Francisco to appoint one member, the authorities of the east side of the bay to appoint another member. I shall ask the Governor to appoint one or two members and I shall appoint a leading citizen, Mr. Mark Requa if he will undertake it, in the hope that we may arrive at a determination of the common interest."

NOTE: Burt C. Meek was director of California State public works.

Message to the Second Pan American Highway Congress

August 16, 1929

[Released August 16, 1929. Dated July 25, 1929]

Gentlemen:

The deliberations of the Second Pan American Highway Congress at Rio de Janeiro afford an opportunity for distinguished service to all of the countries of the Pan American Union in the important field of highway development.

The four years which have passed since the initial Congress at Buenos Aires have seen much progress made in the direction of improved highway transportation in all the countries of the New World and it is gratifying to know that the work of that Congress and thereafter the efforts of the Pan American Confederation for Highway Education have contributed materially to this result.

Modern highways and motor vehicles provide a basic and elastic system of communication which is most readily adjustable to the economic needs of areas hitherto poorly supplied by transportation. Mutual exchange of examples and experience in this direction cannot fail to be of value to countries and I am sure that the work of this conference will contribute to solidarity of purpose of our countries.

I believe that the Congress at Rio de Janeiro will be of great benefit in furthering this purpose and that it will contribute largely also to the most important purpose of further cementing the friendly and helpful relations that exist between the countries of the two Americas.

Please convey these sentiments on my behalf to the representatives of the several countries at the Congress as well as to other officials with whom you may come into contact.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[The United States Delegation, Second Pan American Highway Congress, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil]

NOTE: The President's message was read by John Walter Drake, Chairman of the seven-member United States delegation, on the opening day of the Congress in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Remarks to the People of Madison County, Virginia,
at the Celebration of 'Hoover Day in Madison.'

August 17, 1929

BOTH Mrs. Hoover and I feel greatly honored by the generous reception you have extended to us today. It is a welcome as one of your neighbors, and it is as a neighbor that I participate with you.

In the early years of our Republic, Virginia was the home of Presidents and it would seem appropriate that with the changing years the President should at least have a weekend camp in Virginia. There are other sound reasons why such a connection should be maintained between the Presidents and Virginia.

The fact is that those strong Virginians who selected the site for our National Capital were apparently impervious to heat and humidity or at least they were unaware of how much pavements and modern buildings can contribute to raise the temperature. But Virginia herself now offers the antidote in the wonderful mountains which you have dedicated to a national park and the access to it that you have provided by your newly improved roads.

It has become a habit and a necessity for our Government officials who have the major anxieties in national affairs, to seek some other place from which to conduct their work for prolonged periods in the summertime. But the press of public business and its execution in the National Capital is so necessary that we must face the fact that these periods must gradually be shortened.

Therefore, I have thought it appropriate to accept the hospitality of your citizens and your mountains for one or two days each week and thereby combine both relief and work without cost to either. And I have discovered that even the work of government can be improved by leisurely discussions of its problems out under the trees where no bells ring or callers jar one's thoughts from the channels of urbanity.

You have demonstrated yourselves good hosts and good neighbors with that fine courtesy for which Virginia is known to the whole Nation. I often think the test of good neighbors is whether one can always be sure when the family meets an emergency it can cheerfully borrow a half dozen eggs or a few extra dishes.

In this emergency you have proved this sentiment of neighborliness by lending me a part of your park, by improving a road, by securing the fishing rights on a beautiful mountain stream and even providing me with fishing tackle. I, on my side, am glad to lend my services as a good neighbor to you by acting as a sort of signpost to the country of the fine reality of your proposed new national park.

I fear that the summer camp we have established on the Rapidan has the reputation of being devoted solely to fishing. That is not the case, for the fishing season lasts but a short time in the spring. It is a place for weekend rest – but fishing is an excuse and a valid reason of the widest range of usefulness for temporary retreat from our busy world.

In this case it is the excuse for return to the woods and streams with their retouch of the simpler life of the frontier from which every American springs. Moreover, I have learned that fishing has an important implication and even sounder foundation of such an excuse from the Presidential point of view. I find that many Presidents have joined the ranks of fishermen only after their inauguration as President, although I can claim over 45 years of apprenticeship – that is, in fishing, not the Presidency.

I have discovered the reason why Presidents take to fishing – the silent sport. Apparently the only opportunity for refreshment of one's soul and clarification of one's thoughts by solitude to Presidents lies through fishing. As I have said in another place, it is generally realized and accepted that prayer is the most personal of all human relationships. On such occasions as that men and women are entitled to be alone and undisturbed.

Next to prayer, fishing is the most personal relationship of man and of more importance than the fact itself, everybody concedes that the fish will not bite in the presence of the public. Fishing seems to be the sole avenue left to Presidents through which they may escape to their own thoughts and may live in their own imaginings and find relief from the pneumatic hammer of constant personal contacts, and refreshment of mind in the babble of rippling brooks.

Moreover, it is a constant reminder of the democracy of life, of humility, and of human frailty – for all men are equal before fishes. And it is desirable that the President of the United States should be periodically reminded of this fundamental fact – that the forces of nature discriminate for no man.

But to become more serious, I wish again to thank you on behalf of Mrs. Hoover and myself for your generous and cordial welcome to Madison County. We hope to be good neighbors and we know from experience already that you will be.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon at the Madison County fairgrounds, during a day-long celebration held by Madison County residents to welcome the President and Mrs. Hoover as neighbors. People of the county brought squirrel stew, to be served in 5,000 tin cups, as well as fried chicken, ham, barbecued beef, pie, and cake. The secretary of the local Chamber of Commerce estimated that some 10,000 people were fed. The ceremony was attended by Members of Congress, Government officials, and Virginia Governor Harry F. Byrd, who arrived in an Army blimp. The program was broadcast by radio and filmed by a newsreel crew.

As printed above, this item follows an advance text issued by the White House. For a facsimile of President Hoover's reading copy, with holograph changes, see Appendix D.

The President's News Conference of
August 20, 1929

RAILWAY CONSOLIDATION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have a question relating to the consolidation of railways in the District of Columbia, asking if I will comment. Those are matters that must be dealt with by the Public Utilities Commission of the District of Columbia – [they] do not come up to me until they are ready to make some recommendation to Congress.

CHIEF OF ENGINEERS

Also, I have a question wanting to know if I will appoint a Chief of Engineers. There has been no determination made about that yet.

FEDERAL PRISONS

I have a little information on the prison question. Through the cooperation of Secretary Good and the Attorney General we have found a temporary solution to at least a part of the overcrowding in the general Federal prisons. As you know, the Army has three major prisons – one at Blackwell Island, one at Leavenworth, which is separate from the general Federal prison, and one at Alcatraz Island. Those prisons are not fully inhabited. The Leavenworth prison has a capacity of 1,600 prisoners and is a very model establishment. And Blackwell Island and Alcatraz are both short of their full complement at the present time, and some of the major Army post prisons are underoccupied. So that we are proposing, subject to being able to disentangle any legal difficulty, to transfer the Leavenworth military prison temporarily to the Department of Justice until such time as we can get appropriations and some construction done. That will give us room for about 1,600 men and enable us to take the worst of the overcrowding off the two major prisons at Leavenworth and Atlanta.

Q. Mr. President, do you mean the 1,600 by using Blackwell's Island?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it is for 1,600 at Leavenworth. We will use Blackwell's Island and Alcatraz to accommodate some of the men at present in Leavenworth and perhaps use some of the Army post prisons for short-term men.

MACDONALD-DAWES DISARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS

I have one other question, and I am afraid I cannot give an adequate answer to it. It is a question in respect to discussions going on between Premier [J. Ramsay] MacDonald and Ambassador [Charles G.] Dawes. Obviously, as stated in the press, they relate to disarmament. I regret I am not in a position to make any statement to help you out much as yet. I hope the time will come when I can illuminate that subject more for you.

Otherwise, I have nothing on my mind.

NOTE: President Hoover's forty-fourth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, August 20, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on the use of Army prisons to relieve Federal prison congestion (see Item 182).

Statement on the Use of Army Prisons To Relieve Overcrowding in Federal Prisons*August 20, 1929*

THROUGH the cooperation of Secretary Good and the Attorney General, I believe we have found temporary solution to the problem of overcrowding in the Federal prisons, especially those at Atlanta and Leavenworth.

The Army has three major prisons – one at Governors Island, one at Leavenworth, and one at Alcatraz.

The Army prison at Leavenworth is a model establishment with a capacity of about 1,600 prisoners. At present there are only 600 Army prisoners in the establishment. At the same time there are many vacancies in both Blackwell's Island and Alcatraz. Also there are vacancies for short time prisoners in some of the Army post prisons. Beyond this again there are a number of men recommended for parole from the Army prisons.

Subject to our being able to overcome any legal difficulties, it is proposed to make the Leavenworth military prison available to the Department of Justice as a temporary measure pending construction of further accommodations by the Department of Justice. This will afford relief to about 1,600 prisoners from the general prisons at Leavenworth and Atlanta.

The President's News Conference of
August 23, 1929

RUMORED RESIGNATIONS

THE PRESIDENT. Somebody wants to know if there is a change contemplated in the chairmanship of the Shipping Board. There is not.

Likewise I think four Cabinet officers have been rumored to have resigned in the last 8 days, and I want to tell you that that is a hot weather phenomenon, also. Nobody contemplates resigning that I have ever heard of.

LEAVENWORTH PRISON

The Department of Justice and the War Department have found a legal basis for the transfer of the disciplinary barracks at Leavenworth to the service of the Department of Justice as a purely temporary measure, pending the time when we can get the matter before Congress, and the transfer ought to be complete within the next month and perhaps less.

NAVAL DISARMAMENT

There is a matter which I would like to explain to you – background, which is for your own information. It deals with foreign affairs, and I do not want any quotation. I am just telling you something to keep yourselves right in your own discussions.

The statement appeared in some of the press this morning that an agreement had been reached in Great Britain on the naval question. That is entirely premature. Any agreement on naval disarmament must be the result of conference with the other powers, and the location and date of that conference has not been concluded – in fact, has not been more than tentatively discussed. As we have already said on various occasions, at the suggestion of the other naval powers concerned in the Naval Preparatory Conference, preparatory to disarmament, general discussions have been carried on between ourselves and the British looking forward to the establishment of certain principles that would guide negotiations in matters which solely concern, or principally concern, ourselves and the British, prior to establishing the whole question of a general conference.

Now, we have made a good deal of progress on the establishment of those principles, but they are not yet completed – they have not yet been concluded – so that it is premature to state that anything in the nature of an agreement or an accord has been reached. These discussions are devoted to the consideration of principles that should guide the discussions in a conference, so as to prepare the conference in the lines along which the work is to be carried on. Therefore, any conclusion as to details is entirely out of place, because we are not engaged in the discussion of details. We are engaged in the discussion of general and broad principles. I am hopeful of the result. It looks encouraging, but it has not yet been concluded, and when our discussions with the British are brought to an acceptable stage we will then meet to consult the other powers, and after that the question of a general conference will arise.

All I want to make clear is that this is a problem that requires many stages of development. It is a slow process and in a general way we are making encouraging progress.

Further than that, I have no inquiries today. So I can tell you no more.

NOTE: President Hoover's forty-fifth news conference was held in the White House at 3 p.m. on Friday, August 23, 1929.

Statement on the First Anniversary of Signing of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War
August 26, 1929

THE KELLOGG PACT has focused the moral enthusiasm of the world upon the cause of peace. But if it is not to become another pious gesture it must be followed by practical and sincere measures, and the first among them is a turn of the tide of increasing armament.

NOTE: The President's statement was published in the August 27, 1929, issue of The Christian Science Monitor.

The international treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy was signed in Paris on August 27, 1928, ratified, and proclaimed by the President on July 24, 1929 (see Item 161).

Message to the Western Governors Conference on Public Land Questions
August 27, 1929

[Released August 27, 1929. Dated August 21, 1929]

My dear Secretary Dixon:

I have for some years given thought to the necessity and desirability for a further step in development of the relations between the federal and state governments in respect to the Public Lands and the Reclamation Service. The meeting of the governors of the Public Land states at Salt Lake City which you are attending offers an opportunity for consideration of some phases of these questions, and I should appreciate it if you would present them to the governors.

It may be stated at once that our Western states have long since passed from their swaddling clothes and are today more competent to manage much of these affairs than is the Federal Government. Moreover, we must seek every opportunity to retard the expansion of federal bureaucracy and to place our communities in control of their own destinies. The problems are in large degree administrative in character both as they affect the Federal Government and the government of the states.

It seems to me that the time has come when we should determine the facts in the present situation, should consider the policies now being pursued and the changes which I might recommend to Congress.

That these matters may be gone into exhaustively and that I may be advised intelligently, I propose to appoint a commission of nine or ten members, at least five of whom should be chosen from leading citizens of the Public Land states, and I should like to secure the cooperation of the governors by submission from them of names for such a Commission. This Commission would naturally cooperate with the Department of the Interior.

As an indication of the far-reaching character of the subjects which could come before such a Commission, I may recount certain tentative suggestions for its consideration. No doubt other subjects and other proposals would arise.

PUBLIC LANDS

The most vital question in respect to the remaining free Public Lands for both the individual states and the nation is the preservation of their most important value – that is grazing. The remaining free lands of the public domain, (that is, not including lands reserved for parks, forests, Indians, minerals, power sites and other minor reserves) are valuable in the main only for that purpose.

The first of the tentative suggestions, therefore, is that the surface rights of the remaining unappropriated, unreserved public lands should, subject to certain details for protection of homesteaders and the smaller stockmen, be transferred to the State Governments for public school purposes and thus be placed under state administration.

At the present time these unappropriated lands aggregate in the neighborhood of 190,000,000 acres and in addition some ten million acres have been withdrawn for purposes of stock watering places and stock drives which might be transferred as a part of the program of range preservation. In addition, some 35,000,000 acres have been withdrawn for coal and shale reserves, the surface rights of which with proper reservations might be added to this program of range development in the hands of the states.

Reports which I have received indicate that due to lack of constructive regulation and grazing value of these lands is steadily decreasing due to over-grazing and their deterioration, aside from their decreased value in the production of herds, is likely to have a marked effect upon the destruction of the soil and ultimately upon the water supply. They bring no revenue to the Federal Government. The Federal government is incapable of the adequate administration of matters which require so large a matter of local understanding. Practically none of these lands can be commercially afforested but in any event the forest reserves could be rounded out from them where this is desirable. Therefore, for the best interest of the people as a whole, and people of the Western States and the small farmers and stockmen by whom they are primarily used, they should be managed and the policies for their use determined by the State Governments.

The capacity which the individual states have shown in handling school lands already ceded out of every township which are of the same character, is in itself proof of this and most of the individual states already maintain administrative organization for this purpose so that but little added burden would thus be

imposed. They could to the advantage of the animal industry be made to ultimately yield some proper return to the states for school purposes and the fundamental values could be safeguarded in a fashion not possible by the Federal Government. They would also increase the tax base of the State Governments.

A question might arise upon the allotment of the Federal Road Fund as a result of a shift of the public land ownership. It would only be just if this allotment could be undisturbed for at least ten years while the states were organizing their range conservation measures.

It is not proposed to transfer forest, park, Indian and other existing reservations which have a distinctly national as well as local importance. Inasmuch as the royalties from mineral rights revert to the Western states either direct or through the Reclamation Fund, their reservation to the federal control is not of the nature of a deprivation.

RECLAMATION SERVICE

It seems to me that the vital questions here are to reorient the direction of the Reclamation Service primarily to the storage of water and to simplify its administration.

The Reclamation Fund and the Reclamation Service were created in 1902 and the situation has since changed materially. The present plan as you are aware is that receipts from sale of public lands, mineral royalties and repayments by the beneficiaries for expenditure upon projects all accrue to this fund. The Reclamation Service undertakes special projects upon the authorization of Congress, which are financed from the fund on the basis of return by the land owners or purchasers of the cost of the project but without interest for a term of years. A total of approximately \$182,000,000 has been expended from the fund.

The present Reclamation Act is based fundamentally on the reclamation of government-owned lands. Possible areas available for reclamation have now passed almost wholly into private ownership and the use of the Reclamation Fund for further projects may be legally criticized owing to the fact that the land is no longer a part of the public domain and circumlocation by voluntary agreements may not always be possible.

Moreover the application of the fund under the present organization results in very large federal administrative activities within the states of a character which was never originally contemplated and which could be much better administered by the local state governments themselves. In many ways it duplicates the state water administrations.

There are several tentative suggestions for more effective handling of the fund. For instance, the Reclamation Service for all new projects might well be confined to the construction of permanent works, that is dams and such construction as results in water storage – and at the completion of such construction the entire works be handed over to the states with no obligation for repayment to the Reclamation Fund except such revenues as might arise from electrical power and possibly in some cases from the sale of water until the outlay has been repaid or in any event for not longer than, say fifty years.

Again, there are certain instances of insufficiently capitalized community owned irrigation projects which are at the point of failure, for whom the Reclamation Fund might be made a proper vehicle to rescue homes that are now in jeopardy.

A further activity which might be considered for incorporation in the Reclamation Service would be the authorization to join with the states and local communities or private individuals for the creation of water storage for irrigation purposes. The primary purpose of these suggestions is thus to devote the Federal Government activities to the creation of water storage and a reduction of other activities within the states.

Under such arrangements the states would have the entire management of all new reclamation projects and would themselves deal with the irrigation land questions and land settlements. It is only through the powers of the states that reclamation districts can legally be organized which would incorporate the liability of privately owned lands for irrigation expenditure and by such organization it ought to be possible to finance the subsidiary works.

By direction of the Reclamation Service in some such manner the large provision of water storage would ultimately secure a very large increase in the irrigable area of the various states. It is evident to every engineer that water storage is not always directly connected with an irrigation project but vital to expansion of irrigation. This emphasis and this direction of Federal activities to water storage rather than land development has also an incidental importance to Flood control and navigation.

It is not suggested that the states should take over the administration of the established projects but that the system should be set up for future undertakings. If it were instituted it would, of course, be necessary to

set up some safeguards to cover interstate projects. No doubt each new project as at present should be specifically authorized by Congress.

It must be understood that these suggestions are only tentative; that they have no application to dealing with power questions except that which is incidental to storage of water for irrigation or its further incidental use in navigation and flood control. Moreover the question of the advisability or inadvisability of opening new areas of land for cultivation in the face of present obvious surplus of farm products does not arise because the activities outlined herein will only affect farm production ten or twenty years hence by which time we shall probably need more agricultural land.

MINERAL RESOURCES

The policies to be pursued in development and conservation of mineral resources of the public domain present many problems. They are problems of a national as well as a local character. I know that the western as well as the eastern States agree that abuse of permits for mineral development or unnecessary production and waste in our national resources of minerals is a matter of deepest concern and must be vigorously prevented.

Because of such abuse and waste I recently instituted measures to suspend further issue of oil prospecting permits on public lands and to clean up the misuse of outstanding permits, and thereby to clear the way for constructive conservation. It may interest the governors to know that when this decision was taken on the 12th of March there were prospecting permits in force covering over 40,000,000 acres of the public domain. We have now determined that over 40 percent of these holders had not complied with the requirements of the law, that the large portion of these licenses were being used for the purpose of preventing others from engaging in honest development and some even as a basis of "blue sky" promotions. After yielding to the claimants, the widest latitude to show any genuine effort at development under the outstanding prospecting permits, the total will probably be reduced to about 10,000,000 acres, upon which genuine development is now in progress. The public domain is, therefore, being rapidly cleared of this abuse. The position is already restored to a point where measures can be discussed which will further effectually conserve the national resources, and at the same time take account of any necessity for local supplies.

GENERAL

These suggestions are, of course, tentative pending investigation of the full facts, but generally I may state that it is my desire to work out more constructive policies for conservation in our grazing lands, our water storage and our mineral resources, at the same time check the growth of Federal Bureaucracy, reduce Federal interference in affairs of essentially local interest and thereby increase the opportunity of the states to govern themselves, and in all obtain better Government.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Hon. Joseph M. Dixon, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Assistant Secretary Dixon delivered the message to the Governors meeting at Salt Lake City, Utah, on August 26 and 27. The public land States represented were Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

The message was released by the White House on the day of the President's news conference in which he discussed the Governors' reaction to his suggestions (see Item 186).

SAFETY OF AMERICAN CITIZENS IN PALESTINE

THE PRESIDENT. I have a question about the disturbance in Palestine.¹ We are naturally very much concerned for the safety of our citizens there. I am advised that the British Government has taken very strong and extensive measures for the restoration of order, and I am in hopes that we will have no more loss of life.

WESTERN GOVERNORS CONFERENCE AND PUBLIC LAND SUGGESTIONS

I also have some questions about the Western Conference of Governors and the suggestion that I made for the appointment of a commission to examine into public land questions.²

I have a telegram this morning from Governor [H. Clarence] Baldrige, of Idaho, who is the Chairman of the Conference, in which the Governors express their very warm approval of the suggested appointment of a commission and of the suggestions for its consideration. So that I will appoint that commission at as early a moment as we can select the men.

Q. Mr. President, is he an officer of the Conference?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, he is the Chairman of the Conference. The Conference passed a resolution yesterday to that effect.

This is background on that matter for you. The proposals there are entirely of conservation order. There never has been any consideration given to the conservation of the ranges. We have neglected them during the whole history of the Government. They have been overgrazed. They are today probably not worth 50 percent of what they were 20 years ago from a pasturage point of view, and I am advised that in another 20 years they will be to a considerable extent ruined and beyond remedy. Only natural grasses are possible – they are being eliminated by overgrazing.

This is fundamentally a proposal to not only simplify the Federal relations with the States but to secure a positive conservation program under the management of the States and for the benefit of the public schools in those States of the unappropriated public lands. It is not a suggestion to transfer the mineral rights, so there is no question of mineral conservation arises in it at all. It is proposed only to transfer the surface rights.

There is a suggestion also for better conservation of water – the devotion of the Reclamation Service to water storage, and the simplification of the Government relations with the States over reclamation and land projects. Some change is necessary in the Reclamation Service from a legal point of view, because, as I pointed out in the letter sent out to Salt Lake, the Reclamation Service was rounded on the reclamation of public lands. Practically all the lands in the West that are available for reclamation have now passed into private hands. It will require some reorientation of the Reclamation Service if it is to continue its activities. Laterally, the Reclamation Service has secured private agreements with private landholders by which the landholders contribute under the Reclamation Act. Voluntary agreement at best is very unsatisfactory. The States are the only political entity which have the power to enforce contributions in the matter of reclamation of private land. That is only one of many reasons, but it is a very pertinent reason for requiring some reorientation of the Reclamation Service.

And it is a part of these suggestions that this commission should consider the rounding out of the Federal Forest Reserves from such forests as may still be on public domain and not already so far appropriated. There is very little forest left not incorporated in the Forest Reserves. There may be some, however, and this will offer an opportunity to investigate as to what remaining forest can be embraced in the Forest Service before any transfer of the domain should be made. But all those suggestions are purely tentative for investigation.

I have one question as to whether or not those suggestions as to the setting up of a commission have been approved by the Service in the Department of the Interior. I should have thought that would have been obvious. The entire staff of the Interior – the Director of the Geological Survey, the Land Commissioner, and the Director of the Reclamation Service, all sat in in the preparation of that communication.

And that is all that I have before me at the present moment.

NOTE: President Hoover's forty-sixth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, August 27, 1929.

¹ Arab-Jewish hostilities broke out in Jerusalem on August 23, 1929, and spread to Hebron and elsewhere. On August 25, the United States Consul General reported casualty estimates of 100 killed and 300 wounded, including 12 Americans dead and others wounded at Hebron. The British sent troops by air and rail, as well as a battleship and aircraft carrier.

² See Item 185.

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Telegram Denying a Rumor of Abandonment of Army and Navy Aircraft Programs
August 27, 1929

[Released August 27, 1929. Dated August 26, 1929]

NO SUCH suggestions as that implied in your telegram has ever been made that I am aware of and I wish to know the name of your informant.

HERBERT HOOVER

[Thomas L. Hill, President, American Society for Promotion of Aviation, New York City]

NOTE: Mr. Hill replied that his information was based on press accounts.

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Message to Hugo Eckener on the Completion of the
Round-the-World Flight of the Graf Zeppelin

August 29, 1929

[Released August 29, 1929. Dated August 28, 1929]

ON MY OWN behalf as well as my fellow countrymen it gives me great satisfaction to welcome you and the members of your party upon the completion of your memorable flight around the world. It has been a great adventure which again stirs the spirit and interest of all men and women. It marks another step in the progress of aviation. The German people are to be congratulated upon this evidence of their great contributions to the art and you are to be congratulated upon your courage and skill. Mr. Hearst, who I understand has importantly aided the trip financially, is also to be congratulated upon its outcome.

NOTE: The President's message was delivered to Dr. Eckener by William P. MacCracken, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Aeronautics. William Randolph Hearst was editor and publisher of the chain of newspapers which sponsored a worldwide radio broadcast of the arrival.

The Graf Zeppelin arrived at Lakehurst, N.J., at 8:13 a.m. on August 29, 1929, completing the first circumnavigation of the world by a lighter-than-air craft.

Exchange of Remarks With Hugo Eckener, Commander of the Graf Zeppelin

August 29, 1929

Dr. Eckener:

It gives me great satisfaction personally to congratulate you upon this noteworthy attainment. It shows that the spirit of high adventure still lives. Its success has been due to the eminent scientific and engineering abilities of the German people, translated by your own skill and courage. You have already witnessed the universal appreciation of the American people of your accomplishment. You have given a most valuable service to aviation; you have added to the luster of your countrymen and you have lifted the spirits of men with renewed confidence in human progress.

NOTE: The President spoke at the White House at 3 p.m. on Thursday, August 29, 1929. Dr. Eckener's reply was translated by Dr. Otto C. Kiep, Charge d'Affaires of the German Embassy in Washington, as follows:

Mr. President:

I am deeply grateful for the gracious address you have been pleased to extend to me. You have been kind enough to appreciate what the ship, officers and crew have achieved, and we are proud of such appreciation. I wish to say, however, that the achievement could not have been put through without the assistance of the United States, and I wish to avail myself of this occasion to express my appreciation.

Message for Jewish Organizations Meeting in Madison
Square Garden To Protest the Events in Palestine

August 29, 1929

I HAVE your request for a statement that may be presented at the meeting this evening in New York.

I am glad of the opportunity to express my profound sympathy with those who have been bereaved and who have suffered through these disturbances. Good citizens in every country deplore these outbreaks and this loss of life. Our Government is deeply concerned not only in this broader sense but in the narrower sense of the protection of the lives of American citizens.

Our advices are that the vigorous action taken by the British Government has restored a large measure of protection, although that Government is still faced with great burdens from this outbreak of fanaticism. I know the whole world acknowledges the fine spirit shown by the British Government in accepting the mandate of the Palestine in order that there might under this protection be established a homeland so long desired by the Jews. Great progress has been made in this inspiring enterprise over these last ten years, and to this progress the American Jews have made enormous contribution. They have demonstrated not only the fine sentiment and ideals which inspire their activities but its practical possibilities.

I am confident out of these tragic events will come greater security and greater safeguards for the future, under which the steady rehabilitation of the Palestine as a true homeland will be even more assured. An immediate and pressing question is the relief to those who are suffering. The fine sympathy of the American people is already evidencing itself in this purpose and it should receive the most generous support.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to the Zionist Organization of America, 111 Fifth Avenue, New York City, attention of Mr. A. Tannenbaum. It was read at the meeting by Herman Bernstein, author and editor.

On September 4 the message, with minor variances in pluralization and punctuation, was sent to and published on behalf of the Canadian Jews Fund.

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Message on the 75th Anniversary of Lincoln University
September, 1929

[Released September 1929. Dated June 4, 1929]

I CONGRATULATE you most cordially upon the seventy-fifth anniversary of Lincoln University and wish you and all who have part in its labors all success in the future development of its splendid service in behalf of education and of the improvement of the condition of the negro and of his relations with the other races.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to Wm. Hallock Johnson, president, Lincoln University, Oxford, Pa., and was printed in the September 1929 issue of the Presbyterian Magazine.

PROPAGANDA AGAINST NAVAL REDUCTION

THE PRESIDENT. I have a note of my own here. I have been a great deal interested in the disclosures in respect to the relations of a naval expert with three important shipbuilding companies, as disclosed in a suit filed in the New York State Supreme Court. That suit calls for payment for services which are described in the complaint, and acknowledges receipt of \$50,000 in payment. That particular propagandist in the past few years organized very zealous support for increased armament and has been a very severe critic of all efforts of our Government to secure international agreement for the reduction of naval arms, including not only the attendance at the Geneva Conference but also continued propaganda against the movement that I have launched in the last 3 months. And a considerable part of that propaganda is devoted to creation of international distrust and international hate.

Now, I can't believe that the responsible directors of those three corporations have been a party to those transactions as represented in that lawsuit, but a statement of the case by them is very much to be desired. They owe it not only to the Government, but they owe it to the public, and they owe it to their own corporations.

In the meantime, I have directed the Attorney General to determine what action he can take, for unless the case can show a very different situation from that indicated in the lawsuit, we must propose some measure that will free the American people from that type of influence.

Now, every American has a right to express his opinions and to engage in open propaganda on any subject that he sees fit, but to secretly undertake such propaganda for persons who have a definite interest – who are engaged in the undertaking of naval contracts with the American Government in an endeavor to increase armament, or alternatively, to defeat the efforts of the Government to secure international agreement for the limitation of armament, or to employ persons for that purpose, is not a fitting thing. And I am making that statement publicly so that there will be no misapprehension of my determination that our present international negotiations shall not be interfered with by any such activities or by any such methods.?

Q. Do you make that in your own name – and we may say so.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, and we will give it to you mimeographed in a little while.

As I have no questions except one that relates to agricultural questions, which concern the Department of Agriculture, and which I cannot answer, that is all.

NOTE: President Hoover's forty-seventh news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, September 6, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on disclosures of propagandizing against naval reduction (see Item 193).

Statement on Disclosures of Propagandizing Against Naval Reduction *September 6, 1929*

THE PRESIDENT said:

"I have been much interested in the disclosures in respect to the relations of a naval expert who over a month ago filed a complaint in the New York courts against three important naval shipbuilding corporations for services described in the complaint, in which he acknowledges having received over \$50,000 on account. This propagandist has, during the past few years, organized zealous support for increased armament and has been a severe critic of all efforts of our Government to secure international agreement for the reduction of naval arms, which include activities at the Geneva Conference, and opposition to the movement which I have initiated in the past 3 months. A part of this propaganda has been directed to create international distrust and hate.

"I cannot believe that the responsible directors of these shipbuilding corporations have been a party to these transactions as represented in this lawsuit, but their statement of the case is needed. It is due to the public, it is due to the Government, and it is due to the corporations themselves.

"In the meantime, I have directed the Attorney General to consider what action we can take. Unless the companies can show an entirely different situation from that which is purported in this suit, we are compelled to consider what measures can be proposed to free the country of such influences.

"Every American has the right to express his opinion and to engage in open propaganda if he wishes, but it is obviously against public interest for those who have financial interest in, or may be engaged in contracts for the construction of naval vessels to secretly attempt to influence public opinion or public officials by propaganda in favor of larger armaments and attempt to defeat the efforts of the Government in world limitation of such armaments or to employ persons for such purposes.

"I am making this statement publicly so that there can be no misapprehension of my determination that our present international negotiations shall not be interfered with from such sources and through such methods."

NOTE: William B. Shearer brought suit in the New York State Supreme Court against Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, and American Brown Boveri Electric Corporation. He charged that these firms did not adequately compensate him for his services as their representative, for a period of 3 years, at armament conferences in both the United States and Europe.

On September 10, 1929, the White House released a letter to the President from the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, dated September 9, as follows:

Sir:

In your public statement of September 7, 1929, referring to the suit of William B. Shearer against certain shipbuilding companies you say that you "cannot believe that the responsible directors of these shipbuilding corporations have been a party to these transactions as reported in this lawsuit but their statement of the case is needed." Bethlehem Steel Corporation is addressing you this letter in response to that invitation.

To the best of our recollection Mr. Schwab and I were not conscious of the existence of William B. Shearer prior to December, 1927, when we were asked to comment on the rumor that American shipbuilding interests had maintained at Geneva during the Naval Disarmament Conference of the previous summer a propagandist in the person of one William B. Shearer. We first branded the rumor as false but upon its repetition we caused inquiries to be made of S. W. Wakeman, who was in charge of Bethlehem's eastern shipbuilding operations, with headquarters at our Fore River shipbuilding plant at Quincy, Mass.

We then learned for the first time that in the previous spring Mr. Wakeman had joined with other shipbuilding companies in the employment of Mr. Shearer as an observer at the Geneva Disarmament Conference for a fee of \$25,000, of which Bethlehem was to pay a third. Mr. Wakeman assured us that his understanding was that Mr. Shearer was employed only as an observer to furnish information and that his activities as a propagandist in connection with the conference were solely on his own initiative and were in no way inspired or supported by the shipbuilding industry.

Mr. Schwab and I soon ascertained that Mr. Shearer was and had been for years an active propagandist regarding the naval policies of the United States. We felt that the employment of such a man as an observer was in conflict with the policy to which the Bethlehem interests have strictly adhered of refraining from participation in propaganda intended to influence the naval and military policies of the United States Government. I therefore directed Mr. Wakeman to arrange for the termination of Mr. Shearer's employment, which he promptly did, paying Bethlehem's share of the final payment of Mr. Shearer's compensation. This ended Bethlehem's relations with Mr. Shearer.

It was after this termination of his employment that Mr. Shearer advanced for the first time, I am informed, his claim against the shipbuilding companies for compensation in much larger amounts than he had already received.

We should add that we have also learned from Mr. Wakeman that in December, 1926, he joined with other shipbuilding companies in the employment of Mr. Shearer in connection with the movement of encouraging the development of an American Merchant Marine for a fee of \$7,500, of which Bethlehem paid a third.

Mr. Shearer's claim in his pending suit against our Company and two other shipbuilding companies that he had been employed by us to any greater extent than as above stated or that he is entitled to compensation beyond the amounts already paid to him is entirely without foundation.

Bethlehem has nothing to conceal regarding its share in the employment of Mr. Shearer on the two occasions above mentioned and we shall be glad to furnish any further information on the subject you desire.

Very respectfully,
E. G. GRACE,
President

[Honorable Herbert C. Hoover, President of the United States of America]

Letter on the Retirement of Hubert Work as Chairman
of the Republican National Committee

September 9, 1929

Dear Mr. Williams:

On the occasion of Dr. Work's determination to retire from the Chairmanship of the Republican National Committee, I should like through you, to place in the record of the National Committee the high appreciation I hold, and which I know the country generally holds for the many public services given by Dr. Work. He has given his long life of public usefulness in many directions.

He long since demonstrated his leadership in his own profession as President for many years of the Colorado State Board of Health, President of the American Psychiatric Society, and finally as President of the American Medical Association and as a Colonel in the Medical Service during the World War.

He has given much to party service, beginning twenty years ago as Chairman of the Republican State Convention of Colorado, a member for many years of the Republican National Committee and during the past successful campaign, Chairman of the National Committee.

In public office he has been successively Assistant Postmaster General, Postmaster General and Secretary of the Interior, with a record for administrative capacity, honesty and courage at each step.

Dr. Work can quite well feel that he is entitled to a rest and I know that the Committee joins with me in expression of appreciation, not alone for his service to the party but also for so distinguished a career in public service.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The President's letter was sent to Ralph E. Williams, first vice chairman of the Republican National Committee, who read it at a special meeting held at the Willard Hotel in Washington, D.C., where Claudius Huston was elected to succeed Dr. Work.

Telegram Denying Association of Admiral Hilary Jones With
William B. Shearer in Activities Against Naval Reduction

September 9, 1929

I HAVE your telegram of September 7. You are entirely mistaken as to any connection between Admiral Hilary Jones and the gentleman you mention. They have never even had acquaintance and I have ample reason to know that there could not possibly be such a relationship as you suggest. I do hope that you will accept my assurance that there is a mistake. Admiral Jones deserves the highest appreciation for his public service.

HERBERT HOOVER

[Honorable J. V. McClintic, Altus, Oklahoma]

NOTE: Representative McClintic's telegram, dated September 7, 1929, follows:

The revelation with respect to the activities of William B. Shearer, who under cover, has represented three private shipbuilding corporations and is suing the same for more than \$250,000.00 for balance due for services for spreading propaganda favorable to the largest shipbuilding program, is, in my opinion, one of the most important steps you have taken and I hope as a member of the House Naval Committee that you will cause a full and complete investigation of all activities in this connection. It will be remembered that William B. Shearer was in daily attendance at the Geneva Conference called for the purpose of agreeing upon a shipbuilding program between certain major nations and that his activities while at Geneva received nearly as much publicity as others combined. His statement that he was in these shipbuilding companies' employment during this time shows conclusively what steps they will take to prevent agreements between nations and is one of the darkest pages ever written affecting peace and humanity of the world. On many occasions during the consideration of the last House shipbuilding bill he presented to me various arguments used at the Geneva Conference in support of a bill that would have cost the government more than one billion dollars and never at any time let it be known that he was the paid lobbyist of these three companies. Because of his cooperation with Admiral Hilary P. Jones and the announcement of certain officers in the Navy that the Geneva Conference, although it failed, was the most successful ever conducted, I made a speech last year on the floor of the House advising the public that no good result could or would come from any conference in which this Admiral was the chief adviser. I shall be very happy to cooperate with you in any way I can in this connection.

J. V. MCCLINTIC

[The President]

LOWER MISSISSIPPI FLOOD CONTROL WORK

THE PRESIDENT. I have a question on the lower Mississippi flood control work. On behalf of Secretary Good and myself I have informed Senator [Joseph T.] Robinson of Arkansas that if the Senators and Representatives of the interested States are willing to assume the responsibility by making the request, then we will delay the undertaking of the new work on that portion of the Mississippi flood control covering the so-called floodway from the Arkansas River to the gulf, that is, pending further consideration of that feature. That segment of the flood control work represents about one-third of the total. There has been a great deal of division of opinion and many views have developed lately, both technical and other questions, and I want to give full consideration to these views before settlement is finally arrived at.

That will not involve the other major features of the flood control work, that is, the strengthening of the levees on the main river and the tributaries and the New Orleans spillway, or the realignment of the river levees on the Missouri side south of Cairo. That just applies to that one segment.

PROPAGANDA AGAINST NAVAL DISARMAMENT

I have some questions also on recent discussions about naval affairs. I have very little to say about it. The disclosures of interference directly with and by propaganda against the efforts of the Government in its negotiations for international agreement to reduce arms are already so obviously evident as to require that these matters should be gone into to the very bottom.

CALIFORNIA BRIDGE COMMISSION

I have a question with regard to the California Bridge Commission, and in that matter I am awaiting the nominations of the Governor of California. We have selected the Federal representatives, and are ready any time he is able to make his selections.

That is all I have.

NOTE: President Hoover's forty-eighth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, September 10, 1929. The White House also issued texts of the President's statements on delaying flood control work on the lower Mississippi (see Item 197) and on propaganda in international naval negotiations (see Item 198).

Statement on Delaying Flood Control Work on the Lower Mississippi*September 10, 1929*

THE PRESIDENT said:

"I have a question on the lower Mississippi flood control work. On behalf of Secretary Good and myself I have informed Senator Robinson of Arkansas that if the Senators and Representatives of the interested States are willing to assume the responsibility by making the request, then we will delay the undertaking of the new work on that portion of the Mississippi flood control covering the so-called floodway from the Arkansas River to the gulf of the flood control. That segment of the flood control work represents about one-third of the total expenditure. There has been a great deal of division of opinion and many views have developed lately, both technical and other questions, and I want to give full consideration to those views before settlement is finally arrived at.

"That will not involve the other major features of the flood control work, that is the strengthening of the levees on the main river and the tributaries and the New Orleans spillway, or the realignment of the river levees on the Missouri side south of Cairo."

198

Statement on the Evidence of Propaganda in International Naval Negotiations

September 10, 1929

THE PRESIDENT said:

"The disclosures of interference with and propaganda against the efforts of the Government in its negotiations of international agreement for reduction of naval armament are already so evident as to require that these matters should be gone into to the very bottom."

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released a letter to the President from the president of Bethlehem Steel Corporation on the recent disclosures (see Item 193 note.)

199

Statement on the Death of Louis Marshall

September 11, 1929

I AM deeply grieved to learn that my friend Louis Marshall has passed away. His eminent services in law, government, conciliation, and philanthropy will remain of enduring value to this country. His Jewish brethren will long gratefully remember his successful labors in promoting mutual respect and good will amongst the races. But above all he will linger in memory as a lovable man and a loyal friend.

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Message on the Award of the American Chemical Society's
Priestley Medal to Francis P. Garvan
September 11, 1929

[Released September 11, 1929. Dated September 10, 1929]

I AM glad to be among those who congratulate both Mr. Garvan and the American Chemical Society upon the award of the Priestley Medal.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to Charles L. Parsons, American Chemical Society, Nicollet Hotel, Minneapolis, Minn. Mr. Garvan, a lawyer, received the American Chemical Society's highest award for his knowledge of German and Austrian dye patents.

201

Message on Rosh Hashanah

September 12, 1929

ROSH HASHANAH, the Jewish New Year, is an occasion upon which all citizens of our country may well recall with admiration and gratitude the whole-hearted loyalty and high-minded ideals of the Jewish element of our population. I felicitate them not only upon these qualities, so valuable to our civic life, but also upon their steadfast policy of furthering the cause of mutual respect and regard between the races, which is making continuous headway. And I add my best wishes for a Happy New Year.

HERBERT HOOVER

OCEAN MAIL CONTRACTS

THE PRESIDENT. Once or twice I have had questions on the mail contracts let under the new Merchant Marine Act. I haven't been able to reply to them because we had no determination from the Interdepartmental Board. That Board, as you know, comprises the Postmaster General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Chairman of the Shipping Board.

They came to some conclusions yesterday and made some recommendations to me. The whole correspondence we will hand out to you mimeographed, which will explain itself.

BACKGROUND DISCUSSION OF NAVAL DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS

Now, when we first undertook to revise our press relations here we divided our discussions into two or three categories, one of which was purely background material. I would be prepared to discuss with you now the background on the negotiations that have proceeded in the matter of naval agreement, but my understanding at that time was that background material was not quotable or was not attributable, but it was simply for your information so that you may be guided rightly in making up your own discussions.

I felt some limitations because there seems to have been some misunderstanding as to whether or not it could be attributed to the White House or high officials or something, and it makes it much more difficult for me to give you information which I think would be of use to you. If you wish to use it, it is on your own authority. You have no occasion to use it if you do not want to. It is not propaganda. It is merely a question of trying to keep you on the right track as to what is going on. I recognize your ability to represent the fact as you see it here in Washington. But I have a responsibility in these matters, and I do not wish that such information by some comma or sentence be distorted and produce difficulties for us in our negotiations. If that can be our understanding on this occasion I will go to some extent into this discussion as it exists today.

Now, the great purpose of all those negotiations has been to bring about a reduction and a limitation of arms of all categories – naval arms, the primary purpose of a stronger foundation for peace and the limitation of competitive armament. As a secondary purpose, it is also important for the reduction of expenses.

As you are aware, the discussion was taken up as between ourselves and the British in the first instance. That is more or less the outgrowth of the fact that the Geneva Conference split on differences between the United States and Great Britain. It has been felt if we could plane out our difficulties – the difficulties between the two powers – that we would be in a much more favorable position to bring about an international agreement at a subsequent conference.

In the discussion with the British we have endeavored to develop a series of principles upon which we could enter the conference, those principles relating entirely to relationships between ourselves and the British. Now, the first of the principles to be established was that there should be brought about a parity in all categories of naval ships. We have found on examination that this parity can be best brought about as at 1936. That date has two purposes. The first is that that represents the expiration of the Washington Arms Agreement, when the agreement covering battleships and aircraft carriers comes to an end, and it has the further advantage that we can reach that date without the scrapping of any ships on the American side except by obsolescence – without any premature scrapping you might say. But we can reach it by obsolescence and the natural scrapping of ships that have outlived their time. We will, therefore, propose that date for reaching parity.

One purpose in arriving at that date also has been that there would naturally be a further conference over naval arms in 1936 to take up the questions of the Washington Arms Conference, and if we have all of the major navies stabilized at that time that conference could undertake further steps for the limitation and reduction of armament that is not possible while we are in the situation of very largely unbalanced navies between the major powers.

I have already stated that one of the principles was to arrive at parity, and that parity to be arrived at by separate categories, that is, battleships, aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines. Such parity by categories in aggregate makes for more complete parity in fleets as a whole.

Now, in the matter of battleships, as you know, that situation is stabilized under the treaty until 1936 – also aircraft carriers – and we propose at the conference that there should be a delay in replacement in such fashion as to considerably reduce the expenditure programs which will be necessary if we make all of the replacements required under the arms treaty. And at the same time we make a more mobile situation for the probable conference that would take place in 1936.

In the matter of submarines, obsolescence will greatly reduce both navies below their present strength before 1936, and a maximum tonnage can be agreed upon in that category very much below the present naval strength. The precise figures have not yet been determined, and it does not represent any difficulties between ourselves and the British. The discussion is largely with other powers.

Likewise in destroyers we have hoped for a result which will reduce the present combined naval strength in destroyers by something like 200,000 tons. As you will recollect, we have some 300,000 tons of destroyers now, and the British I think have something like 200 in construction and operation, and by obsolescence our figures will fall far below these two amounts, and we hope to agree upon some figure far below our present strength. That figure has not been determined, but it will probably be somewhere in the neighborhood of 125,000 to 150,000 tons apiece, to represent a decrease in present naval strength of somewhere about 200,000 tons.

The question of cruisers is more difficult, and has always been more difficult because of the difference in the character of national need. The British have very widespread islands and coastline, which they practically garrison or police in peace times with small cruisers. We, on the other hand, require our predominant strength in cruisers in wider steaming strength because we have more widely spaced naval bases than have the British.

It has been stated in the London dispatches that the British have considered that they require 340,000 tons of cruisers so as to cover both the elements of police duty and the balance of other naval equipment. You will realize that that is a major concession from the positions hitherto occupied by the British Government; that at the Geneva Conference the minimum was somewhere in the neighborhood of 450,000 tons.

The problem between us at the present moment on cruisers is not a question of tonnage. It is solely a question of the character of the ships, although I should have preferred a less high mark in gross tonnage. But differences in point of view on that question have now narrowed down to what part of the American tonnage should be represented by the large 10,000-ton, 8-inch cruisers and the balance to be required to arrive at parity to be made up of the lighter type of cruisers with 6-inch guns.

In any event, the British are willing to limit themselves to 15 of the larger cruisers, that is 15 cruisers with guns in excess of 6 inches. They have some cruisers which do not quite approach that which they will be doing away with. And it means they have stopped construction of these.

Now, one problem naturally enters into the whole question of bringing about equality in categories, and that is a factor that must be introduced for difference in the age of vessels in the different fleets. That factor was introduced, although it was not stated as part of the agreement, but was introduced in the considerations and the discussions bringing about parity in battleships, and it becomes even more vividly necessary in other categories because of the wide disparity in the average ages of our fleets, and those ages will vary at different periods. At one period we will have the newer and the more modern fleet in a given category, and the British will have the older and less modern fleet, and then with replacements they will become more modern and ours less modern. It is, therefore, necessary to find an age factor. There is also a factor to be found representing some differential as between the ships equipped with 8-inch and 6-inch guns. We do not believe there is any difficulty in that particular. In the larger sense it must be borne in mind that the total tonnage of each of the two navies as they stand today is somewhere in the amount of 1,200,000 tons of fighting ships.

Our problems in this particular discussion are narrowed down practically to the one item as to whether 30,000 tons of our cruiser strength shall be represented by three cruisers with 8-inch guns, or whether it should be represented by four or five cruisers of 6-inch guns. There is no discussion of the question of tonnage. It is a question of minor dimensions in that character. In the larger picture of 1,200,000 tons that should not represent a difference that is impossible of reconciliation in some fashion when we get to actual conference.

Now, if we can by international agreement bring about between ourselves and the other powers limitation of arms on some of these lines, we shall have tremendously reduced the total naval tonnage of the world. We shall have reduced our own naval tonnage as well. We shall have saved the world billions of expenditure which will inevitably follow in the absence of some agreement of this character, and we shall

by such an agreement have stabilized our own Navy and taken it out of the questions of constant dispute and propaganda and constant contention that it has, and difficulties that it has in obtaining appropriations.

And we shall have secured the major purposes over all that we will have stopped the discussion which constantly vibrates from all countries as to relative naval strength and a consequent stirring up of distrust and lack of confidence, and in the end we shall have also created a situation where the naval powers may convene in 1936 again in a very much more advanced situation than at present and can look forward at that time to a better developed public opinion, better understanding in it to even a larger step than would be possible at the present moment. That is not said to minimize the importance of the present step, but only to emphasize how important it is that we should come to an agreement now, if that is possible. And it is my impression that we have reached a position, at least so far as Great Britain and ourselves are concerned, where we can go into a conference with confidence that we will come out with an agreement. That is all.

Q. Do we understand that there will be no international conference until 1936?

THE PRESIDENT. It is proposed that we shall have a conference of the major naval powers some time as early in December as possible to carry out this proposal. I only mentioned 1936 as the time when there should be an opportunity for a second conference, at which time the navies of the world would have all been stabilized, and it would be possible to make even greater steps.

NOTE: President Hoover's forty-ninth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, September 13, 1929.

In conjunction with the President's remarks on ocean mail contracts, the White House released a letter, dated September 12, from the Postmaster General and a resolution by the Interdepartmental Committee, as follows:

My dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to report that since the passage of the Merchant Marine Act of 1928 the Post Office Department has awarded twenty-five ocean mail contracts involving an annual expenditure of \$12,561,249.00. Expenditure of all of the monies appropriated by Congress pursuant to the provisions of that Act has been authorized except \$3,194,312.00 of the Deficiency Appropriation of 1930.

The contracts already awarded require the placing in service of forty-one larger and faster vessels than those now in service and the equipping of four vessels already in service with refrigeration, and with facilities for carrying passengers. Ten new vessels will be supplied and others will be completely reconditioned. New vessels and reconditioning will be provided by American ship yards.

For several weeks the Interdepartmental Committee appointed by the President to advise the Post Office Department with respect to the duties enjoined upon it by Congress in the administration of the Merchant Marine Act of 1928, has had under consideration two bids for carrying the mails from New Orleans to ports on the East Coast of South America.

One of the bids, that of the Mississippi Shipping Company, Inc., of New Orleans, Louisiana, offers to carry the mails in Class 6 vessels for \$2.50 per mile. The other bid, that of the Munson Steamship Line of New York, offers to carry the mails in Class 6 vessels for \$2.00 per mile. The difference between the two bids for a ten-year contract period would amount to approximately \$1,118,715.00.

The vessels of the Mississippi Shipping Company, which I am informed is owned by citizens of New Orleans, were purchased from the United States Shipping Board with the assurance that the purchaser would be awarded a mail contract under the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act of 1928.

On the other hand, Section 406 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1928 requires the Postmaster General, before making any contract for carrying ocean mails, to invite competitive bids by public notice in the daily newspapers in the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, Charleston, Norfolk, Savannah, Jacksonville, Galveston, Houston, and Mobile.

Section 407 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1928 is as follows:

"Each contract for the carrying of ocean mails under this title shall be awarded to the lowest bidder who, in the judgment of the Postmaster General, possesses such qualifications as to insure proper performance of the mail service under the contract."

The Comptroller General has advised the Post Office Department that contracts for the carrying of ocean mails must be awarded to the lowest responsible bidder.

I need not say that the Post Office Department is wholly in sympathy with the general policy of the Merchant Marine Acts of 1920 and 1928; to wit, the policy of establishing and maintaining an American Merchant Marine.

I need not say that the Post Office Department in the matter of administering the Merchant Marine Act, as in all other matters, stands ready to carry out the will of Congress as enacted into law. It is indispensable, however, that we should know precisely what the mandate of Congress is.

In view of the widely divergent constructions which have been placed upon the various laws relating to the Merchant Marine, the Interdepartmental Committee has unanimously adopted a resolution, a copy of which is transmitted herewith. I am of the opinion that the course recommended by the Interdepartmental Committee should be

followed, and hope that Congress, by an appropriate amendment to the Merchant Marine Act of 1928, will make it clear whether in the award of ocean mail contracts under the provisions of that act preference is to be given to locally owned shipping lines operating vessels purchased from the United States Shipping Board, or whether such contracts shall be awarded to the lowest responsible bidder, regardless of present or previous ownership of the vessels offered for service.

Sincerely yours,
WALTER F. BROWN

[The Honorable President of the United States]

WHEREAS it is claimed on behalf of certain shipping companies which have purchased vessels from the United States Shipping Board, that such purchase was made with the assurance that such companies would be awarded mail contracts under the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act of 1928,

AND WHEREAS it is further claimed on behalf of said shipping companies that certain sums of money were appropriated by Congress for the purpose of awarding mail contracts to such companies,

AND WHEREAS the Postmaster General, in accordance with the provisions of Section 406 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1928, has invited competitive bids for carrying the mails on certain trade routes operated by shipping companies which have purchased vessels from the United States Shipping Board,

AND WHEREAS in at least one case the company operating vessels purchased from the Shipping Board is not the lowest responsible bidder,

AND WHEREAS Section 407 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1928 provides "Each contract for the carrying of ocean mails under this title shall be awarded to the lowest bidder who, in the judgment of the Postmaster General, possesses such qualifications as to insure proper performance of the mail service under the contract";

BE IT RESOLVED by the Interdepartmental Committee that the Postmaster General be advised to reject all pending bids for mail contracts under the provisions of the Merchant Marine Act of 1928, and that further action under the provisions of said Act be deferred until Congress shall have had an opportunity to clarify existing legislation with respect to the award of ocean mail contracts.

Message to the American Bar Association on Constitution Day Activities
September 16, 1929

[Released September 16, 1929. Dated September 12, 1929]

My dear Mr. Newlin:

It is with great interest that I note the work which the American Bar Association is doing in disseminating information relative to our National Constitution – its history and purposes.

Familiarity with, and respect for, this greatest of all charters of government among our fellow citizens is essential to our national welfare.

While I understand the Association's work along these lines is carried on throughout the year, it has come to my attention that special emphasis is given to these activities during that week which includes September 17th, designated as "Constitution Day".

You and your associates are rendering a splendid patriotic service in this connection, and I desire to express my appreciation of this service, with the hope that it will be continued with increasing benefit to all concerned.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Gurney E. Newlin, President, American Bar Association, Los Angeles, California]

NOTE: The President's letter was read over the Columbia Broadcasting Company radio network on the evening of September 16 as part of a nationwide observance of Constitution Week.

The President's News Conference of
September 17, 1929

REORGANIZATION OF THE OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ENGINEERS

THE PRESIDENT. On the recommendation of the Secretary of War I have today appointed General Lytle Brown as Chief of Engineers, with the rank of major general, in the place of [Major] General [Edgar] Jadwin, who has retired.

With the appointment of General Brown we propose some important alterations in the organization of the Chief of Engineers' Office. The very large increase in public works programs during the last 2 years and the probable further increases seem to point to the necessity of a more definite responsibility and more continuity in the direction of public works than we have had under the organization which was adopted to smaller and more disintegrated undertakings.

We, therefore, propose to appoint an engineer who shall have the direct responsibility under General Brown of the whole of the new flood control and other works on the lower Mississippi. We are also considering the appointment of a single engineer to have the responsibility and direction of the works on the tributaries of the Mississippi, that is, the Ohio, the upper Mississippi, and the Missouri, Illinois, et cetera, comprising that into one unit as a great inland transportation unit.

And we are considering the appointment of a third engineer to have charge of the work on the Great Lakes and the probable work on the St. Lawrence. The amount of work which has been undertaken, or is likely to be undertaken, in the next few years in each of these three projects – each of these three divisions – is in itself greater than the construction of the whole Panama Canal, so that we are endeavoring to find a method whereby, so far as we can within the law and the various commissions that have been set up, to centralize responsibility and establish administration on the spot rather than so much centralization in Washington.

And that is all that I have got on this occasion.

Q. Mr. President, will these new engineering officials take up their place of duty on location?

THE PRESIDENT. That is the idea.

Q. Will they come from the Engineers – Army officers?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, yes.

Q. Mr. President, could I ask about the Assistant Chief Engineer?

THE PRESIDENT. There has been no decision about that at all yet.

I have secured from the War Department a note on General Brown's previous service, which you will find outside.

NOTE: President Hoover's fiftieth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, September 17, 1929.

On the same day, the White House issued a biographical sketch of Maj. Gen. Lytle Brown.

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Message to President Emilio Portes Gil on Mexico's Independence Day
September 17, 1929

[Released September 17, 1929. Dated September 16, 1929]

ON THIS memorable occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the Independence of Mexico, I beg Your Excellency to accept in the name of the people of the United States, as well as in my own, sincere felicitations with cordial good wishes for the prosperity of Mexico and for your personal health and happiness.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Emilio Portes Gil, The President of Mexico, Mexico City

Radio Address to the Nation on Peace Efforts and Arms Reduction

September 18, 1929

My countrymen and women of the radio audience:

Of the untold values of the radio, one is the great intimacy it has brought among our people. Through its mysterious channels we come to wider acquaintance with surroundings and men.

The microphone for these few moments has been brought to the President's study in the East Wing of the White House.

This room from which I speak was the scene of work and accomplishment of our Presidents for over a century. Into this room first came John Adams, who had taken over the reins of administration of the newly established republic from George Washington. Each President in the long procession of years down to Roosevelt worked at this fireside. In the refurnishing of the White House by Mr. Roosevelt, the President's study was moved to another room which was used by our Presidents from Mr. Taft to Mr. Coolidge. But recent extensions to the White House made it possible for me to restore the President's study to this room, where still lingers the invisible presence of so many of our great men.

It is here where the Adamases, father and son, Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Grant, McKinley, Roosevelt, and a score of other devoted men worked. Here worked Lincoln. In this room he signed the emancipation of the Negro race from slavery. It is a room crowded with memories of the courage and the high aspirations and the high accomplishment of the American Presidents. It is a room in which have been marked many of our national triumphs.

The problems of our country today crowd for entry here as they have each day for more than 130 years past. One problem has been ever constant, with each succeeding President – that we should maintain and strengthen the will of the Nation and other nations for peace. In this room have been taken those reluctant steps which have led our Nation to war and those willing steps which have again led to peace. Never have we had a President who was either a pacifist or a militarist. Never has there been a President who did not pray that his administration might be one of peace, and that peace should be more assured for his successor. Yet these men have never hesitated when war became the duty of the Nation. And always in these years the thought of our Presidents has been adequate preparedness for defense as one of the assurances of peace. But that preparedness must not exceed the barest necessity for defense or it becomes a threat of aggression against others and thus a cause of fear and animosity of the world.

And there are other assurances of peace which have been devised in this room, advanced and supported by our Presidents over the past half century. Great aid has been given by them to the advance of conciliation, arbitration, and judicial determination for settlement of international disputes. These are the steps which prevent war. Lately we and other nations have pledged ourselves never to use war as an instrument of national policy. And there is another such step which follows with impelling logic from those advances. That is the reduction of arms.

Some months ago I proposed to the world that we should further reduce and limit naval arms. Today we are engaged in a most hopeful discussion with other governments leading to this end. These are proposals which would preserve our national defenses and yet would relieve the backs of those who toil from gigantic expenditures and the world from the hate and fear which flows from the rivalry in building warships. And daily in this room do I receive evidence of almost universal prayer that this negotiation shall succeed. For confidence that there will be peace is the first necessity of human progress.

NOTE: The President spoke from his White House study at 9:45 p.m. He was introduced by Frederic William Wile, a pioneer broadcast journalist. The address marked the dedication of a new studio of Station WABC, New York City.

As printed above, this item follows an advance text, with certain penciled changes, not in the President's handwriting. The release as corrected is marked "final."

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Message to President Carlos Ibanez del Campo on Chile's Independence Day

September 18, 1929

I SEND YOU most hearty greetings on this auspicious occasion and assurances of the good will which this Government and people bear for Your Excellency's great country.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Carlos Ibanez del Campo, President of Chile, Santiago]

208

Message on the Centennial of the Syracuse Post-Standard

September 18, 1929

[Released September 18, 1929. Dated July 25, 1929]

Dear Mr. Barnum:

I understand that on September 18th you will celebrate the anniversary of the Syracuse Post-Standard. It is indeed an occasion worthy of honor, for the Post-Standard can point with great distinction to the many, many services to the community over the century of its life. It has long since merged from a commercial enterprise into a community institution.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Jerome D. Barnum, Syracuse Post-Standard, Syracuse, N.Y.]

NOTE: The President's letter was printed in facsimile on the front page of the centennial edition of the Syracuse Post-Standard.

The President's News Conference of
September 20, 1929

APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL GRAHAM EVERSON

THE PRESIDENT. I have one appointment to announce, and that is General Graham Everson as head of the National Guard Bureau.

OIL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER

And I have only one question, and I will reply to that in the utmost confidence. Someone wants to know if I shall have discussions with Mr. [J. Ramsay] MacDonald on the subject of oil conservation. I hadn't heard of the subject, and I don't believe that any such discussion is going to take place.

Otherwise you haven't furnished me any material for thought today, and I am glad to leave the responsibility to you.

NOTE: President Hoover's fifty-first news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, September 20, 1929.

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Message to the Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union
September 20, 1929

[Released September 20, 1929. Dated September 17, 1929]

My dear Mrs. Boole:

Please present my greetings to the Convention of the National Christian Temperance Union. I am daily impressed with the great need for extended work of education in the moral, physical and economic benefits of temperance. Since the adoption of the Prohibition Amendment, too many people have come to rely wholly upon the strong arm of law to enforce abstinence, forgetting that the cause of temperance has its strong foundations in the conviction of the individual of the personal value to himself of temperance in all things.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mrs. Ella A. Boole, President, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 377 Parkside Avenue, Brooklyn, New York]

NOTE: The message was read at the national convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union held in Indianapolis, Indiana.

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Message to the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association Convention
September 20, 1929

[Released September 20, 1929. Dated August 29, 1929]

My dear Mr. Moore:

I have your kind letter of August 26th.

I should be glad if you would express to the convention my continued deep interest in the development of our waterways. The growth of our country requires incessant labor on the part of both federal and state authorities in the improvement of this essential basis of transportation. The Federal Government is expanding its activities in these directions, and I am resolved that it shall be unremitting in waterway development.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. J. Hampton Moore, President, Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association, 1405 Widener Building, Philadelphia, Pa.]

NOTE: The message was read at the convention held in Troy, New York.

White House Statement on the President's Views on Tariff Legislation

September 21, 1929

THE PRESIDENT expressed his views on the principles involved in tariff legislation in his message to Congress. These views were specific and there has been no change in them.

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White House Statement Announcing the President's Refusal To Pardon Harry F. Sinclair
September 21, 1929

MR. SINCLAIR will not be pardoned by the President.

NOTE: Harry F. Sinclair, head of the Sinclair Consolidated Oil Corp., was serving a prison term for contempt of court as a result of the investigation of naval oil reserve leases during the Harding administration. He had applied for pardon on the basis of ill health.

White House Statement on Prohibition Enforcement in the District of Columbia
September 22, 1929

SENATOR HOWELL'S statement that the prohibition law is not being enforced in the District of Columbia seriously impugns the good faith and capacity of Commissioner [Proctor L.] Dougherty in charge of Police, Superintendent of Police [Henry C.] Pratt, District Attorney [Leo A.] Rover, and Prohibition Agent William Blandford. The President is glad the Senator has raised the question. He is confident that the Senator would not make these charges unless they were based upon definite facts with time and place, and if he will lay any such information before the Department of Justice, the President will have the matters vigorously investigated, for it is the intention not only to secure the fullest enforcement in the District possible under the organization of enforcement agencies as provided by law, but to make it a model in the country. However, it is only fair to give to the District officials an opportunity to meet such charges.

NOTE: The statement was issued in response to remarks made by Senator Robert B. Howell of Nebraska which were published the same day.

FLEXIBLE TARIFF

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't any questions today that I know of, but later on this afternoon I will be giving you a statement about the flexible clause in the tariff, and I wanted to talk to you a little about the background in that matter – just for your own information. The statement will cover the facts as I see them.

In the message which I sent up to the special session in respect to the tariff, I stated what I thought were the general principles upon which we ought to proceed, and I haven't thought that the President was ever in a position to discuss schedules, that that must be the result of long hearings and debate and determination of hundreds of thousands of facts in respect to thousands of commodities that are entirely beyond the capacity of the Executive; and that the business of the Executive was to limit himself to the consideration of principles which he thought were of public interest. The flexible tariff is a matter of principle of widespread character. It is not an administrative method of tariff making. And so I am taking that subject up this afternoon at some little length, which I will give to you.

I wanted to make it clear to you that that is not a breach of what I conceive to be the relationship between the Executive and Congress in legislation of this type, but it is simply the amplification of a principle, and one which I consider of great vitality. So we will have to wait until I can get time to prepare that statement before I can give it to you.

That is all I have got on my mind.

Q. Do you wish this information held confidential until this afternoon?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I merely wanted you to know.

Q. Do you want anything printed at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. Not until I can say it in black and white and take full responsibility for it.

Q. Is it all right to say there will be a statement this afternoon?

THE PRESIDENT. I hope to have it ready by 2 o'clock. I don't think it is worthwhile to say that. I would just a little rather that you didn't say anything about it, because it puts me in the difficult position of a partial statement. I would appreciate it if you will hold the whole thing up until I can get it out.

NOTE: President Hoover's fifty-second news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, September 24, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on the flexible tariff (see Item 216).

Statement on the Importance of the Flexible Tariff

September 24, 1929

THE PRESIDENT said:

"In my message to Congress of April 16 at the opening of the special session I gave my views as to broad principles which I felt were of importance in tariff legislation. One of the subjects I then presented was the importance of maintaining the flexible tariff. That principle was advocated over a long term of years by members of all political parties, and it was enacted in the 1922 tariff law. I advocated it at that time and since as a necessity in protection of public interest.

"The essential of the flexible tariff is that with respect to a particular commodity, after exhaustive determination of the facts as to differences of cost of production at home and abroad by a Tariff Commission, comprised of one-half of its members from each political party, whose selection is approved by the Senate, then the President should, upon recommendation of the Commission, promulgate changes in the tariff on that commodity not to exceed 50 percent of the rates fixed by Congress. Under these provisions the President has no authority to initiate any changes in the tariff. No power rests on the Executive until after recommendations by the Commission. Any change must arise from application directly to the Commission, and his authority in the matter becomes a simple act of proclamation of the recommendations of the Commission or, on the other hand, a refusal to issue such a proclamation, amounting to a veto of the conclusions of the Commission. In no sense, therefore, can it be claimed that the President can alter the tariff at will, or that despotic power is conferred upon the Executive. It has been declared a constitutional procedure by the Supreme Court.

"The reasons for the continued incorporation of such provisions are even more cogent today than ever before. No tariff bill ever enacted has been or ever will be perfect. It will contain injustices. It is beyond human mind to deal with all of the facts surrounding several thousand commodities under the necessary conditions of legislation and not to make some mistakes and create some injustices. It could not be otherwise. Furthermore, if a perfect tariff bill were enacted the rapidity of our changing economic conditions and the constant shifting of our relations with economic life abroad would render some items in such an act imperfect in some particular within a year.

"It is proved by a half century of experience that the tariff cannot be reviewed by Congress more than once in 7 or 8 years. It is only a destruction of the principle of the flexible tariff to provide that the Tariff Commission recommendations should be made to Congress for action instead of the Executive. Any person of experience in tariff legislation in the last half century knows perfectly well that Congress cannot reopen single items of the tariff without importing discussion all along the line, without the constant unsettlement of business and the importation of contentions and factious questions to the destruction of other important duties by Congress. Congress has literally hundreds of times in the past refused to entertain any amendment to a tariff except in periods of general revision.

"Although the provisions of the 1922 Tariff Act, as I have stated in the message, proved to be cumbersome in the method of determining costs of production and can be improved, yet despite this the agricultural industry especially received great benefits through this provision, a notable instance of which was the protection of the dairy industry. That industry would be in a sad plight today if it had not been for the increased duties given under the flexible tariff.

"The flexible provision is one of the most progressive steps taken in tariff making in all our history. It is entirely wrong that there shall be no remedy to isolated cases of injustice that may arise through the failure to adequately protect certain industries, or to destroy the opportunity to revise duties which may prove higher than necessary to protect some industries and, therefore, become onerous upon the public. To force such a situation upon the public for such long periods is, in my view, economically wrong and is prejudicial to public interest.

"I am informed the principle is supported by the most important of the farm organizations. It is supported by our leading manufacturing organizations. It is supported by labor and consumers organizations. It has never hitherto been made a political issue. In the last campaign some important Democratic leaders even advocated the increase of powers to the Tariff Commission so as to practically extinguish congressional action. I do not support such a plan.

"I have no hesitation in saying that I regard it as of the utmost importance in justice to the public; as a protection for the sound progress in our economic system, and for the future protection of our farmers and

our industries and consumers, that the flexible tariff, through recommendation of the Tariff Commission to the Executive, should be maintained."

Message to the National Life Insurance Conference
September 26, 1929

[Released September 26, 1929. Dated September 25, 1929]

Dear Mr. Clark:

I should be indebted to you if you would express my regrets that the press of public business has prevented my acceptance of your courteous invitation to be present on this occasion. No one interested in the progress of the American people could fail to be impressed with the significant achievement which is marked by the distribution of one hundred billions of life insurance amongst them.

There is no single device in our whole economic system which is greater in its importance in safeguarding the welfare of our women and children than is this. The great institutions which have been built for this protection against disaster rank with the highest forms of our national achievements. You, the men and women who have helped to build and now carry forward this great structure, have performed a great service and one which the whole country acknowledges with pride.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Paul F. Clark, National Life Insurance Conference, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The message was read at the morning session of the annual convention of the National Association of Life Underwriters held in Washington, D.C.

The President's News Conference of
September 27, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't any very alarming questions today. I have one as to the tax reduction, on which I have said before I could not make answer until we knew more about the budget situation.

BUDGET ALLOCATIONS FOR INDEPENDENT ESTABLISHMENTS

I think it may interest you to have the final budget allocations for the independent establishments. That is as far as the budget has progressed for 1931. I am having the table mimeographed, so you will have it immediately after the conference.

The independent establishments embrace both the Farm Board and the Budget Bureau. The total amount available for the current fiscal year for all of the establishments is \$808,689,000 as you will see by this statement, and in that is \$151,500,000 for the Farm Board. The budget allocations for the next fiscal year, that is 1931, are \$656,571,000, but there is no provision for the Farm Board there, as the Farm Board has not yet been able to make an estimate. So the comparisons are a little confused. The actual expenditures for the last fiscal year on the independent establishments were \$663,300,000. During the current year it would be about \$650 million if the Farm Board item were taken out, and the estimate for the next year is \$656 million, as I have stated, which shows about a \$6 million increase which lies almost entirely in the Veterans Bureau. But you will have the table in a minute.

Q. Mr. President, is the District of Columbia included in that?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think so. No, the District budget is not in it. This is the independent establishments.

PUBLIC LAND COMMISSION APPOINTMENTS

I have one or two other very minor questions. The Public Land Commission is not yet appointed. We have the suggestions in from the Governors and Senators, and that is being gone into.

SAN FRANCISCO BRIDGE COMMISSION

On the question of the Bridge Commission in San Francisco, that Commission is to meet on the 6th of October in San Francisco.

ENTERTAINMENT OF PRIME MINISTER MACDONALD

I have another question as to what entertainment is to be given to Mr. MacDonald at the White House. From the purely personal point of view, there will be a dinner to ladies and gentlemen to the utmost capacity of the White House, on Monday night – probably 90 people.

That is all I have.

NEWS CONFERENCE SESSIONS

I wonder sometimes whether when we have a thin day it is worth your while to come – whether we could not hand your questions over to Mr. Akerson, or whether you prefer to come. If you would rather have the open session I am entirely agreeable, but I always feel that I am not assisting you as much as I should like when we have a thin day like this.

Q. I think, Mr. President, we prefer the open session.

NOTE: President Hoover's fifty-third news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, September 27, 1929.

On the same day, the White House issued a comparative statement of appropriations for the Executive Office and independent establishments, as follows:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1930 AND ESTIMATES FOR
1931 FOR THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE AND INDEPENDENT ESTABLISHMENTS

	Total available for 1930	1931 Estimates recommended by the Budget
Executive Office	\$611,944	\$402,320
Alaska relief funds	15,000	15,000
American Battle Monuments Commission	2,267,973	1,000,000
Arlington Memorial Bridge Commission	3,287,500	1,000,000
Board of Mediation	348,270	328,380
Board of Tax Appeals	725,863	690,000
Bureau of Efficiency	224,330	224,330
Civil Service Commission	1,398,712	1,362,952
Commission of Fine Arts	9,080	9,080
Employees' Compensation Commission	4,077,326	4,210,000
Federal Board for Vocational Education	8,799,520	8,420,400
Federal Farm Board	151,500,000
Federal Oil Conservation Board	19,000	22,220
Federal Power Commission	179,500	187,250
Federal Radio Commission	164,440	168,610
Federal Reserve Board	2,605,741	2,560,336
Federal Trade Commission	1,242,686	1,437,460
General Accounting Office	4,145,900	4,181,000
George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission	200,000
Housing Corporation	397,950	298,950
Interstate Commerce Commission	8,213,825	9,329,963
Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission	100,000	60,000
National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	1,508,000	1,321,000
Porto Rican Hurricane Relief Commission	2,000,000	1,000,000
Protecting Interests of the United States in Oil Leases	220,991
Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital	2,975,799	3,591,640
Public Buildings Commission	57,000	100,000
Smithsonian Institution	1,107,573	1,189,683
United States Tariff Commission	825,000	825,000
United States Geographic Board	9,200	14,660
United States Shipping Board and Merchant Fleet Corporation	11,494,000	6,396,000
United States Veterans' Bureau	597,957,000	606,225,000
Total, Executive Office and independent establishments	808,689,123	656,571,234

The President's News Conference of
October 1, 1929

TRANSFER OF THE DIVISION OF COOPERATIVE MARKETING

THE PRESIDENT. At the recommendation of both the Farm Board and the Department of Agriculture, I am issuing an Executive order [No. 5200] today to transfer the Division of Cooperative Marketing from the Department to the Farm Board, as a matter of facilitating the Board's work.

JOHN MCNAB AND THE STUDY ON LAW ENFORCEMENT
ADMINISTRATION AND MACHINERY

John McNab of San Francisco, has accepted the joint request of the Attorney General, Secretary Mellon, Mr. Wickersham, and myself to study and to formulate, in cooperation with those Departments and the Law Enforcement Commission, the changes in Federal administration and the judicial machinery which we will recommend to Congress for the more efficient enforcement of the laws under the 18th amendment. I told you before, I think, on several occasions that the general lines of reorganization of the administrative side are to centralize the administrative authority in one place, so that the Department of Justice covers all questions of investigation and enforcement. And Mr. McNab and his staff, in cooperation with the Government agencies, will also study the methods for expediting judicious procedure in these questions.

These proposals have to do solely with questions of administrative procedure and do not cover any question of change in the laws themselves. It is expected that we will be able to make definite recommendations to Congress on its assembly in December.

I have been in hopes that Congress would appoint a joint commission, which I recommended last June, so that in cooperation with other administrative agencies we could have the bills formulated at an earlier date than will be possible if the whole matter will have to be recanvassed by committees of Congress after the opening of the session. However, that rests with them.

This is all I have this morning.

NOTE: President Hoover's fifty-fourth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, October 1, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on the appointment of John McNab to study and formulate plans for the improvement of prohibition law enforcement (see Item 220).

For Executive Order 5200, transferring the Division of Cooperative Marketing, see Item 221.

Statement on the Appointment of John McNab To Study and
Formulate Plans for the Improvement of Prohibition Law Enforcement

October 1, 1929

THE PRESIDENT said:

"Mr. John McNab, of San Francisco, has accepted the joint request of the Attorney General, Secretary Mellon, Mr. Wickersham, and myself, to study and formulate, in cooperation with those Departments and the Law Enforcement Commission, the changes in Federal administration and judicial machinery which will be recommended to Congress for the more effective enforcement of the laws under the 18th amendment. As stated before, the general lines of reorganization on the administrative side are to centralize the administrative agencies and thus responsibility for investigation and enforcement into the Department of Justice. The study also includes methods of expediting judicial action. These proposals have to do solely with administration and procedure in enforcement of the laws and not with change in the laws themselves.

"It is expected that we shall be able to make definite recommendations to Congress at the beginning of the December session. I am in hopes that Congress may in the meantime appoint the joint committee which I recommended on June 6th. Such a committee cooperating with the administrative agencies would expedite legislation as it would possibly enable bills to be formulated with less delay for hearings."

Executive Order 5200, Transferring the Division of
Cooperative Marketing to the Federal Farm Board

October 1, 1929

I, HERBERT HOOVER, President of the United States of America, under the authority conferred upon me by paragraph (e) of Section 13 of Agricultural Marketing Act approved June 15, 1929, entitled "An Act To establish a Federal Farm Board to promote the effective merchandising of agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce, and to place agriculture on a basis of economic equality with other industries", and by virtue of all other powers thereto me enabling, do hereby transfer from the Department of Agriculture to the jurisdiction and control of Federal Farm Board the whole of the Division of Cooperative Marketing in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture, all functions pertaining to the work and services of such division, its records, property, including office equipment, personnel, and unexpended balances of appropriation, pertaining to such work or services. The Division of Cooperative Marketing above referred to is created and authorized by "An Act To create a division of cooperative marketing in the Department of Agriculture; to provide for the acquisition and dissemination of information pertaining to coo operation; to promote the knowledge of cooperative principles and practices; to provide for calling advisers to counsel with the Secretary of Agriculture on cooperative activities; to authorize cooperative associations to acquire, interpret, and disseminate crop and market information, and for other purposes", approved July 2, 1926. The transfer above mentioned shall be effective from and including October 1st, 1929.

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House,
October 1, 1929.

Exchange of Messages With Prime Minister James Ramsay MacDonald of Great Britain
October 3, 1929

AS YOU near the shores of the United States I send to you a most cordial welcome not only in my own name but on behalf of my fellow countrymen as well.

HERBERT HOOVER

[The Right Honorable James Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Prime Minister of Great Britain, S. S. Berengaria]

NOTE: Prime Minister MacDonald's reply, released with the President's message, read as follows:

Greetings and hearty thanks for your message. I greatly value your kind words of welcome on behalf of yourself and your fellow countrymen and they will be highly appreciated by mine.

RAMSAY MACDONALD

[President Hoover, White House, Washington, D.C.]

223

Letter Supporting the Restoration of Kenmore as a National Shrine

October 3, 1929

[Released October 3, 1929. Dated May 27, 1929]

My dear Mrs. Fleming:

Kenmore, like Mount Vernon, should become another National shrine of the gracious domestic life of the many-sided George Washington.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mrs. Vivian Minor Fleming, President, Kenmore Association, 407 Hanover Street, Fredericksburg, Virginia]

NOTE: Kenmore is a colonial mansion in Fredericksburg, Va., which was built by Col. Fielding Lewis and his wife Elizabeth (Betty) Washington Lewis, the only sister of George Washington. The Kenmore Association successfully restored and preserved this historic structure which is open to the public.

The President's News Conference of
October 4, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I have one or two questions before I have something else to discuss with you.

COMPTROLLER'S REPORT ON THE SHIPPING BOARD

I have a question on the Comptroller's report on the Shipping Board. That report relates to transactions mostly several years ago and all of them prior to this administration. It is my understanding that there is no charge of misfeasance, but in any event I have requested the Attorney General to study the Comptroller's report and to determine that there are no violations of the law. That is fair to the Board and the employees, and it should be done.

Q. Mr. President, would that cover civil violations in money matters as well as anything else?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, yes.

TRANSFER OF LEAVENWORTH PRISON

I also have a question as to whether the Army prison at Leavenworth has been actually turned over to the Department of Justice. That has been done, and a considerable number of prisoners have already been transferred to it in relief of congestion elsewhere.

DISCUSSION TOPICS FOR PRIME MINISTER MACDONALD'S VISIT

Now, I would like to talk to you for just a moment about Mr. MacDonald's visit, and not for publication or quotation, but just for your own information. I am particularly anxious that it shall be an agreeable occasion, and I thought if I outlined to you a little bit of the character of the discussions that are likely to take place it will enable you to keep on the track somewhat.

Mr. MacDonald's visit is solely one of good will and a desire to promote friendly relations between the United States and Great Britain. On our side we reciprocate the spirit of it to the utmost.

Mr. MacDonald and I will no doubt review the problems of the maintenance of peace and the cultivation of good will in the very widest aspects, and both of our nations must have peace. We must, if we can, secure it for the peace of the rest of the world. It is vital for the internal development of both of our social and economic life, and I shall, no doubt, have an opportunity to exchange experiences and views with Mr. MacDonald on most of our domestic problems.

We shall no doubt discuss the broader problems of the naval accord which we hope to bring about between all the naval powers.

The American position on the naval accord is one of extreme simplicity. We have agreed to parity between the United States and Great Britain. We are prepared to reduce the tonnage of our combatant ships to any standard which the British see necessary for them to establish on their side. We shall not discuss technical questions. Mr. MacDonald has brought no technical advisers with him. It would be of no use and perhaps unfair for us to propose technical questions for him to decide. We shall not discuss the question of cruiser tonnage, as that is largely a technical question, and it is within range easily solvable in general discussion, and further discussion of that I don't presume will arise until the conference actually convenes in January.

There are a number of things that we will not discuss, and on which it will be utterly false to speculate. There will be no discussion of the entry of the United States into the League of Nations or the World Court. There will be no discussion of anything leading to the remotest relationship in the nature of entente or alliances. The United States never enters into an entente or alliance with anyone. We will not discuss tariff. There will be no discussion of trivialities such as the I'm Alone case.

Mr. MacDonald has declared there will be no discussion of the debt question. As a matter of fact, there is nothing to discuss on either side in connection with the debt. It is settled from our point of view, and it is settled from the British point of view, especially in the light of the Balfour note by which any reduction in the debt would not benefit the British people but other nations. So that question is a closed one from both sides, and there will be no discussion on it.

The broad fact is that we are greatly honored by Mr. MacDonald's visit. The heads of European states have frequent opportunity to meet and discuss matters of public interest. It is very rarely that it comes to us

to entertain so distinguished a guest, and I am in hopes that the result of it will be a solid growth of better understanding and good feeling on both sides of the Atlantic.

I know from the attitude of the press in the last month and its attitude generally on questions of hospitality that it will make its contribution to that end, and a great deal of the success of it rests with the press maintaining the attitude that you have already established.

And that is as far as, and all that I know on the subject.

WEEKEND VISIT TO RAPIDAN

Q. Mr. President, would it be fair to ask you if you are going down to Virginia tomorrow?

THE PRESIDENT. That depends entirely on the weather. If the sun shines we will go to the Rapidan.

Q. Who will the guests be?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that Mr. MacDonald and his daughter, Mrs. Hoover, and probably the Secretary of State, and Mr. MacDonald may take one of the gentlemen with him, while I don't know which one.

NOTE: President Hoover's fifty-fifth news conference was held in the White House at 3 p.m. on Friday, October 4, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on the investigation of the U.S. Shipping Board (see Item 225).

Statement on an Investigation of the U.S. Shipping Board

October 4, 1929

THE PRESIDENT said:

"The Comptroller's report on matters connected with the Shipping Board relates to transactions mostly several years ago and all of them prior to this administration.

"It is my understanding that there is no charge of misfeasance, but in any event I have requested the Attorney General to study the Comptroller's report and to determine if there has been any violation of the law. It is also fair to the Board and the employees that this should be done."

NOTE: The report charged that the Shipping Board's Merchant Fleet Corporation had dissipated large sums through its unwise and unbusinesslike handling of the disposal of Government ships. It was submitted to Congress on October 3 and published as House Document 111.

Joint Statement With Prime Minister MacDonald of Great Britain

October 7, 1929

THE FOLLOWING joint statement was issued by the President and the Prime Minister today:

"We have frankly reviewed all the questions which might give rise to friction between our peoples. Gratifying progress has been made and conversations are continuing."

NOTE: Prime Minister MacDonald arrived in Washington on October 4. On the next day, he motored with the President to the Rapidan fishing camp where they held discussions until returning to Washington on October 7.

The President's News Conference of
October 8, 1929

WELCOMING THE ENGLISH PRESS

THE PRESIDENT. I am sure that we all welcome your English confreres in this country and at this conference. I am told that the press does not have to undergo this sort of pains and penalties in England.

GOVERNMENT SURVEYS OF THE UNITED STATES

I have only one small domestic matter. The Secretaries of Interior and Commerce have made their report on the problem of the Government's surveys, a matter not as much of general interest as it is a matter of special interest to you. The progress of fundamental surveys of the United States is on such a moderate (?)¹ basis that it will take about 80 years to complete the basic survey of the country at the present rate of speed, and they have given me a program which will complete the surveys in approximately 18 years, and it will be adopted into the budget. It is not a very largely increased budget, but of great economic importance both to the States and Federal activities in the States.

PROGRESS OF CONVERSATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER MACDONALD

There is nothing that I can report at the present moment on the conversations with the Prime Minister. These conversations are continuing in the most friendly of atmospheres. We fortunately have no controversies between our countries that are to be settled, and we are, therefore, able to discuss our mutual problems in the long distance view and solely in the broad aspect of human welfare in its very largest sense. Moreover, we are able to carry our conversations without circumlocution and in absolute frankness, with recognition of the point of view on both sides. Neither of us has anything in reserve. We have only to search for those things that will promote the good will and moral solidarity between our two countries. The Prime Minister possesses a wealth of Scotch humor that would lubricate successfully most any discussion.

More important than all of the conversations we are engaged in is the very great evidence shown by the press and the American people of genuine friendliness to the Prime Minister and to the people of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The demonstration that is in progress is in itself more important than any incidental conclusions that the Prime Minister and I might come to on questions that we have under discussion.

I am in hopes we can have something to say to you in the course of a day or two, but that is as far as I am able to go for the moment.

Q. Mr. President, is that for quotation?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, you can get it.

THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND THE COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY

Q. In reference to the surveys, were you referring to the Geological Survey and the Coast and Geodetic Survey?

THE PRESIDENT. The Coast and Geodetic is the foundation survey. The topographical map comes on the top of that, as you know – the Geological Survey. Both of these we propose to expedite. It might cost an additional million dollars to shorten down the term of completion.

One incidental matter that I may give you as an instance is that there has never been adequate maps made of the flood area – of sufficient accuracy of the flood area of the Mississippi. If there had been accurate maps of that kind we could have saved a hundred thousand head of cattle if we knew where to put them out of the reach of the floods.

Your British confreres will recognize that we do have maps of the United States, but we are referring to maps of such accuracy as to show differences of elevation as low as one foot over the entire country. We are discussing here a question of accurate mapping.

About 43 percent of the very accurate mapping of the country is complete. That has been done over a period of 70 years, and we do not want to wait for a period of 80 years to complete it.

NOTE: President Hoover's fifty-sixth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, October 8, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on the progress of conversations with Prime Minister MacDonald (see Item 228).

¹ The question mark appears in the transcript.

Statement on the Progress of Conversations With Prime Minister MacDonald*October 8, 1929*

THE PRESIDENT said:

"There is nothing that I can report at the present moment on the conversations with the Prime Minister. These conversations are continuing in the most friendly of atmospheres. We fortunately have no controversies between our countries to be settled. We are, therefore, able to discuss our mutual problems in the long distance view and solely in the broad aspect of human welfare in the largest sense. Moreover, we are able to carry our conversations without circumlocution and in absolute frankness with recognition of the point of view of both sides. Neither of us has anything to reserve. We have to search only for those things that will promote the increase of good will and moral solidarity between the two countries. The Prime Minister possesses a wealth of Scotch humor which lubricates any discussion.

"More important than all is the great evidence shown by the press and the American people of genuine friendliness to the Prime Minister of Great Britain and to his people. The demonstration that is in progress is in itself of more importance than any incidental conclusions that he and I might come to on matters concerning our two nations."

Joint Statement Following Meetings With British Prime Minister MacDonald *October 9, 1929*

THE VISIT of the British Prime Minister to President Hoover, which is now terminated, had as its chief purpose the making of personal contacts which will be fruitful in promoting friendly and frank relations between the two countries. Both the President and the Prime Minister are highly gratified by the keen interest which the people of both countries have taken in the meeting, and regard it as proof of the strong desire of both nations to come to closer understanding. The British Prime Minister has been particularly impressed and gratified by the warmth of his welcome and the flood of expressions of good will which have poured upon him.

At the moment of leaving Washington the following joint statement was issued:

"During the last few days we have had an opportunity, in the informal talks in which we have engaged, not only to review the conversations on a naval agreement which have been carried on during this summer between us, but also to discuss some of the more important means by which the moral force of our countries can be exerted for peace.

"We have been guided by the double hope of settling our own differences on naval matters and so establishing unclouded good will, candor, and confidence between us, and also of contributing something to the solution of the problem of peace in which all other nations are interested and which calls for their cooperation.

"In signing the Paris Peace Pact fifty-six nations have declared that war shall not be used as an instrument of national policy. We have agreed that all disputes shall be settled by pacific means. Both our Governments resolve to accept the Peace Pact not only as a declaration of good intentions but as a positive obligation to direct national policy in accordance with its pledge.

"The part of each of our governments in the promotion of world peace will be different, as one will never consent to become entangled in European diplomacy and the other is resolved to pursue a policy of active cooperation with its European neighbours; but each of our governments will direct its thoughts and influence towards securing and maintaining the peace of the world.

"Our conversations have been largely confined to the mutual relations of the two countries in the light of the situation created by the signing of the Peace Pact. Therefore, in a new and reinforced sense the two governments not only declare that war between them is unthinkable, but that distrusts and suspicions arising from doubts and fears which may have been justified before the Peace Pact must now cease to influence national policy. We approach old historical problems from a new angle and in a new atmosphere. On the assumption that war between us is banished, and that conflicts between our military or naval forces cannot take place, these problems have changed their meaning and character, and their solution, in ways satisfactory to both countries, has become possible.

"We have agreed that those questions should become the subject of active consideration between us. They involve important technical matters requiring detailed study. One of the hopeful results of the visit which is now terminating officially has been that our two Governments will begin conversations upon them following the same method as that which has been pursued during the summer in London.

"The exchange of views on naval reduction has brought the two nations so close to agreement that the obstacles in previous conferences arising out of Anglo-American disagreements seem now substantially removed. We have kept the nations which took part in the Washington Naval Conference of 1922 informed of the progress of our conversations, and we have now proposed to them that we should all meet together and try to come to a common agreement which would justify each in making substantial naval reductions. An agreement on naval armaments cannot be completed without the cooperation of other naval powers, and both of us feel sure that, by the same free and candid discussion of needs which has characterized our conversations, such mutual understandings will be reached as will make naval agreement next January possible, and thus remove this serious obstacle to the progress of world disarmament.

"Between now and the meeting of the proposed conference in January, our Governments will continue conversations with the other powers concerned, in order to remove as many difficulties as possible before the official and formal negotiations open.

"In view of the security afforded by the Peace Pact, we have been able to end, we trust for ever, all competitive building between ourselves with the risk of war and the waste of public money involved, by agreeing to a parity of fleets, category by category.

"Success at the coming conference will result in a large decrease in the naval equipment of the world and, what is equally important, the reduction of prospective programs of construction which would otherwise produce competitive building to an indefinite amount.

"We hope and believe that the steps we have taken will be warmly welcomed by the people whom we represent as a substantial contribution to the efforts universally made by all nations to gain security for peace – not by military organization – but by peaceful means rooted in public opinion and enforced by a sense of justice in the civilized world."

NOTE: On October 7, after discussions between the President and Prime Minister MacDonald at the Rapidan camp, invitations were sent by the British Government to the Governments of France, Italy, and Japan proposing that they join Great Britain and the United States in a naval conference in London in January 1930.

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Message to the Italian Benevolent Society on Columbus' Discovery of America
October 11, 1929

[Released October 11, 1929. Dated October 1, 1929]

My dear Mr. Contessa:

All Americans share a common pride in the daring and perseverance of Columbus in his discovery of America. The story of his trials and triumph has colored the whole tradition of life on this continent, and will ever continue to be an inspiration to courageous youth bent upon the pursuit of difficult but great ideals.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Vito Contessa, President, Italian Benevolent Society, 218 East 116th Street, New York City]

The President's News Conference of
October 11, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I thought your burdens had been fairly heavy this week, and I would not add much to them today. I haven't anything for you.

I have one question relating to the Army and Navy game, which is on the lighter side of life, and I may say that I hope that the Army and Navy combatants (?)¹ will be able to come to an agreement and to resume the game. I will add nothing about internal warfare or anything like that.

Q. Mr. President, are you contemplating making any trip other than this week out into the West?

THE PRESIDENT. Not at all – no notion of any other trip before Christmas, and I have no notion of anything afterwards. That was just by way of fixing the date as a certainty. That is all I have today. You have all worked hard this week, so I won't add anything this week.

NOTE: President Hoover's fifty-seventh news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, October 11, 1929.

¹ The question mark appears in the transcript.

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Message to President Chiang Kai-shek on China's Independence Day
October 11, 1929

[Released October 11, 1929. Dated October 10, 1929]

ON THIS auspicious anniversary I extend to Your Excellency sincere congratulations and the cordial wishes of the Government and people of the United States for the continued prosperity of your great country.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Chiang Kai-shek, President of the National Government of the Republic of China, Nanking, China]

Exchange of Messages With the President of Poland
on the Pulaski Sesquicentennial Celebration
October 11, 1929

[Released October 11, 1929. Dated October 10, 1929]

I HAVE received Your Excellency's message in connection with the Pulaski Sesquicentennial Celebration now being held in this country. The memory of this young Polish nobleman who joined the forces of the American Colonists and fought so heroically and courageously from the time he was welcomed into General Washington's staff until mortally wounded in the siege of Savannah, will always be cherished in the hearts of American citizens and their heartfelt appreciation of his signal service in acquiring American independence will never die.

I shall be happy to greet Your Excellency's distinguished delegation and through them to assure Your Excellency of my country's gratitude and friendship for Poland.

HERBERT HOOVER

[Ignacy Moscicki, The President of Poland, Warsaw]

NOTE: The message was in response to a message from President Ignacy Moscicki, dated October 9, 1929, which read as follows:

On the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of General Pulaski at the Battle of Savannah, I hasten to express to your Excellency my own and the entire Polish Nation's deep appreciation and gratitude for the manner in which the name of this Polish and American hero is being honored by the United States. As a mark of this occasion I have appointed Minister [Tytus] Filipowicz to be my Special Ambassador to you at the coming ceremonies. May I also express to you my sincere conviction that Pulaski who is a symbol of our common efforts at a difficult hour survives not only as a tradition of the past but also as an ideal of the true friendship of our nations and of their future close cooperation on the road of progress and liberty.

IGNACY MOSCICKI

[His Excellency Herbert Hoover, President of the United States of America, Washington]

On October 11, the Polish delegation joined with the President in a White House ceremony honoring General Pulaski.

Exchange of Messages With the President of Argentina on the
Opening of Airmail Service Between the United States and Argentina
October 12, 1929

[Released October 12, 1929. Dated October 11, 1929]

ON THE OCCASION of the first airmail departure from Argentina to the United States, I wish to express my gratification that the hopes and plans for regular communication by air between North and South America, which were the subject of discussion during my very pleasant visit at Buenos Aires last winter, have been consummated. I am sure the north-bound airmail service which you have authorized in connection with our south-bound service will be the means of developing even more cordial relations between the people of our respective countries.

With assurance of high esteem, I am

Faithfully yours,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Dr. Hipolito Irigoyen, President of Argentina, Buenos Aires]

NOTE: President Hipolito Irigoyen's response, dated October 15 and released on October 16, read as follows:

Your message on the occasion of the inauguration of the airmail line between the United States and Argentina fills us with pleasure because it shows that there remains deep in Your Excellency's mind, as in ours, the exchange of ideas with which, on the occasion of your pleasant visit, we so harmoniously discussed the welfare of the peoples and their common action towards the ever progressive development of the universal life. With these assurances and the expression of my best regards, I am loyally yours.

H. YRIGOYEN,
President of the Argentine Nation

[To His Excellency, Herbert Hoover, President of the United States of America, Washington, D.C.]

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Message to the President of Peru on His Reinauguration

October 12, 1929

ON THIS auspicious occasion of Your Excellency's reinauguration to your high office I extend my hearty greetings and my best wishes for the continued success of your administration as well as for your own health and happiness.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Augusto B. Leguía, The President of Peru, Lima]

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**Message to Emperor Hirohito on Japanese Officers
and Midshipmen Visiting in Washington, D.C**

October 12, 1929

[Released October 12, 1929. Dated October 11, 1929]

I CAN NOT too deeply express my appreciation of Your Majesty's kind message and do assure you it was a pleasure to me and my fellow officials to meet the officers of the Japanese training squadron. Permit me to express my congratulations on the splendid showing made by the Japanese midshipmen when reviewed by me.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Imperial Majesty Hirohito, The Emperor of Japan, Tokyo, Japan]

The President's News Conference of
October 15, 1929

AIR AND OCEAN MAIL CONTRACTS

THE PRESIDENT. I have a question – "Did the question of further reductions in the airmail service come to your attention today?" It did not.

The Post Office is working on a very difficult problem of trying to discover some form of a rate structure for the airmail service. Hitherto, as you know, the routes have been let by competitive bid, and a great many distortions have grown up as the art has made progress and the aviation concerns have grown. And those contracts are up for revision by the Post Office under the law, and it is confronted with the very difficult task of trying to find some basis that can be made as universal in its application as possible. The Post Office is doing its best to try to work out some sort of a rate structure.

There is in the airmail the very definite element of subsidy on the part of the Government until the airmail is substantially created, and there is no disposition on the part of the Post Office not to act in a liberal fashion with the aviation operators.

There is involved in that a further problem, which I have put in the hands of the four departments, that is, Commerce, Post Office, Army, and Navy, for study. And that is, what routes we can now determine as positive national routes with view to building those routes in as substantial fashion as we can, both from the point of view of equipment and support through the Post Office for air and passenger services.

So that we are working on a dual question of the primary and necessary routes which should be established as national routes, and a secondary problem, we are trying to find a rate structure under which the Post Office can act. All of it requires some time and thought, and the negotiations with the aviation industry are going along favorably. We are in a new field, and it is difficult to find one's way about.

Somewhat the same thing has arisen in the matter of the merchant marine under the Jones-White Act and the Post Office contracts that are let which are in support of the merchant marine. I have asked the four departments concerned and the Shipping Board to make a study of what are the essential trade routes and what use we can make of the Government's support through the Post Office to the improvement in shipping and the support of those routes. So that we will get away if possible from the more or less haphazard question of letting mail contracts without due respect to the ultimate development of merchant marine.

They are both intensely complex and very difficult problems, but they are under very careful scrutiny at the present time.

APPOINTMENTS TO THE COURT OF CLAIMS

I have two appointments to announce today to the Court of Claims. That is, Mr. Benjamin H. Littleton of Tennessee, who is now Chairman of the Board of Tax Appeals, and Congressman Thomas S. Williams of Illinois.

Further than that I have nothing.

NOTE: President Hoover's fifty-eighth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, October 15, 1929.

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Message to the National Recreation Congress

October 15, 1929

[Released October 15, 1929. Dated October 12, 1929]

My dear Mrs. Meyer:

I am deeply interested in the problem of recreation, as its solution goes to the root not only of many fundamental questions of physical health, but also of many needs for mental stimulation and spiritual satisfactions. A national program is needed, and the conference at Louisville can be of great service in its consideration.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Seven Springs Farm, Mount Kisco, New York]

NOTE: The President's letter was read by Mrs. Meyer in a preface to her address to the National Recreation Congress in Louisville, Ky. Mrs. Meyer was then chairman of the Westchester County Recreation Commission.

Message on the Dedication of the Wilmer Institute
of Ophthalmology at Johns Hopkins University

October 15, 1929

YOU AND your board and associates as well as the Johns Hopkins University are to be congratulated on the dedication of the Wilmer Institute of Ophthalmology. The enlarged opportunities for the alleviation of human suffering that you and your staff will now utilize are due I understand to the indefatigable effort of Mrs. Henry Breckenridge and I ask you to transmit to her my greetings on this memorable occasion.

HERBERT HOOVER

[Dr. William Holland Wilmer, Wilmer Institute, Johns Hopkins Medical School, Baltimore, Maryland]

Exchange of Messages With Prime Minister MacDonald
on His Departure from the United States

October 16, 1929

I THANK YOU for your kind message sent as you crossed the frontier from the United States to Canada. I only express the feeling of the people of this country when I say that we were all grateful for the opportunity of manifesting our sincere appreciation of the spirit in which you came to us. The welcome you have received is an earnest of the gratification felt in this country that the peoples of Great Britain and the United States have been brought even closer together by your visit. Mrs. Hoover also joins me in thanking you and we both send you our best wishes for a pleasant visit in Canada and a good voyage home.

HERBERT HOOVER

[The Right Honorable James Ramsay McDonald, Prime Minister of Great Britain, Government House, Ottawa, Canada]

NOTE: The President's message was in response to a message from Prime Minister MacDonald which was dated October 15, 1929, and released with the President's. The Prime Minister's message follows:

At the moment of leaving American soil I wish to send to you and to Mrs. Hoover and through you to the American people my warm thanks for the welcome accorded to my daughter and myself. We shall never forget the kindness and hospitality with which we have been received and we carry away with us the happiest memories of our visit.

RAMSAY MACDONALD

[The President of the United States of America, Washington, D.C.]

The President's News Conference of
October 18, 1929

COMMISSION ON THE CONSERVATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF
 PUBLIC DOMAIN

THE PRESIDENT. I have made a little headway with the appointment of a Commission on the Conservation and Administration of Public Domain. In order that each of the 11 public land States – the principal public land States – together with the rest of the country shall be fairly represented, it is necessary to make rather a large commission. There will probably be 20 altogether. I am giving you here a list of those who have accepted the invitations so far sent out, of whom there are 12.

Mr. Garfield, the Secretary of the Interior under Mr. Roosevelt's administration, will be the Chairman, and Secretary Wilbur and Secretary Hyde will be ex officio members, and the general representatives will be Mr. George Horace Lorimer, ex-Governor [James P.] Goodrich of Indiana, Colonel [W. B.] Greeley, formerly of the Forest Service, and Mr. Gardner Cowles of Des Moines.

The purpose of that Commission is to study the whole of the problems of the public domain, in particular the unreserved lands. As I explained to you at one other time, the real problem there is altogether a problem in water conservation. The overgrazing of the unreserved lands has removed the cover and denudation has resulted, which is making serious inroads into the water supply. One other phase of it has a new orientation on the reclamation works so as to bring about more actual water storage. I put some tentative proposals on this direction up to the Conference of Governors at Salt Lake. Three of the States object to taking over, or rather the public opinion and officials in three of the States seem to pretty generally object to the States taking the responsibility of the conservation measures which we want to effectuate, and apparently seven of them or eight are prepared to do it.

But in any event, those suggestions were only tentative, and the new Commission has an entirely free hand to come to any conclusion of its own.

I have got a list here of some biographical material, which will be given to you after the conference.

Q. Mr. President, will you give us the names of the three States failing to come in there?

THE PRESIDENT. They are coming into the conference. I just mentioned that the public opinion of three States does not like the idea of their taking responsibility, but I think there is a unanimous approval from the whole public land States of the project to conserve the water supply, both through control of grazing and reorientation of the Reclamation Service.

INSCRIPTION ON THE LIBRARY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN

I have a question in respect to Louvain Library. I and those who were associated with me in the American gift of the library to the University of Louvain wish to emphatically disclaim any approval of the action of Mr. Whitney Warren in insisting upon an objectionable and offensive inscription on that building.

The library cost about 33 million francs, all of which was provided in the United States. About 70 percent of it was provided by a committee under my chairmanship, and about 30 percent was secured by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. Mr. Whitney Warren was the architect of the library, and he did produce a most notable building and one which is a great credit both to himself and to our country. The authorities at the university 3 years ago with my approval protested and in fact refused to put up that particular inscription. I understand that Dr. Butler also protested against it at that time.

DELEGATION TO THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE

And now I have an item or two of purely background for you.

The members of the Naval Conference – the American delegation – have not been chosen, except so far as Secretary Stimson will be the head of the American delegation. The delegation will consist of probably five or perhaps six. It will embrace some Members of the Senate.

The Naval Advisory Committee will be led by Admiral William V. Pratt and Admiral Hilary Jones. Admiral Pratt, you will recollect, was the Chief of the Naval Advisory Committee at the Washington Arms Conference, and Admiral Hilary Jones was the head of the naval group at the Geneva Conference.

I do not believe that the names of the whole of the delegation will be ready for announcement for another week or 10 days.

Q. Mr. President, will Admirals Pratt and Jones be delegates or on the delegation?

THE PRESIDENT. No, they will not be on the delegation but will be the heads of the Naval Advisory Committee.

Q. Mr. President, that means there will be no naval officers on the delegation, will there

THE PRESIDENT. No, they will be in an advisory capacity on the delegation. And that is all I have.

Q. Mr. President, that about Mr. Warren, is that quotable?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

NOTE: President Hoover's fifty-ninth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, October 18, 1929. The White House also issued texts of the President's statements on the Commission on the Conservation and Administration of the Public Domain (see Item 242) and on the inscription on the library at the University of Louvain (see Item 243).

Statement on the Commission on Conservation and Administration of the Public Domain
October 18, 1929

COMMISSION ON CONSERVATION AND ADMINISTRATION
 OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

IN COOPERATION with Secretary Wilbur, I have now made a start at the selection of this Commission.

In order that each of the 11 important public land States may be represented and that there may be representatives from other sections of the country, I have decided to make the Commission approximately 20 in number, of whom 2 will be women. The following have accepted the invitations so far sent out.

Mr. James R. Garfield, Secretary of the Interior during Mr. Roosevelt's administration, who is to be the Chairman.

Of the general representatives Mr. George Horace Lorimer of Philadelphia, ex-Governor James P. Goodrich of Indiana, Col. W.B. Greeley, former head of the Forest Service, and Mr. Gardner Cowles of Des Moines, Iowa, have so far accepted invitations to serve.

As to representatives from the public land States the following have so far accepted:

California	Elwood Mead
Montana	I. M. Brandjord
Washington	R. K. Tiffany
Arizona	Rudolph Koechler
Colorado	Chas. J. Moynihan
Nevada	George W. Malone
Utah	William Peterson
Idaho	I. H. Nash

The purpose of the Commission is to study the whole question of the public domain particularly the unreserved lands. We have within it three outstanding problems:

First, there has been overgrazing throughout these lands, the value of the ranges having diminished as much as 80–90 percent in some localities. The major disaster, however, is that destruction of the natural cover of the land imperils the water supply. The problem, therefore, in this sense is really a problem of water conservation.

Second, the question as to what is the best method of applying a reclamation service to the West in order to gain real and enlarged conservation of water resources.

Third, the Commission is free to consider the questions of conservation of oil, coal, and other problems that arise in connection with the domain.

I recently put forward some tentative proposals for consideration at the Governors' conference in Salt Lake City and a survey of public opinion and the views of responsible officials show that while three States seem generally opposed to the idea of the States taking the responsibility for conservation of grazing values by transfer to them of the surface rights, seven States are in favor of this idea with some secondary modifications. Public opinion in those States generally seems to support the tentative suggestions for reorganization of the Reclamation Service. The suggestions, however, were entirely tentative and the whole subject is open to the Commission.

I have recently had opportunity to confer with the chairmen of the Senate and House committees covering public land and irrigation, and they have expressed their warm approval of the creation of this Commission and have undertaken to introduce the necessary legislation to provide funds for its work.

NOTE: Biographical information on each of the named members was released with the statement. For the President's message to the Governors' conference in Salt Lake City, see Item 185.

Other members named later were Perry Jenkins of Wyoming, Huntley Spaulding of New Hampshire, E. C. Van Patten of Oregon, Wallace Townsend of Arkansas, Francis Wilson of New Mexico, and Mrs. Mary Roberts Rinehart of Washington, D.C.

Statement on the Library at the University of Louvain, Belgium

October 18, 1929

IN REPLY to a press question, the President said:

"I, and those associated with me, in the American gift of a library to the University of Louvain, wish to emphatically disclaim any approval of the action of Mr. Whitney Warren in insisting upon an offensive inscription upon the building.

"The library cost about 32 million francs wholly provided from the United States. Of this sum over 70 percent was secured by a committee under my chairmanship and the other part by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. Mr. Whitney Warren was the architect and did produce a most notable building of great credit to himself and the Nation.

"The authorities of the university 3 years ago, with my approval, refused to allow the inscription insisted upon by Mr. Warren, and if my recollection serves me rightly, Dr. Butler also protested against it."

NOTE: The proposed inscription to which the President referred was in Latin, translated by Dr. Butler as "Destroyed by German ferocity, rebuilt by American generosity."

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Message to Commander Richard E. Byrd on His Antarctic Expedition

October 19, 1929

I WISH you would transmit to Commander Byrd my sincere good wishes and my faith in him.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to the New York Newspaper Club, 136 West 42d Street, New York City, and transmitted as a part of a radio program relayed to Commander Byrd and his expedition in Little America. Little America was the expedition base where Commander Byrd was preparing for his flight to the South Pole on November 29.

Remarks During a Motor Tour of Detroit, Michigan*October 21, 1929**Governor Green, citizens of Detroit:*

I do appreciate the generosity and courtesy of your welcome. There is no lack of warmth in the faces and hearts of the people of Detroit despite the action of the skies.

I have thought it a fitting thing, as the Governor has said, for the President of the United States to take part in paying honor to one of our great Americans, Thomas A. Edison.

Mr. Edison has brought to our country great distinction throughout the world. He has brought great benefactions to all of us, and it is but a small thing we may do to record the appreciation, esteem, and honor in which the Nation holds him.

Detroit is fortunate it is to be the point where the Nation pays its tribute to Thomas A. Edison, and I wish to thank you again for your cordiality and the courtesy of your welcome.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon from a platform at the Detroit City Hall where he made a brief stop during a motor trip through the city, where he was participating in "Golden Jubilee of Light" ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of Mr. Edison's invention of the electric lamp.

The text of the informal remarks is from a contemporary newspaper account.

Address on the 50th Anniversary of Thomas Edison's Invention of the Incandescent Electric Lamp

October 21, 1929

Fellow countrymen and women:

This ceremony is a part of the celebration of Mr. Edison's invention of the electric lamp. It is also the dedication of the Edison Institute of Technology, the gift of Mr. [Henry] Ford. Both are in fact national tributes to Mr. Edison.

The multiplication of the amount of light in the world a thousandfold is worthy of celebration, for darkness is a forbidden limitation upon righteous human activities.

When Mr. Edison invented the electric lamp he may perhaps have thought just to produce plain light and more of it at less cost. I surmise that his wildest ambition was to relieve the human race from the curse of always cleaning oil lamps, scrubbing up candle drips, and everlastingly carrying one or the other of them about. He may have thought to add safety to Chicago against a second accident from an oil lamp. But the electric lamp has found infinite variety of unexpected uses. It enables us to postpone our spectacles for a few years longer; it has made reading in bed infinitely more comfortable; by merely pushing a button we have introduced the element of surprise in dealing with burglars; the goblins that lived in dark corners and under the bed have now been driven to the outdoors; evil deeds which inhabit the dark have been driven back into the farthest retreats of the night; it enables the doctor to peer into the recesses of our insides; it substitutes for the hot-water bottle in aches and pains; it enables our Cities and towns to clothe themselves in gaiety by night, no matter how sad their appearance may be by day. And by all its multiple uses it has lengthened the hours of our active lives, decreased our fears, replaced the dark with good cheer, increased our safety, decreased our toil, and enabled us to read the type in the telephone book. It has become the friend of man and child.

In making this, as in his other great inventions, Mr. Edison gave an outstanding illustration of the value of the modern method and system of invention, by which highly equipped, definitely organized laboratory research transforms the raw material of scientific knowledge into new tools for the hand of man.

In earlier times, mechanical invention had been the infrequent and haphazard product of genius in the woodshed. But science had become too sophisticated a being to be wooed in such surroundings. Nowadays a thousand applied science laboratories, supported by industries of our country, yearly produce a host of new inventions.

I can perhaps illustrate this modern method of invention. The fundamental natural laws of electricity were discovered three-quarters of a century ago by Faraday, Hertz, Maxwell, and other great investigators in the realms of pure physics and mathematics. Faraday discovered that energy could be transformed into electricity through induction – the theory of the electrical generator. It was one of the momentous discoveries of history. It is related that Mr. Gladstone was induced to visit Faraday's laboratory to see this new scientific contraption. When Gladstone is said to have made the characteristic practical man's inquiry, "Will this ever be of use to mankind?" Faraday replied, "Some day you will collect taxes from it."

Mr. Edison, using organized systematic laboratory research, has been one of the great leaders who have converted the pure physics of electricity into a taxable product. Today the governments of the world levy upon upwards of 60 billions of new wealth founded upon electricity.

But the taxes and new wealth are not the major accomplishments of the men of this genius. These are the rivers of sweat saved from the backs of men and the infinite drudgery relieved from the hands of women.

I may emphasize that both scientific discovery and its practical application are the products of long and arduous research. Discovery and invention do not spring full grown from the brains of men. The labor of a host of men, great laboratories, long, patient, scientific experiment build up the structure of knowledge, not stone by stone, but particle by particle. This adding of fact to fact some day brings forth a revolutionary discovery, an illuminating hypothesis, a great generalization, or a practical invention.

Research both in pure science and in its application to the arts is one of the most potent impulses to progress. For it is organized research that gives daily improvement in machines and processes, in methods of agriculture, in the protection of health, and in understanding. From these we gain constantly in better standards of living, more stability of employment, lessened toil, lengthened human life, and decreased

suffering. In the end our leisure expands, our interest in life enlarges, our vision stretches. There is more joy in life.

It is the increasing productivity of men's labor through the tools given us by science that shattered the gloomy prophecies of Malthus. More than a century ago that great student held that increasing population would outrun the food supply and starvation was to be the inevitable executioner of the overcrowded earth.

But since his day we have seen the paradox of the growth of population far beyond anything of which he ever dreamed, coupled at the same time with constantly increasing standards of living and ever increasing surplus of food. Malthus was right except for a new contestant in the race with his principle: That was more scientific research, more discovery. And that race is still on. If we would have our country improve its standards of living and at the same time accommodate itself to increasing population we must maintain on an even more liberal scale than ever before our great laboratories of both pure and applied science.

Our scientists and inventors are amongst our most priceless national possessions. There is no sum that the world could not afford to pay these men who have that originality of mind, that devotion and industry to carry scientific thought forward in steps and strides until it spreads to the comfort of every home; not by all the profits of all the banks in the world can we measure the contribution which these men make to our progress. And they are the least interested in the monetary results. Their satisfactions are in their accomplishment – in the contribution of some atom of knowledge which will become part of the great mechanism of progress. Their discoveries are not the material for headlines. Their names are usually known but to a few. But the Nation owes them a great honor and is proud to demonstrate through Mr. Edison today that their efforts are not unappreciated. The country can well pay its tribute to the men of this genius by expanding the facilities for their labors. The Nation today needs more support to research. It needs still more laboratories. To that Mr. Ford is making a generous contribution.

And in establishing this institute, Mr. Ford is doing honor to Mr. Edison in a manner which appeals to a sense of fitness – that is, by founding an institution dedicated to education and scientific research.

And scientific research means more than its practical results in increased living comfort. The future of our Nation is not merely a question of the development of our industries, of reducing the cost of living, of multiplying our harvests, or of larger leisure. We must constantly strengthen the fiber of national life by the inculcation of that veracity of thought which springs from the search for truth. From its pursuit we shall discover the unfolding of beauty, we shall stimulate the aspiration for knowledge, we shall ever widen human understanding.

Mr. Edison has given a long life to such service. Every American owes a debt to him. It is not alone a debt for great benefactions he has brought to mankind, but also a debt for the honor he has brought to our country. Mr. Edison by his own genius and effort rose from modest beginnings to membership among the leaders of men. His life gives renewed confidence that our institutions hold open the door of opportunity to all those who would enter.

Our civilization is much like a garden. It is to be appraised by the quality of its blooms. In degrees as we fertilize its soil with liberty, as we maintain diligence in cultivation and guardianship against destructive forces, do we then produce those blossoms, the fragrance of whose lives stimulate renewed endeavor, give to us the courage to renewed effort and confidence of the future.

NOTE: The President spoke at a dinner in a replica of Independence Hall in Greenfield Village, a restoration of an early American village undertaken by Henry A. Ford at Dearborn, Mich. The address was broadcast coast-to-coast. Before the dinner, Mr. Hoover participated in day-long ceremonies in Detroit and Dearborn, including a ride on an antique train during which Mr. Edison posed as a news butcher, recreating his boyhood experience. As a part of the dinner ceremony, Edison also reenacted his invention of the electric incandescent lamp.

As printed above, this item follows a text published by the U.S. Government Printing Office. For a facsimile of President Hoover's reading copy, with holograph changes, see Appendix D.

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Message to King Alfonso XIII on the Inauguration of
Direct Radiotelegraphic Service With Spain

October 21, 1929

I TAKE the opportunity of the opening of direct radiotelegraphic service with your country to send you my cordial greetings and my congratulations on the brilliant success which has thus far attended the International Expositions at Seville and Barcelona.

Through this new means of communication we are brought to the realization that our countries are united more closely each day by an intimate acquaintance between the two peoples.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Majesty Alfonso XIII, King of Spain, Madrid]

Letter in Reply to Florida Republicans Protesting an Appointment
October 21, 1929

[Released October 21, 1929. Dated September 26, 1929]

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of September 21st.

I cannot believe that you and the many friends of Mr. Skipper who have protested the appointment of Mr. Hughes, overlook the primary responsibility which rests upon the President of the United States. That responsibility is one of the most sacred which he assumes upon his oath of office. It is that he shall, to his utmost capacity, appoint men to public office who will execute the laws of the United States with integrity and without fear, favor or political collusion. The appointive responsibility rests in the President, not in any organization.

For seven months, the Department of Justice has investigated first one candidate and then another who were proposed by the Florida organization. The Department did not feel that they could conscientiously recommend to me any one of the names presented. Mr. Hughes, with many years of tried service in the Department as an important member of the Division devoted to enforcement of the 18th Amendment, was not appointed at the request or recommendation of any political organization whatever. He was appointed because he had proved himself an able and vigorous law enforcement officer. Furthermore, all three of the Federal Judges of Florida attested to Mr. Hughes' ability and standing.

It is the natural desire of the Administration to build up and strengthen the Republican Party in the state of Florida. That can be done in cooperation with the state organization if the organization presents candidates who measure up to my requirements of public service. This is an obligation in the interest of the people of the state, and the first tenet in that program is that no longer shall the laws of the United States be flouted by federal officials; no longer shall public office be regarded as mere political patronage but that it shall be public service.

The success of the Republican Party rests upon good government, not on patronage, and Florida will have good government so far as it is within my powers to give it. My own belief is that the people of Florida supported me in the past election because they expected that from me.

I note your demands that the organization shall dictate appointments in Florida irrespective of merit or my responsibility, and that you appeal to the opponents of the Administration to attack me. I enclose herewith copy of a statement which I issued last March. That statement was no idle gesture.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Fred E. Britten, Stuart, Florida]

NOTE: The President's letter concerned the appointment of Wilburn P. Hughes as United States Attorney for the Southern District of Florida. Mr. Britten, Republican State Chairman, objected to the appointment on grounds that the Florida party organization had not made the recommendation. Six candidates had been offered by the State committee and all were rejected by the President. Glenn B. Skipper, to whom the letter referred, was a Republican National Committeeman from Florida. The statement referred to in the last paragraph was issued to the press on March 26, 1929 (see Item 16).

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Message on the 50th Anniversary of The American Hebrew
October 21, 1929

[Released October 21, 1929. Dated October 15, 1929]

My dear Dr. Landman:

I cordially congratulate you upon the fiftieth anniversary of the American Hebrew, marking a distinctive milestone in its useful career of service. Its untiring efforts to advance American ideals and understanding are especially noteworthy and commendable. I wish you all success in continuing your long tradition and high ideals.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Dr. Isaac Landman, Editor, The American Hebrew, 71 West 47th Street, New York City]

NOTE: An identical message appears in the press file with a release date of November 21. The correct release date is uncertain.

Remarks at Cincinnati, Ohio, Celebrating the Completion of the Ohio River Improvement Project

October 22, 1929

My fellow countrymen and women:

It is a great pleasure to me to share in the dedication of this monument glorifying for all time the completion of a 9-foot channel for the full length of the Ohio River. The engineering mind, about which I see so much in the newspapers, here does come to the surface, and luxuriates in appreciation of a great engineering job well done. This new instrument of commerce, from which untold blessings will come year after year, is an enduring monument to those patient men of my own profession whose lives are spent in devising means to increase the comfort and convenience of the world.

But men of every mould have wrought with equal bravery in this transformation of the wild beauty of the Ohio River into the not less beautiful but more tractable stream of today. The engineers found the practical means, but many others contributed to the vision, courage, and persistence needful to this accomplishment. Statesmen, rivermen, and businessmen may share the glory. The elders present may well regret the absence of such stalwart figures as Colonel William E. Merrill and Captain William B. Rodgers, whose ingenuity and dauntless faith bore so large a part in this achievement.

I personally feel deeply the absence of Senator Theodore Burton, at whose bedside in Washington I have recently stood. His work as Chairman of the historic Inland Waterways Commission, appointed by President Roosevelt in 1907, gave the foundation upon which this great development has been created. The report of that Commission in 1908 has been the bible of waterways improvement. Its first result was the Act of 1910, with which began the present project, now brought to successful conclusion. It reflected not only the clarity of mind with which the Senator has endowed public issues for a generation, but also the broad humanity of his spirit, that dwelt with especial concern upon the problems of equity involved and upon the welfare of the whole body of men and women of the country for whose benefit the program was primarily undertaken.

Of Speaker Longworth, who fortunately is present, it should be recalled that he was one of the founders of the Ohio Valley Improvement Association and has both privately and as an officer of the Government worked indefatigably in the cause of this development for more than a quarter of a century. He and his associates deserve high remembrance in the records of this achievement.

But the whole Ohio Valley and the Nation as well should be congratulated upon this occasion. A new agency of service now begins its quiet labors for mankind. The towpath that led one Ohio boy to the White House has been modernized. But opportunity has been expanded by the abandonment of the towpath for the engine. It is the glory of our scientific age that its sooty processes in the end bring results that make childhood stronger and happier, and give to manhood and womanhood a life richer and more varied.

This monument will ever remind the people of a great accomplishment.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. at a ceremony dedicating the Ohio River Monument on Eden Park Hill in Cincinnati, Ohio.

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Message to the President of Uruguay on the Death of Former President Jose Battle y
Ordonez

October 22, 1929

[Released October 22, 1929. Dated October 21, 1929]

I WISH to express the condolence of the people of the United States and my own sympathy in the loss which Uruguay has suffered through the death of the distinguished citizen and ex-President Jose Battle y Ordonez.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Juan Campisteguy, President of Uruguay, Montevideo]

252

Message on the Presentation to Cornelius F. Kelley
of the Gold Medal Award for Mining Achievement
October 22, 1929

[Released October 22, 1929. Dated October 15, 1929]

My dear Mr. Bridgman:

The award of the Gold Medal of the Mining and Metallurgical Society of America to Mr. Cornelius F. Kelley is a deserved tribute to his outstanding achievements in the mining profession. His life of usefulness has contributed in high degree to the stabilization of mining in the United States and has helped bring about its public recognition as a dependable industry. I take more than usual pleasure in extending my congratulations to Mr. Kelley and to the Society.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. G. Temple Bridgman, President, Mining and Metallurgical Society of America, 2 Rector Street, New York, N.Y.]

NOTE: The President's letter was read at the award dinner by Mr. Bridgman. Mr. Hoover and his wife, Lou Henry Hoover, were joint recipients of the first award extended by the organization, in 1914.

Address at Louisville, Kentucky, Celebrating the
Completion of the Ohio River Improvement Project
October 23, 1929

To my fellow citizens:

I am speaking tonight from the deck of the steamboat at the Louisville Levee. During the day we have completed the journey from Cincinnati to Louisville as part of the celebration of the Ohio Valley upon the completion of the improvement of the Ohio River into a modern waterway.

The river has now been formally opened to traffic from above Pittsburgh, 1,000 miles to Cairo, on the Mississippi, from which point another 1,000 miles of modernized waterway leads to the sea at New Orleans. By dams and locks, by dredging and revetments, we have transformed the Ohio River from a stream of shallows, oftentimes dangerous even to rafts, into a canalized waterway of an assured 9 feet of depth at all seasons. This transformation will not revive the romantic steamboatin' days of Mark Twain, but it will move more goods.

The picturesque floating palaces of Mark Twain's day drew 2 or 3 feet of water and even then found their way precariously around the bends among the snags and over sandbars. In time they were unable to compete with the spreading railroads, and river navigation passed into its Dark Ages. But now is its day of renaissance. Upon deep and regular channels unromantic diesel tugs now tow long trains of steel barges. What the river has lost in romance it has gained in tonnage, for in steamboatin' days 500 tons was a great cargo, while today 10,000 tons is moved with less men and less fuel. It is thus by deeper channels and new inventions that our rivers come back as great arteries of commerce after half a century of paralysis. And the new waterways are not competitive but complementary to our great and efficient railways. It is the history of transportation that an increase of facilities and a cheapening of transportation increase the volume of traffic.

In the steamboatin' days the rivers were the great arteries for travel. Those who must hurry will have little inclination to journey by river steamers, but those who wish recreation may well return to this magnificent and powerful river. The majesty of the Ohio was born of the Ice Age, half a million years ago. Its beauty remains today undisturbed by our improvements, and will remain long after our Nation and race have been replaced with some other civilization. And those who love the glories of "Ole Man River" may now again find rest and food for the soul in travel on its currents.

The Ohio has a large place in the history of our race. On this route 250 years ago birch canoes carried La Salle and his first party of white men into the wilderness of the Middle West. He was the first to visit the falls of Louisville, whose roar is this moment in my ears. Down this valley through succeeding centuries poured the great human tide that pioneered the greatest agricultural migration in history. In turn came the explorer, the trapper, the early settler, the sweep of farmers ever pressing back the frontier in search of virgin land and independent homes, the merchant, the manufacturer, the city builder, until this great valley is today one of the rich places of the earth. It is rich not alone in the sense of property but in the sense of happy and independent homes of virile men and women. From forefathers schooled of courage, adventure, and independence, of a spirit tempered by hardships, has sprung a race of men and women who have oft given leadership to the building of our Republic.

The improvement of this great water route has been ever present in the vision of our statesmen. George Washington first voiced its potentiality to our new-born Nation. In reporting on one of his early journeys he said:

"Prompted by these actual observations, I could not help taking a more extensive view of the vast inland navigation possibilities of the United States, both from maps and the observations of others as well as myself, and could not but be struck with the immense extent and importance of it and with the goodness of that Providence which has dealt its forces to us in so profuse a hand. Would to God that we may have the wisdom and courage to improve them."

Today, after this 160 years, Washington's prayer is come true in a greater sense than ever he dreamed. Other Presidents in succession over our history have striven for its development, from Jefferson on down. Lincoln's first political speech was a plea for its improvement. Our Nation sometimes moves slowly, but its will is not to be thwarted. It has been a gigantic task, this transformation of the Ohio. It represents an expenditure and a labor half as great as the construction of the Panama Canal. Like many current problems,

the development of our rivers is never a finished accomplishment, it must march with the progress of life and invention.

While I am proud to be the President who witnesses the apparent completion of its improvement, I have the belief that some day new inventions and new pressures of population will require its further development. In some generation to come they will perhaps look back at our triumph in building a channel 9 feet in depth in the same way that we look at the triumph of our forefathers when, having cleared the snags and bars, they announced that a boat drawing 2 feet of water could pass safely from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. Yet for their times and means they too accomplished a great task. It is the river that is permanent; it is one of God's gifts to man, and with each succeeding generation we will advance in our appreciation and our use of it. And with each generation it will grow in the history and tradition of our Nation.

And while we celebrate the completion and connection of a great waterway 2,000 miles, from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, we have still unfinished tasks in improvement of our other great waterways up to the standards we have established upon the Ohio.

Some have doubted the wisdom of these improvements. I have discussed the subject many times and in many places before now, and I shall not repeat the masses of facts and figures. The American people, I believe, are convinced. What they desire is action, not argument. I may, however, mention that as the improvement of the Ohio and its tributaries has marched section by section during this past 12 years the traffic has grown from 25 million tons to over 50 million tons annually. Yet it is only today this great branch line is connected with the main trunk of this transportation system, the Mississippi. It is only now that the full movement of goods can take place between the great cities of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, on one hand, and St. Louis, Memphis, New Orleans, and the wide ocean on the other.

PLANS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF OTHER WATERWAYS

With the completion of our national job on the Ohio, with the celebration of this day, we can well turn our minds toward the other great jobs in waterway improvement which lie before us. The Ohio is but one segment of the natural inland waterways with which Providence has blessed us. We have completed the modernization of but one other of the great segments of this system – that of the lower Mississippi.

Five or six years ago I had opportunity to join with those many representatives of the Midwest in council as to the method by which we could strengthen national interest in the energetic development of the other parts of this great system. At that time I suggested that all these tributaries of the Mississippi and the Great Lakes comprised a single great transportation system. That it must be developed in vision of the whole and not in parts.

Without delaying to traverse the detailed ramifications of these great natural waterways, I may well summarize their present condition and enunciate the policies of my administration in respect to them:

1. As a general and broad policy I favor modernizing of every part of our waterways which will show economic justification in aid of our farmers and industries.

2. The Mississippi system comprises over 9,000 miles of navigable streams. I find that about 2,200 miles have now been modernized to 9 feet in depth, and about 1,400 miles have been modernized to at least 6 feet in depth. Therefore, some 5,000 miles are yet to be connected or completed so as to be of purpose to modern commerce. We should establish a 9-foot depth in the trunk system. While it is desirable that some of the tributaries be made accessible to traffic at 6 or 7 feet, yet we should in the long view look forward to increasing this latter depth as fast as traffic justifies it.

This administration will insist upon building these waterways as we would build any other transportation system – that is, by extending its ramifications solidly outward from the main trunk lines. Substantial traffic or public service can not be developed upon a patchwork of disconnected local improvement and intermediate segments. Such patchwork has in past years been the sink of hundreds of millions of public money.

3. We must design our policies so as to establish private enterprise in substitution for Government operation of the barges and craft upon these waterways. We must continue Government bargelines through the pioneering stages, but we must look forward to private initiative not only as the cheapest method of operation but as the only way to assured and adequate public service.

4. We should complete the entire Mississippi system within the next 5 years. We shall then have built a great north and south trunk waterway entirely across our country from the gulf to the northern boundaries, and a great east and west route, halfway across the United States. Through the tributaries we shall have

created a network of transportation. We shall then have brought a dozen great cities into direct communication by water; we shall have opened cheaper transportation of primary goods to the farmers and manufacturers of over a score of States.

5. At the present time we have completed 746 miles of intracoastal canals. We still have approximately 1,000 miles to build. We should complete this program over a period of less than 10 years.

6. We should continue improvement of the channels in the Great Lakes; we should determine and construct those works necessary for stabilizing the lake levels.

7. One of the most vital improvements to transportation on the North American Continent is the removal of the obstacles in the St. Lawrence River to oceangoing vessels inward to the Great Lakes. Our Nation should undertake to do its part whenever our Canadian friends have overcome those difficulties which lie in the path of their making similar undertakings. I may say that I have seen a statement published lately that this improvement would cost such a huge sum as to make it entirely uneconomical and prohibitive. To that I may answer that after we have disposed of the electrical power we could contract the entire construction for less than \$200 million divided between the two Governments and spread over a period of 10 years.

8. We shall expedite the work of flood control on the lower Mississippi in every manner possible. In the working out of plans we find it necessary to reconsider one portion of the project, that is, the floodway below the Arkansas, but work in other directions will proceed in such fashion that there will be no delay of its completion under the 10-year program assigned to it.

9. With the increasing size of oceangoing vessels and the constantly expanding volume of our commerce, we must maintain unceasing development of our harbors and the littoral waterways which extend inland from them.

10. The total construction of these works which I have mentioned amounts to projects three and four times as great as the Panama Canal. In order that there may be no failure in administration, and as an indication of our determination to pursue these works with resolution, we have in the past month entirely recast the organization of this executive staff in the Government. With the approval of the Secretary of War, and under the newly appointed Chief of Engineers, we have assigned to each of these major projects a single responsible engineer. We thus secure a modern business organization, direct responsibility, and continuous administration. We wish to see these projects completed with all the expedition which sound engineering will permit. We shall be able by this means to place responsibility, without question in failure, and to give credit without question to the men who bring these great projects to successful completion.

At the present time we are expending approximately \$85 million per annum on new construction and maintenance of these works. To complete these programs within the periods I have mentioned will require an increase in the Government outlay by about \$10 million per annum not including the St. Lawrence; at most, including that item, an increase in our expenditures of say \$20 million a year. A considerable proportion of this will end in 5 years' time. It is of the nature of a capital investment.

This annual increase is equal to the cost of one-half of one battleship. If we are so fortunate as to save this annual outlay on naval construction as the result of the forthcoming naval conference in London, nothing could be a finer or more vivid conversion of swords to plowshares.

To carry forward all these great works is not a dream of the visionaries – it is the march of the Nation. We are reopening the great trade routes upon which our continent developed. This development is but an interpretation of the needs and pressures of population, of industry, and civilization. They are threads in that invisible web which knits our national life. They are not local in their benefits. They are universal in promoting the prosperity of the Nation. It is our duty as statesmen to respond to these needs, to direct them with intelligence, with skill, with economy, with courage.

A nation makes no loss by devotion of some of its current income to the improvement of its estate. That is an obligation we owe to our children and our grandchildren. I do not measure the future of America in terms of our lifetime. God has truly blessed us with great resources. It is our duty to make them available to our people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:30 p.m. at Memorial Auditorium in Louisville, Ky. His remarks were broadcast to the Nation.

As printed above, this item follows a text published by the U.S. Government Printing Office. For a facsimile of President Hoover's reading copy, with holograph changes, see Appendix D.

Messages of Sympathy for the Victims of an Accidental
Explosion During the President's Visit to Madison, Indiana
October 24, 1929

MRS. HOOVER AND I send you deepest sympathy and feel distressed beyond measure over the unfortunate accident which resulted in the loss of your son. Our prayers are with you.

HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. and Mrs. Strothers B. Earls, Madison, Indiana]

MRS. HOOVER AND I are sad to learn of the unfortunate accident which resulted in the death of Robert Earls and injuries to the other members of the saluting battery. We have expressed our sympathy to the mother and father of the boy who lost his life and ask you to convey to the families of those injured our earnest hope that they may speedily recover.

HERBERT HOOVER

[Mayor of Madison, Madison, Indiana]

NOTE: On Wednesday, October 23, 1929, President Hoover paid a brief visit to Madison, Ind., en route to Louisville from Cincinnati. During the firing of a salute to the President, gunpowder prematurely exploded, killing Robert Earls and injuring three other National Guardsmen. The President was not informed of the accident until he was en route from Louisville to Washington, D.C. Upon his return to the White House, the above telegrams were sent to Mr. and Mrs. Earls and Mayor Marcus A. Sulzer.

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Message to President Carlos Ibanez del Campo
of Chile on His Escape From Assassination

October 24, 1929

I AM most gratified to learn of your fortunate escape from the attempt on your life yesterday.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Carlos Ibanez del Campo, President of Chile, Santiago]

NOTE: The assassination attempt by a young man identified as an anarchist failed when his firearm malfunctioned.

The President's News Conference of
October 25, 1929

APPOINTMENT OF WALTER HOPE

THE PRESIDENT. I have one appointment today. We have drafted an outstanding attorney in New York, Mr. Walter Hope, as the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in place of Mr. [Henry H.] Bond, who has resigned.

THE BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC SITUATION

All the questions I have today – or most of them – are on the business situation.

The fundamental business of the country, that is, the production and distribution of commodities, is on a very sound and prosperous basis. The best evidence is that although production and consumption are at a very high level, the average prices of these commodities, taken as a whole, have shown no increase in the whole of the last 12 months, and there has been no appreciable increase in the stock of manufactured goods. Therefore, there has been no speculation in commodities. There has been a tendency for wage increases and the output per worker has increased, all of which indicates a very healthy situation.

The construction and building material industries have been somewhat affected by the high interest rates induced by the New York speculation, and there has been some seasonal decrease in two or three other industries, but these movements are of secondary character when they are considered in the light of the whole situation.

The temporary drop in grain prices sympathetic with stock exchange prices usually happens, but, as the Department of Agriculture points out, the overriding fact in grain is that this year's world wheat harvest is 500 million bushels below last year, and will result in a very low carryover at the end of the harvest year.

And that is all I have today.

Q. Is that for quotation?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, it is for quotation.

NOTE: President Hoover's sixtieth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, October 25, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement on the business and economic situation (see Item 257) and a biographical sketch of Walter E. Hope.

Statement on the National Business and Economic Situation*October 25, 1929*

IN REPLY to press questions as to the business situation the President said:

"The fundamental business of the country, that is the production and distribution of commodities, is on a sound and prosperous basis. The best evidence is that although production and consumption are at high levels, the average prices of commodities as a whole have not increased and there have been no appreciable increases in the stocks of manufactured goods. Moreover, there has been a tendency of wages to increase, the output per worker in many industries again shows an increase, all of which indicates a healthy condition.

"The construction and building material industries have been to some extent affected by the high interest rates induced by stock speculation and there has been some seasonal decrease in one or two other industries but these movements are of secondary character when considered in the whole situation.

"A temporary drop in grain prices sympathetically with stock exchange prices usually happens but as the Department of Agriculture points out, the overriding fact in grain is that this year's world wheat harvest is estimated to be 500 million bushels less than that of last year, which will result in a very low carryover at the end of the harvest year."

NOTE: On October 24, Black Thursday, nearly 13 million shares had been traded on the New York Stock Exchange. October 29 would become Black Tuesday, the date commonly taken as the beginning of the Great Depression.

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Message on the Institute of Paper Chemistry at Lawrence College

October 26, 1929

[Released October 26, 1929. Dated October 19, 1929]

Dear President Wriston:

I am glad to know of the organization of the Institute of Paper Chemistry at Lawrence College. The importance of sound technical processes based upon scientific research is becoming ever more important to American industry.

Through the association of institutions of learning with business the colleges will be in a position more adequately to serve present day needs. By associating themselves with institutions of learning the industries may keep abreast of scientific developments and make a sound contribution to the progress of the nation.

I hope that the success of this cooperative effort will point the way to other fruitful enterprises of like character.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[President Henry M. Wriston, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin]

Message on the Birthday of Theodore Roosevelt and Its Celebration on Navy Day
October 26, 1929

THE BIRTHDAY of Theodore Roosevelt annually brings a reminder of the driving power of stalwart character and vigorous ideals. These were embodied in his person, and they gave force and substance to the distinctive charm with which he projected his virile personality upon our national life. His contributions to our history are many, not the least being his labors in upbuilding the Navy, which has chosen his birthday as the occasion for yearly commemoration of its services to country. Americans should make the anniversary of this great American's birth an occasion of general and public appreciation of his life.

HERBERT HOOVER

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Message on the 250th Anniversary of the Settlement of Trenton, New Jersey
October 27, 1929

[Released October 27, 1929. Dated October 18, 1929]

My dear Mr. Kerney:

I congratulate the citizens of Trenton upon the 250th Anniversary of the settlement of their city. This is a memorable occasion in the life of a historic community. I would add my best wishes for continued growth in well-being and civic ideals for the future.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. James Kerney, Editor and Publisher, Trenton Times, Trenton, New Jersey]

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Message to the Institute of Pacific Relations

October 27, 1929

[Released October 27, 1929. Dated October 19, 1929]

IT IS with much satisfaction that I send to the members of the Institute of Pacific Relations my greetings and wishes for a successful conference. The aim of the Institute is to bring about a better understanding among the nations of the Pacific. I have confidence that this is one of the most effective methods of securing peace and friendly relations.

HERBERT HOOVER

[To the Members of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto, Japan]

The President's News Conference of
October 29, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I am sorry, but this is one of those days when I haven't anything that I can very well discuss.

I have one or two questions, but I am not quite ready with the data behind them, so that I can't make a competent statement on them. And you seem to be able to find a supply of news elsewhere.

DEATH OF SENATOR THEODORE F. BURTON

Q. Mr. President, are we to look for a statement from you on Senator Burton?

THE PRESIDENT. I just sent one. So I am afraid I can't help you any this morning.

Q. Mr. President, are you going to the funeral service for Senator Burton at the Capitol tomorrow?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

NOTE: President Hoover's sixty-first news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, October 29, 1929.

Statement on the Death of Senator Theodore E. Burton*October 29, 1929*

THE PRESIDENT said:

"The death of a great leader is a national loss. Senator Burton gave practically all his long adult manhood to public service, in turn to his city, his State and to the Nation. His was always constructive action and from his leadership has sprung much of our national advancement. He was a true servant of the people, profoundly versed in the history and tradition of our institutions, jealous to preserve their integrity. When the origins of great and successful policies are examined in the retrospect of history, the Senator's name will rank among the first leaders of his time. He has ever been held in a respect which many years ago became veneration. His death is a grievous personal loss to me. He was a lovable character and an affectionate friend."

NOTE: Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, served in the U.S. House of Representatives 1889–91, 1895–1909, and 1921–28. He served in the Senate 1909–15 and 1928–29.

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Message to President Thomas G. Masaryk on Czechoslovakia's Independence Day
October 29, 1929

[Released October 29, 1929. Dated October 28, 1929]

I EXTEND to Your Excellency cordial felicitations on this day and best wishes for the continued prosperity of Czechoslovakia as well as for Your Excellency's own happiness and well-being.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency T. G. Masaryk, President of Czechoslovakia, Prague]

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Message to President Mustapha Kemal on Turkey's Independence Day
October 29, 1929

[Released October 29, 1929. Dated October 28, 1929]

ON THE OCCASION of the anniversary of the establishment of the Turkish Republic I send to Your Excellency in my own name and in behalf of the American people a cordial message of greeting and sincerest wishes for the prosperity of Turkey and for the happiness and well-being of Your Excellency.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Ghazi Mustapha Kemal, President of the Turkish Republic, Angora, Turkey]

Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring Madame Marie Curie

October 30, 1929

I AM SURE that I represent the whole American people when I express our gratification to Madame Curie that she should have honored our country by coming here. We give to her the welcome of a people who are grateful for the beneficent service she has given to all mankind.

It is not necessary for me to recount the great fundamental discovery associated with the names of her late husband and herself. The discovery of radium was an outstanding triumph of research in the realm of pure science. It was indeed a great and successful exploration into the unknown from which a new truth has brought to the world a practical revolution in our conceptions of substance. It has advanced all thought on the constitution of matter. And like all great discoveries of fundamental substance and fact it has found application to human use. In the treatment of disease, especially of cancer, it has brought relief of human suffering to hundreds of thousands of men and women.

As an indication of the appreciation and the respect which our people feel for Madame Curie, generous-minded men and women under the leadership of Mrs. William B. Meloney have provided the funds with which a gram of radium is to be purchased and presented to the hospital and research institute which bears her name in Warsaw. The construction of this hospital was a magnificent tribute by the city of her birth and the Polish people, in which the American people are glad to have even this opportunity of modest participation. The whole of this occasion where we pay tribute to a great scientist is again a recognition of the fundamental importance of scientific research and a mark of public appreciation of those who have given their lives to human service through its profession.

NOTE: The President spoke during ceremonies held at 4 p.m. in the National Academy of Sciences and National Research Council Building. He presented Madame Curie with a bank draft for \$50,000 for the purchase of one gram of radium, a gift from the women of America.

Madame Curie responded as follows, referring in the salutation to Dr. William H. Welch of Johns Hopkins University:

Mr. President, Dr. Welch, ladies and gentlemen:

I am conscious of my indebtedness to my friends in America, who for the second time, with great kindness and understanding, have gratified one of my dear wishes. My work is very much my life, and I have been made happy by your generous support of it.

I feel deeply the importance of what has been said by the President of the United States about the value of pure science; this has been the creed of my life. Scientific research has its great beauty and its reward in itself; and so I have found happiness in my work.

It has been, however, an additional as well as an unexpected happiness to know that my work could be used for relief in human suffering.

I do not believe that I deserve all the praise that has been given me, but I highly value the friendly feeling expressed by the President and by Dr. Welch.

Mr. President, in my native land your name is revered for having saved, by your humanitarian work, a large part of the young generation. Your kind work of today will add to the gratitude of the Polish people toward you.

In accepting this precious gift, which will hasten the opening of the radium institute in Warsaw, I offer you and my American friends my most profound thanks. My laboratory in Paris will keep in close relation to the Warsaw institute, and I will like to remember the American gifts of radium to me as a symbol of enduring friendship binding your country to France and to Poland.

White House Statement on Senate Inaction on Tariff Legislation

October 31, 1929

THE PRESIDENT was visited yesterday by a number of Senators, all of whom called at their own suggestions, and presented to him the grave situation that has arisen by delays in tariff legislation. They called attention to the fact that the Senate has had the tariff bill since June, with 15 schedules to work out, and has not yet completed schedule 1. It was pointed out that a large amount of important legislation must be undertaken at the regular session which would be prevented by carrying the debate into the next session. Some of the Senators considered progress hopeless as it appeared to them that the coalition intended to delay or defeat legislation, or did not intend to give adequate protection to industry. Others felt that some understanding should be attempted among Senate leaders by which the bill could be sent into conference with the House at an early date.

The President said, as he has uniformly stated his position, that campaign promises should be carried out by which adequate protection should be given to agriculture and to the industries where the changes in economic situation demand their assistance. He stated that he could not believe and, therefore, would not admit that the United States Senate was unable to legislate and that the interests of the country required that legislation should be completed during the special session.

The President has declined to interfere or to express any opinion on the details of rates or any compromise thereof, as it is obvious that, if for no other reason, he could not pretend to have the necessary information in respect to many thousands of different commodities which such determination requires, but he pointed out that the wide differences of opinion and the length of the discussions in the Senate were themselves ample demonstration of the desirability of a real flexible clause in order that injustice in rates could be promptly corrected by scientific and impartial investigation and put in action without such delays as the present discussions give proof. He urged the Republican leaders to get together and see if they could not expedite the early completion of the schedules and thus send the bill to conference with the House within the next 2 weeks.

NOTE: The President's engagements calendar indicates that he was visited on October 30 by Senators Charles S. Deneen and Arthur H. Vandenberg and Representatives Willis C. Hawley and Ruth B. Owen. Each saw the President separately.

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Message on the Forget-Me-Not Campaign of the Disabled American Veterans
October 31, 1929

[Released October 31, 1929. Dated September 7, 1929]

My dear Mr. Murphy:

The work of the Disabled American Veterans in relieving distress amongst those still suffering from the effects of war service is most praiseworthy, and I trust that your annual Forget-Me-Not campaign will bring forth a generous response from the public.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. William J. Murphy, National Commander, Disabled American Veterans, Munsey Building, Washington, D.C.]

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Message for a Testimonial Dinner Honoring Dr. Fred B. Smith

October 31, 1929

[Released October 31, 1929. Dated October 30, 1929]

My dear Mr. Stelzle:

I regret that duties here make it impossible for me to be present at the testimonial dinner to Dr. Fred B. Smith, and I wish that you would please express for me my great admiration for Dr. Smith's character and appreciation of his outstanding services to the religious life of the world during his forty years of intense activity.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Charles Stelzle, Metropolitan Tower, One Madison Avenue, New York City]

NOTE: Dr. Fred B. Smith was the moderator of the National Council of Congregational Churches, and he also served as chairman of the executive committee of the World Alliance for International Friendship. The President's letter was read at a testimonial dinner held at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City.

The President's News Conference of
November 1, 1929

COMMISSION TO ATTEND CEREMONIES IN ICELAND

THE PRESIDENT. I have very little of general public interest at this time. Some of the special public will be interested in the appointment of the commission to attend the celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of the Althing in Iceland, and I have requested Senator [Peter] Norbeck, Congressman [O.B.] Burtness, Mr. [Frederick H.] Fljozdal, Mr. [O.P.B.] Jacobson, and Mr. [Sveinbjorn] Johnson to become members of that commission, all of which you will find set out in a mimeographed sheet.

APPOINTMENT OF G. AARON YOUNGQUIST

I have to announce today the appointment of Mr. Youngquist to the Department of Justice, and I only wanted to say that we have had some delay in that appointment because of the unwillingness of Mr. Youngquist to come for some considerable time. It has taken a certain amount of persuasion to induce him to leave his present position to come into the Federal Government, which accounts for most of our delay in filling the position. I am glad he has been able finally to accept. Other than that I have no startling news.

NOTE: President Hoover's sixty-second news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, November 1, 1929.

The White House released brief biographical information on the appointees to the commission representing the United States at the 1,000th anniversary of the Icelandic Althing (Parliament) with lists of endorsers. The commission was also to present to the people of Iceland a statue of Leif Ericsson.

A biographical sketch of G. Aaron Youngquist, who was nominated for the post of Assistant Attorney General in charge of prohibition and taxation, was also released.

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Message to President Florencio H. Arosemena on Panama's Independence Day
November 4, 1929

[Released November 4, 1929. Dated November 3, 1929]

ON BEHALF of my fellow-countrymen and in my own name I send to Your Excellency cordial felicitations on the occasion of this auspicious anniversary.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency Florencio H. Arosemena, The President of Panama, Panama City]

THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC CONDITION

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't anything of any news here to announce.

I thought perhaps you might like that I discuss the business situation with you just a little, but not from the point of view of publication at all – simply for your own information. I see no particular reasons for making any public statements about it, either directly or indirectly.

The question is one somewhat of analysis. We have had a period of overspeculation that has been extremely widespread, one of those waves of speculation that are more or less uncontrollable, as evidenced by the efforts of the Federal Reserve Board, and that ultimately results in a crash due to its own weight. That crash was perhaps a little expedited by the foreign situation, in that one result of this whole phenomenon has been the congestion of capital in the loan market in New York in the driving up of money rates all over the world.

The foreign central banks having determined that they would bring the crisis to an end, at least so far as their own countries were concerned, advanced money rates very rapidly in practically every European country in order to attract capital that had drifted from Europe into New York, back into their own industry and commerce. Incidentally, the effect of increasing discount rates in Europe is much greater on their business structure than it is with us. Our business structure is not so sensitive to interest rates as theirs is. So their sharp advancement of discount rates tended to affect this market, and probably expedited or even started this movement. But once the movement has taken place we have a number of phenomena that rapidly develop. The first is that the domestic banks in the interior of the United States, and corporations, withdraw their money from the call market.

There has been a very great movement out of New York into the interior of the United States, as well as some movement out of New York into foreign countries. The incidental result of that is to create a difficult situation in New York, but also to increase the available capital in the interior. In the interior there has been, in consequence, a tendency for interest rates to fall at once because of the unemployed capital brought back into interior points.

Perhaps the situation might be clearer on account of its parallel with the last very great crisis, 1907–1908. In that crash the same drain of money immediately took place into the interior. In that case there was no Federal Reserve System. There was no way to acquaint of capital movement over the country, and the interest rates ran up to 300 percent. The result was to bring about a monetary panic in the entire country.

Here with the Federal Reserve System and the activity of the Board, and the ability with which the situation has been handled, there has been a complete isolation of the stock market phenomenon from the rest of the business phenomena in the country. The Board, in cooperation with the banks in New York, has made ample capital available for the call market in substitution of the withdrawals. This has resulted in a general fall of interest rates, not only in the interior, but also in New York, as witness the reduction of the discount rate. So that instead of having a panic rise in interest rates with monetary rise following it, we have exactly the reverse phenomenon – we have a fallen interest rate. That is the normal thing to happen when capital is withdrawn from the call market through diminution in values.

The ultimate result of it is a complete isolation of the stock market phenomenon from the general business phenomenon. In other words, the financial world is functioning entirely normal and rather more easily today than it was 2 weeks ago, because interest rates are less and there is more capital available.

The effect on production is purely psychological. So far there might be said to be from such a shock some tendency on the part of people through alarm to decrease their activities, but there has been no cancellation of any orders whatsoever. There has been some lessening of buying in some of the luxury contracts, but that is not a phenomenon itself.

The ultimate result of the normal course of things would be that with a large release of capital from the speculative market there will be more capital available for the bond and mortgage market. That market has been practically starved for the last 4 or 5 months. There has been practically no – or very little at least – of mortgage or bond money available, practically no bond issues of any consequence. One result has been to create considerable reserves of business. A number of States have not been able to place their bonds for construction; a number of municipalities with bond issues have been held up because of the inability to put them out at what they considered fair rates. There are a great number of business concerns that would

proceed with their activities in expansion through mortgage and bond money which have had to delay. All of which comprises a very substantial reserve in the country at the present time. The normal result will be for the mortgage and bond market to spring up again and those reserves to come in with increased activities.

The sum of it is, therefore, that we have gone through a crisis in the stock market, but for the first time in history the crisis has been isolated to the stock market itself. It has not extended into either the production activities of the country or the financial fabric of the country, and for that I think we may give the major credit to the constitution of the Federal Reserve System.

And that is about a summary of the whole situation as it stands at this moment.

NOTE: President Hoover's sixty-third news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, November 5, 1929.

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Letter of Apology to Senator Hiram Johnson

November 6, 1929

My dear Mr. Senator:

I was greatly distressed to learn from the press last night that you did not receive an invitation to the dinner given at the White House for Ambassadors Dawes and Guggenheim, to which the members of the Foreign Relations Committee who were in the city or available, were invited. Directions to send out the invitations were given on Monday and in the hurried telephoning to Senators and settlement of other details an inadvertence occurred somewhere.

I am most deeply pained that such an accident should have happened, with such an apparent lack of courtesy, and I hope you will accept my assurances that it was due entirely to a mistake which is most deeply regretted by all of us.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[The Honorable Hiram Johnson, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The text of the letter was released after it had been personally delivered to Senator Johnson by one of the President's secretaries.

The President's News Conference of
November 8, 1929

ARMISTICE DAY SPEECH

THE PRESIDENT. I have sent the Armistice Day speech to the printer, and you will have it this evening, I think – obviously for release on next Tuesday.

PRELIMINARY FIGURES FOR THE 1931 BUDGET

We have the preliminary figures in for the budget, and I thought that might interest you – that is, for the budget for 1931.

It is a little difficult to make comparisons, but the original appropriations for the year 1929–30, that is, the present fiscal year, together with the deficiency appropriations and other sums available, amount to \$3,941 million in round numbers, and in addition to that \$150 million capital for the Farm Board.

The budget for 1931 in round numbers, that is the next fiscal year, is \$3,830 million, but does not include provision of further capital for the Farm Board, as they have not been able so far to make an estimate. It does include their administration expenditures. Those figures, that is, \$3,941 million for the present fiscal year, and \$3,830 million for the next fiscal year are on the same basis, because I have taken the Farm Board out of the first and have not put it in the second. In other words, the amount for the present fiscal year is \$3,941 million, plus the \$150 million for the Farm Board, and the estimate for 1931 is \$3,831 million but does not include any capital for the Farm Board.

The budget will provide for an increase of expenditures on the waterways and flood control of about \$10 million directly, and indirectly the construction of those works benefits by the completion of the Ohio to the extent of \$4 or \$5 million, which gives somewhere in the neighborhood of \$15 million applicable in addition to the normal on the waterways. In order to get that clear, we have increased the rivers and harbors appropriation by \$5 million, and have increased the flood control by \$5 million, which makes \$10 million, and we have the benefit of the transfer of Ohio expenditures, which allows us to expedite other works to the extent of about \$15 million over and above this present fiscal year.

The budget provides for the full 5-year increment to the Army aviation program – next year being the 5th year in the 5-year program as established by Congress. There has been some lag in appropriations for that program during the last 4 years, and we are proposing to take up this lag in the year following, that is the 6th year, if Congress approves, but we are not attempting to take up the whole lag in the 5th year.

We ought to have the completely detailed figures for you in the course of about a week. But I thought that preliminary might be of some interest.

And that is all I have on my mind.

NOTE: President Hoover's sixty-fourth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, November 8, 1929.

Armistice Day Address

November 11, 1929

My fellow countrymen:

Eleven years have gone by since the day of the armistice, when the guns ceased firing. It was a day of thanksgiving that marked the ending of the shambles of the trenches. For us it will be remembered always as a day of pride; pride in the memory of those who suffered and of those who made the last sacrifice of life in that great cause; pride in the proven valour of our Army and Navy; pride in the greatness of our national strength; pride in the high purpose for which we entered the war; and pride that we neither wanted nor got from it anything of profit for ourselves. Those stirring memories will always remain, and on each Armistice Day will glow again.

From the war we have two paramount obligations. We owe to those who suffered and yet lived an obligation of national assistance, each according to his need. We owe it to the dead that we redeem our promise that their sacrifice would help bring peace to the world. The Nation will discharge its obligations.

The men who fought know the real meaning and dreadfulness of war. No man came from that furnace a swashbuckling militarist. Those who saw its realities and its backwash in the sacrifice of women and children are not the men who glorify war. They are the men who pray for peace for their children. But they rightly demand that peace be had without the sacrifice of our independence or of those principles of justice without which civilization must fail.

Such a sacrifice of freedom and justice is the one calamity greater than war. The task of statesmen is to build a road to peace which avoids both of these calamities. This road requires preparedness for defense; it equally requires preparedness for peace.

The world today is comparatively at peace. The outlook for a peaceable future is more bright than for half a century past. Yet after all it is an armed peace. The men under arms including active reserves in the world are almost 30 million in number, or nearly 10 million more than before the Great War. Due to the Washington Arms Conference and the destruction of the German navy, the combatant ships in the world show some decrease since the war. But aircraft and other instruments of destruction are far more potent than they were even in the Great War. There are fears, distrusts, and smoldering injuries among nations which are the tinder of war. Nor does a single quarter of a century during all the ages of human experience warrant the assumption that war will not occur again.

Gloomy as this picture may be, yet we can say with truth that the world is becoming more genuinely inclined to peace; that the forces of imperial domination and aggression, of fear and suspicion are dying down; that they are being replaced with the desire for security and peaceful development. The old objectives of tortuous diplomacy are being replaced with frank and open relations directed to peace. There is no more significant step in this progress than the solemn covenant that civilized nations have now entered, to renounce war and to settle disputes by pacific means. It is this realignment of the mind of the world that gives the hope of peace.

But peace is not a static thing. To maintain peace is as dynamic in its requirements as is the conduct of war. We can not say "Let there be peace" and go about other business. Nor are the methods by which peace is to be maintained and war prevented to be established by slogans or by abstract phrases or by academic theory. Progress toward peace can be attained only as a result of realistic practical daily conduct amongst nations. It can be the result only of a frank recognition of forces which may disturb peace. For instance, we must realize that our industrial life, our employment, our comfort, and our culture depend greatly upon our interchange of goods and ideas with other nations. We must realize that this interchange cannot be carried on unless our citizens are flung into every quarter of the globe and the citizens of every other nation are represented in our country.

We must realize that some of them will get into trouble somewhere. Certainly their troubles will multiply if other nations are at war. We have an obligation and every other nation has an obligation to see to the protection of their lives, and that justice is done to them so long as they comply with the laws of the countries in which they reside. From all these relationships frictions and controversies will arise daily.

By our undertaking under the Kellogg Pact, to use only pacific means to settle such controversies as these, we have again reaffirmed the doctrine enunciated by that farsighted statesman, Mr. Elihu Root, in his famous declaration at Rio de Janeiro in 1907. At that time he announced that we would not use war or warlike means to enforce or collect upon private business contracts. It is our settled policy.

But there are other more deep-seated and more dangerous forces which produce friction and controversy than these eruptions over the rights of citizens. We must realize that there are many unsolved problems of boundaries between nations. There are peoples aspiring to a greater measure of self-government. There are the fears of invasion and domination bequeathed to all humanity from its former wars. There are a host of age-old controversies whose specters haunt the world, which at any time may touch the springs of fear and ill will.

We must frankly accept the fact, therefore, that we and all the nations of the world will be involved, for all future time, in small or great controversies and frictions arising out of all of these multiple causes. In these controversies lurks the subtle danger that national temper at any moment may become a heat and that emotion may rise to the flaming point. Therefore, peace must be the result of unceasing endeavor.

I have said that recently we have covenanted with other civilized nations not only to renounce war as an instrument of national policy but also we have agreed that we shall settle all controversies by pacific means. But the machinery for pacific settlement of disputes among nations is, as yet, inadequate. We need to strengthen our own provisions for it. Our State Department is the first of these means. It must be strengthened and supported as the great arm of our Government, dedicated to the organization of peace. We need further to extend our treaties with other countries providing methods for reference of controversies to conference, to inquiry as to fact, or to arbitration, or to judicial determination. We have need to define the rules of conduct of nations and to formulate an authoritative system of international law. We have need under proper reservations to support the World Court in order that we may secure judicial determination of certain types of controversies and build up precedents which add to the body of international law. By these agencies we relegate a thousand frictions to orderly processes of settlement and by deliberation in action we prevent their development into national inflammation.

We are also interested that other nations shall settle by pacific means the controversies arising between them. From every selfish point of view the preservation of peace among other nations is of interest to the United States. In such wars we are in constant danger of entanglement because of interference with the widespread activities of our citizens. But of far more importance than this, our ideals and our hopes are for the progress of justice through the entire world. We desire to see all humanity relieved of the hideous blight of war and of the cruelties and injustices that lead to war. We are interested in all methods that can be devised to assure the settlement of all controversies between nations.

There are today two roads to that end. The European nations have, by the covenant of the League of Nations, agreed that if nations fail to settle their differences peaceably then force should be applied by other nations to compel them to be reasonable. We have refused to travel this road. We are confident that at least in the Western Hemisphere public opinion will suffice to check violence. This is the road we propose to travel. What we urgently need in this direction is a further development of methods for reference of unsettled controversies to joint inquiry by the parties assisted by friendly nations, in order that action may be stayed and that the aggressor may be subjected to the searchlight of public opinion.

And we have another task equally great as the settlement of incidental controversies. We must, where opportunity offers, work steadfastly to remove the deeper causes and frictions which lead to disputes and ill will. One of those causes is competition in armament. In order to stir a nation to the expenditures and burdens of increased armament, some danger and some enemy must be envisaged. Fears and distrust must be used as a goad to stir the Nation forward to competitive effort. No one denies that the maintenance of great armament is a burden upon the backs of all who toil. The expenditure for it curtails vast projects of human betterment which governments might undertake. Every man under arms means that some other man must bear an extra burden somewhere. But a greater cost is the ill will resulting from rivalry between nations in construction of armaments.

It is first and foremost to rid ourselves of this danger that I have again initiated naval negotiations. I have full confidence in the success of the conference which will assemble next January. In setting up this conference we have already agreed with Great Britain that there shall be a parity in naval strength between us. I am in hopes that there will be a serious reduction in navies as a relief to the economic burdens of all peoples. And I believe that men and women throughout the world demand such reduction. We must reduce and limit warships by agreement only. I have no faith in the reduction of armaments by example alone.

Until such time as nations can build the agencies of pacific settlement on stronger foundations; until fear, the most dangerous of all national emotions, has been proved groundless by long proof of international honesty; until the power of world public opinion as a restraint of aggression has had many years of test, there will not have been established that confidence which warrants the abandonment of preparedness for defense among nations. To do so may invite war.

I am for adequate preparedness as a guaranty that no foreign soldier shall ever step upon the soil of our country.

Our Nation has said with millions of voices that we desire only defense. That is the effect of the covenant we have entered into, not to use war as an instrument of national policy. No American will arise today and say that we wish one gun or one armed man beyond that necessary for the defense of our people. To do so would create distrust in other nations, and also would be an invitation to war. Proper defense requires military strength relative to that of other nations. We will reduce our naval strength in proportion to any other. Having said that, it only remains for the others to say how low they will go. It can not be too low for us.

There is another of these age-old controversies which stir men's minds and their fears. That is the so-called freedom of the seas. In reality in our day it is simply the rights of private citizens to trade in time of war, for there is today complete freedom of the seas in times of peace. If the world succeeds in establishing peaceful methods of settlement of controversies, the whole question of trading rights in time of war becomes a purely academic discussion. Peace is its final solution.

But I am going to have the temerity to put forward an idea which might break through the involved legal questions and age-old interpretations of right and wrong by a practical step which would solve a large part of the intrinsic problem. It would act as a preventive as well as a limitation of war. I offer it only for the consideration of the world. I have not made it a governmental proposition to any nation and do not do so now. I know that any wide departure from accepted ideas requires long and searching examination. No idea can be perfected except upon the anvil of debate. This is not a proposition for the forthcoming naval conference, as that session is for a definite purpose, and this proposal will not be injected into it.

For many years, and born of a poignant personal experience, I have held that food ships should be made free of any interference in times of war. I would place all vessels laden solely with food supplies on the same footing as hospital ships. The time has come when we should remove starvation of women and children from the weapons of warfare.

The rapid growth of industrial civilization during the past half century has created in many countries populations far in excess of their domestic food supply and thus steadily weakened their natural defenses. As a consequence, protection for overseas or imported supplies has been one of the most impelling causes of increasing naval armaments and military alliances. Again, in countries which produce surplus food their economic stability is also to a considerable degree dependent upon keeping open the avenues of their trade in the export of such surplus, and this again stimulates armament on their part to protect such outlets.

Thus, the fear of an interruption in seaborne food supplies has powerfully tended toward naval development in both importing and exporting nations. In all important wars of recent years, to cut off or to protect such supplies has formed a large element in the strategy of all combatants. We cannot condemn any one nation; almost all who have been engaged in war have participated in it. The world must sooner or later recognize this as one of the underlying causes of its armed situation, but, far beyond this, starvation should be rejected among the weapons of warfare.

To those who doubt the practicability of the idea, and who insist that agreements are futile for the purpose of controlling conduct in war, I may point out that the Belgian Relief Commission delivered more than 2,000 shiploads of food through two rings of blockade and did it under neutral guarantees continuously during the whole World War. The protection of food movements in time of war would constitute a most important contribution to the rights of all parties, whether neutrals or belligerents, and would greatly tend toward lessening the pressure for naval strength. Foodstuffs comprise about 25 percent of the commerce of the world but would constitute a much more important portion of the trade likely to be interfered with by a blockade.

Men of good will throughout the world are working earnestly and honestly to perfect the equipment and preparedness for peace. But there is something high above and infinitely more powerful than the work of all ambassadors and ministers, something far more powerful than treaties and the machinery of arbitration and conciliation and judicial decision, something more vital than even our covenants to abolish war, something more mighty than armies and navies in defense.

That is to build the spirit of good will and friendliness, to create respect and confidence, to stimulate esteem between peoples – this is the far greatest guaranty of peace. In that atmosphere, all controversies become but passing incidents of the day. Nor does this friendliness, respect, and esteem come to nations who behave weakly or supinely. It comes to those who are strong but who use their strength not in arrogance or injustice. It is through these means that we establish the sincerity, the justice, and the dignity of a great people. That is a new vision of diplomacy that is dawning in the world.

The colossal power of the United States overshadows scores of freedom-loving nations. Their defense against us is a moral defense. To give to them confidence that with the high moral sense of the American people this defense is more powerful than all armies or navies, is a sacred duty which lies upon us.

It has been my cherished hope to organize positively the foreign relations of the United States on this high foundation and to do it in reality, not simply in diplomatic phrases. The establishment of that relationship is vastly more important than the mere settlement of the details of any of our chronic international problems. In such pure air and in that alone can both sides with frankness and candor present their points of view and either find just formulas for settlement, or, alternatively, agree to disagree until time finds a solution. We have in recent years heard a vast chatter of enmity and criticism both within and without our borders where there is no real enmity and no conflict of vital interest and no unsolvable controversy.

It is a homely parallel but equally true that relations between nations are much like relations between individuals. Questions which arise between friends are settled as the passing incidents of a day. The very same questions between men who distrust and suspect each other may lead to enmity and conflict.

It was in this endeavor that I visited the Presidents of the South American Republics. That is why I welcomed the visit of the Prime Minister of Great Britain to the United States.

All these men have talked of their problems in a spirit charged with the gravest responsibility, not only for our own relations but for the peace and safety of the world. We have thought out loud together, as men cannot think in diplomatic notes. We made no commitments. We drove no discussion to final conclusion. We explored the areas of possible constructive action and possible controversy. We examined the pitfalls of international relations frankly and openly. With this wider understanding of mutual difficulties and aspirations we can each in our own sphere better contribute to broaden good will, to assist those forces which make for peace in the world, to curb those forces which make for distrust. Thereby do we secure the imponderable yet transcendent spiritual gains which come from successful organization of peace and confidence in peace. That is why I have endeavored to meet the leaders of their nations, for I have no fear that we are not able to impress every country with the single-minded good will which lies in the American heart.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:30 p.m. in the Washington Auditorium, at ceremonies sponsored by the American Legion. His address was broadcast. The President was introduced to the audience of several thousand by Maj. Osee L. Bodenhamer, national commander of the American Legion. After delivering his address, he broke with custom by remaining to hear Major Bodenhamer's address.

As printed above, this item follows an advance text issued by the White House.

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Message to the Annual Convention of the Mississippi Valley Association

November 11, 1929

My dear Mr. Dawes:

Will you please extend my cordial greetings to the delegates attending the convention of the Mississippi Valley Association. Their consistent support of a forward-looking policy of internal waterway improvement is a valuable force in preparing for an ever-increasing prosperity of a vast section of our country.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The message was sent to William R. Dawes, president, Mississippi Valley Association, 511 Locust Street, St. Louis, Mo., and was read to the 11th annual convention of the association meeting in St. Louis.

The President's News Conference of
November 12, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have no demands from your side – either verbal request or written or otherwise. I have just said I have no production ready for delivery on my side, so I am afraid we haven't anything to go on with.

I am sorry, but I think you have got enough to do to keep you busy today.

NOTE: President Hoover's sixty-fifth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, November 12, 1929.

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**Message to the Seventh Annual Convention
of the American Institute of Steel Construction**
November 12, 1929

[Released November 12, 1929. Dated November 11, 1929]

I EXTEND to you my very best wishes for a successful and enjoyable meeting. Your accomplishments in establishing standards of material and practices and in promoting safety in construction deserve general recognition and are assurance of further progressive measures to be expected of your useful association.

NOTE: The message was sent to Charles F. Abbott, director, American Institute of Steel Construction, Edgewater Gulf Hotel, Biloxi, Miss., and published in a pamphlet entitled "Report of Proceedings 1929 Annual Convention-American Institute of Steel Construction, Inc., November 12-16, 1929."

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Message for the Annual Membership Drive of the American Red Cross

November 13, 1929

[Released November 13, 1929. Dated November 12, 1929]

BOTH as President of the United States and as President of the American Red Cross, I earnestly bespeak the cooperation of every American citizen in the great humanitarian work of the Red Cross. Its prompt efficiency in time of disaster, and its continuing service in numerous less spectacular but no less important tasks of relief, make it an indispensable part of our national life. Every American should be a member, and I urge all to enroll.

HERBERT HOOVER

The President's News Conference of
November 15, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I have a number of questions that bear chiefly on the business situation. I have some other questions, but I will confine myself to that one subject this time.

CONFERENCES OF BUSINESS LEADERS AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS

I have during the last week been engaged in numerous conferences with important business leaders and public officials with view to coordination of business and governmental agencies in concerted action for continued business progress.

I am calling the middle of next week a small preliminary conference of representatives of industry and agriculture and labor to meet with the Secretaries of the Treasury, Commerce, Labor, and Agriculture, and the Chairman of the Federal Farm Board to develop some concerted definite steps.

For instance, one of the results of the speculative period through which we passed in recent months has been the diversion of capital from the security market with the consequent lagging in the construction work of the country. The postponement of construction during these past months not only in buildings but in railways and public utilities, and in municipal, State, and Federal public works creates a fairly definite reserve that permits of prompt action in expansion. And that situation is further assured by the very strong cash position of the industries throughout the country.

The magnificent work of the Federal Reserve System, and the inherently sound condition of the banks has already brought about a decrease in interest rates and the assurance of abundant capital, and it is the first time such a result has been so speedily attained in any other similar circumstance.

Market booms develop acute overoptimism and with a corresponding reverse into acute pessimism. They are equally unjustified, and the sad thing about that all is the number of unfortunate people that are drawn into the vortex with the loss of their savings and reserves. But any lack of confidence in the economic future and the basic strength of business in the United States is simply foolish. Our national capacity for hard work and intelligent cooperation is ample guaranty of the future of the United States.

My own experience, however, has been that words are of no very great importance in times of economic disturbance. It is action that counts. The action of the Federal Reserve Board in establishing credit stability, ample capital, the confidence of the administration in undertaking tax reduction, with the cooperation of both political parties, speaks a good deal stronger than any number of statements.

The next practical step is to organize coordinated and forward movement in business through the revival of the construction industries, the stimulation of exports and other legitimate directions of business expansion, and to do it in concert with the full use of our powers to assist agriculture. Fortunately sound sense and the ability for cooperative action amongst business leaders and Government agencies make all those things possible.

Q. Has the date for the conference been decided upon?

THE PRESIDENT. Middle of next week.

Q. Mr. President, will any persons who would be qualified to speak for State and municipal projects be called in?

THE PRESIDENT. It is very difficult to find such a person. We have collected a good deal of information as to the volume of those construction activities which are held in reserve which we can develop at this conference, but it is difficult to find anybody to speak for them as a whole.

Q. The idea is to bring them in?

THE PRESIDENT. Ultimately. This will be a preliminary conference to work out a plan. And that is all I have today.

NOTE: President Hoover's sixty-sixth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, November 15, 1929. The White House also issued a text of the President's statement announcing a series of conferences with representatives of business, industry, agriculture, and labor (see Item 281).

Statement Announcing a Series of Conferences With
Representatives of Business, Industry, Agriculture, and Labor
November 15, 1929

THE PRESIDENT said:

"I have during the past week engaged in numerous conferences with important business leaders and public officials with a view to the coordination of business and governmental agencies in concerted action for continued business progress.

"I am calling for the middle of next week a small preliminary conference of representatives of industry, agriculture, and labor to meet with the Secretaries of the Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, together with the Chairman of the Federal Farm Board to develop certain definite steps.

"For instance, one of the results of the speculative period through which we have passed in recent months has been the diversion of capital into the security market, with consequent lagging of the construction work in the country. The postponement of construction during the past months, including not only buildings, railways, merchant marine, and public utilities, but also Federal, State, and municipal public works, provides a substantial reserve for prompt expanded action. The situation is further assured by the exceptionally strong cash position of the large manufacturing industries of the country.

"The magnificent working of the Federal Reserve System and the inherently sound condition of the banks have already brought about a decrease in interest rates and an assurance of abundant capital – the first time such a result has been so speedily achieved under similar circumstances.

"In market booms we develop overoptimism with a corresponding reverse into over pessimism. They are equally unjustified but the sad thing is that many unfortunate people are drawn into the vortex of these movements with tragic loss of savings and reserves. Any lack of confidence in the economic future or the basic strength of business in the United States is foolish. Our national capacity for hard work and intelligent cooperation is ample guaranty of the future.

"My own experience has been, however, that words are not of any great importance in times of economic disturbance. It is action that counts. The establishment of credit stability and ample capital through the Federal Reserve System and the demonstration of the confidence of the administration by undertaking tax reduction with the cooperation of both political parties, speak more than words.

"The next practical step is the organizing and coordinating of a forward movement of business through the revival of construction activities, the stimulation of exports and of other legitimate business expansion, especially to take such action in concert with the use of our new powers to assist agriculture. Fortunately, the sound sense, the capacity and readiness for cooperation of our business leaders and governmental agencies give assurance of action."

NOTE: As part of the new series of conferences, the President met on November 19 with a group of railway executives. The White House issued the following statement on the meeting:

A preliminary conference was held at the White House today, November 19, with the railway presidents, mostly of the eastern territory, at which were present:

THE PRESIDENT

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY,

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,

MR. RICHARD H. AISHTON, president, American Railway Association,

MR. W. W. ATTERBURY, president, Pennsylvania Railroad Company,

MR. J. J. BERNET, president, Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company,

MR. P. E. CROWLEY, president, New York Central Lines,

MR. AGNEW T. DICE, president, Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company,

MR. FAIRFAX HARRISON, president, Southern Railway Company,

MR. L. F. LOREE, president, Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company,

MR. JEREMIAH MILBANK, Southern Railway Company,

MR. J. J. PELLELY, president, New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company,

MR. FRED W. SARGENT, railway representative upon United States Chamber of Commerce; president, Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company

MR. DANIEL WILLARD, president, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company (Mr. Willard was unable to be present because of an attack of bronchitis),

MR. JULIUS BARNES, chairman of the board, United States Chamber of Commerce

MR. HALE HOLDEN, chairman of the executive committee, The Southern Pacific Railroad Company,

MR. WILLIAM BUTTERWORTH, president, United States Chamber of Commerce.

The railway presidents were unanimous in their determination to cooperate in the maintenance of employment and business progress. It was stated that the railways which they represented would proceed with full programs of construction and betterments without any reference to recent stock exchange fluctuations; that they would canvass the situation as to further possibilities of expansion, and that amongst these particular railways it appeared that the total volume of such construction work already indicated an increase during the next 6 months over the similar period of last year.

It was agreed that the whole question should be taken up at the meeting of the railway executives convening in Chicago next Friday, with view to securing cooperation of all railways in the United States in such [a] program. At that time steps will be taken to canvass the railways to determine the exact amount of construction and betterments which can be undertaken over the forthcoming year and during the next 6 months.

The railway executives felt that it was desirable that similar conferences should be called in other industrial groups, and that some method of coordination of their different activities should be developed.

The President's News Conference of
November 19, 1929

MEETING WITH RAILWAY EXECUTIVES

[George Akerson opened the news conference by reading a statement for the President on the President's conference with railway executives, held earlier on the same day. See Item 281 note.]

THE PRESIDENT. That will be given to you mimeographed. There is something in the background of this that I would like to talk to you about, and not for publication or anything of that character.

THE ECONOMY AND PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

We are dealing here with a psychological situation to a very considerable degree. It is a question of fear. We have had a collapse in the stock market, out of which a good many people have lost money, and a lot of people who could not afford to, and a lot of unfortunate people have been brought in, the effect of which in the American mind creates an undue state of alarm, because our national thinking naturally goes back to previous occasions when events of that character have had a very considerable bearing upon the business situation, and in its final interpretation it is employment.

Now, a great many people lifted their standards of living, and naturally the effect of such a thing tends to decrease consumption particularly for luxury and semi-luxury, and those trades are no doubt still affected.

But this occasion so far differs from all others in that the credit situation in the country is entirely isolated from it due to the Federal Reserve and the banks, and there is no credit consideration involved. But the natural recovery of increased interest rates by the withdrawal of capital from speculative securities takes that capital ultimately back into industry and commerce. It is ordinarily the tendency of industrial leaders and everyone else to sit back to see what happens and to be a little more cautious in his business than he might otherwise have been that we have to deal with.

We have also to deal naturally with some unemployment in the semi-necessity trades. But the real problem and the interpretation of it is one of maintenance of employment. This is not a question of bolstering stock markets or stock prices or anything of that kind. We are dealing with the vital question of maintaining employment in the United States and consequently the comfort and standard of living of the people and their ability to buy goods and proceed in the normal course of their lives. So that the purpose of this movement is to disabuse the public mind of the notion that there has been any serious or vital interruption in our economic system, and that it is going to proceed in the ordinary, normal manner, and to get that impression over not by preachment and talks but by definite and positive acts on the part of industry and business and the Government and others. As I said before, I do not believe that words ever convince a discouraged person in these situations. The thing that brings him back is courage and the natural sight of other industries and other men going ahead with their programs and business.

So I wanted you to get that background upon it all, because it seriously concerns the press to give the confidence to the public that the business fabric is now organizing itself, taking steps on its own responsibility to carry on; that it is going to go even farther and stretch itself to meet any possible condition of employment is the thing that will give courage to the public rather than to say to them every day that they should not be alarmed. So that I am trying to get this problem across by action in different industries and other groups rather than by too much talking, and, therefore, I don't want to talk about it. I want the action to speak for itself. These conclusions are not a statement from me. That is the conclusion of those men who were present.

NOTE: President Hoover's sixty-seventh news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon Tuesday, November 19, 1929.

Statement on the Death of Secretary of War James W. Good

November 19, 1929

THE PRESIDENT said:

"The passing of Secretary Good removes a devoted public official. For most of his mature life he served the Nation, earning the highest esteem for his abilities, his fine integrity and his courageous spirit. But the first thoughts of those who knew and loved him are not of his public service. It is for his loyal and stir-effacing friendship that thousands remember him; and that affectionate association is now broken."

Telegram Inviting Industry and Labor Leaders to Conferences at the White House
November 20, 1929

[Released November 20, 1929. Dated November 19, 1929]

I WOULD appreciate it if you could make it convenient to attend a small conference at this office at ten o'clock Thursday morning in matters connected with my public statement last Saturday.

HERBERT HOOVER

[Philip H. Gadsden, President, Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, Philadelphia, Pa.]

NOTE: The White House released the text of the telegram to Philip H. Gadsden, president, Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, Philadelphia, Pa. Similar telegrams were sent to other industry and labor leaders across the country.

On November 21, the President met in the morning with leaders from major industries and in the afternoon with labor representatives. The White House issued lists of those expected to attend the meetings, as well as the following statements:

The conference this morning of 22 industrial and business leaders warmly endorsed the President's statement of last Saturday as to steps to be taken in the progress of business and the maintenance of employment. The general situation was thoroughly canvassed, and it was the unanimous opinion of the conference that there was no reason why business should not be carried on as usual; that construction work should be expanded in every prudent direction both public and private so as to cover any slack of unemployment. It was found that a preliminary examination of a number of industries indicated that construction activities can in 1930 be expanded even over 1929. It was stated, for instance, that the telephone company was proposing to assist by a considerable expansion in their construction and betterment program over the year 1929, during which year this company expended something in the neighborhood of \$600 million for this purpose. It appeared that the power, gas, and other public utilities could undertake a program in excess of 1929, the details of which would be developed at a special meeting of the leaders in the industry to be called, after which the program would be announced. The leaders in the automobile industry expressed the opinion that whereas in 1929 production was unusually large due to the carryover of a great deal of unfinished business from the previous year, they confidently expected that except for this excessive margin the industry should quickly return to its normal production. In the steel industry it was stated that large construction programs would be undertaken for replacement of antiquated and obsolete plants.

It was considered that the absorption of capital in loans on the stock market had postponed much construction and that the flow of this capital back to industry and commerce would now assist renewed construction.

It was the opinion that an indirect but very substantial contribution could be made to the extension of credit for local building purposes and for conduct of smaller business if the banks would freely avail themselves of the rediscount privilege offered by the Federal Reserve Banks.

The meeting considered it was desirable that some definite organization should be established under a committee representing the different industries and sections of the business community, which would undertake to follow up the President's program in the different industries.

It was considered that the development of cooperative spirit and responsibility in the American business world was such that the business of the country itself could and should assume the responsibility for the mobilization of the industrial and commercial agencies to those ends and to cooperate with the governmental agencies.

The members of the group agreed to act as a temporary advisory committee with the Secretary of Commerce who was authorized to add to the committee. Mr. Julius Barnes, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, was asked to create an executive committee from members of this group and the various trade organizations who could assist in expansion of construction and maintenance of employment. A definite canvass will be made of the different industrial fields to develop the amount of such construction.

The President was authorized by the employers who were present at this morning's conference to state on their individual behalf that they will not initiate any movement for wage reduction, and it was their strong recommendation that this attitude should be pursued by the country as a whole. They considered that aside from the human considerations involved, the consuming power of the country will thereby be maintained.

The President was also authorized by the representatives of labor to state that in their individual views and as their strong recommendation to the country as a whole, that no movement beyond those already in negotiation should be initiated for increase of wages, and that every cooperation should be given by labor to industry in the handling of its problems.

The purpose of these declarations is to give assurance that conflicts should not occur during the present situation which will affect the continuity of work, and thus to maintained stability of employment.

The President's News Conference of
November 22, 1929

CONFERENCE WITH INDUSTRY REPRESENTATIVES

THE PRESIDENT. I am sorry that I haven't anything of any great consequence at this moment.

Just for your own information, the problem that we have been at work on for the last few days is largely a question of work in each industry. The railway people, as you know, are meeting today in Chicago. The three different groups of public utilities – that is, the electrical power people and the street railway people and the gas people are meeting on Tuesday to see what construction programs they can definitely assure for next year.

Q. Is that in New York?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is – yes.

And then other industries will be taken up. We have, as you saw yesterday, in the Chamber of Commerce at least, laid the foundation for a sort of an executive committee amongst the industries to follow up and organize each one of them in turn, and further than that we haven't gotten at the moment.

We probably will hear something from the railway people in the course of today or tomorrow. The construction industries that we are having some discussion with this afternoon are largely on the question of information. They are the people who do the work, but do not produce the construction, so there is nothing of great national importance. It is largely a question of information from our point of view as to what the situation actually is in different segments of the industry. So far as they themselves are concerned, they are merely service organizations, so there will be nothing very startling out of that conference.

Other than that, I haven't anything.

NOTE: President Hoover's sixty-eighth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, November 22, 1929.

On the same day, the White House issued a list of construction industry representatives expected to attend the President's conference.

RAILWAY EXECUTIVES IN CHICAGO

Also on November 22, an announcement was issued of a message to the President on the Chicago meeting of railway executives, as follows:

The President has received the following message from R. H. Aishton, president of the American Railway Association, meeting in Chicago today:

"The railway executives who were called into conference by you at Washington last Tuesday have, as you requested, communicated to their associate executives at the meeting held today in Chicago, the views you expressed to them in respect to maintaining stability and promoting prosperity in business and I am authorized to give you the assurance of their very sincere and earnest spirit of cooperation in the work you have undertaken. These executives in their associations represent approximately 97 percent of the total operating revenues and approximately 91 percent of the total railway mileage in the United States. They realize the national importance to the social and economic well being of the country of business stability and prosperity and their duty so to discharge their transportation responsibilities as to make their service harmonize with the wisest and most intelligent judgment and plans for the public welfare. The program of capital expenditures already arranged for is impressive, amounting up to October 1st of this year to \$1,247,792,000 for Class 1 railways, of which \$673,972,000 remained on that date to be expended. This figure of \$1,247,792,000 compares with a capital program of \$902,307,000 for the same period of 1928, an increase of over 38 percent. The number of freight cars on order on October 1st was 29,481, a greater figure than on the corresponding date in any year since 1924 and this number has been increased as of November 1st to 33,642, which is an increase of 27,561 compared with the same date a year ago. On October 1st there were 354 locomotives on order, as compared with 113 on the same date in 1928 and 134 in 1927. There are also now on order approximately one and one half million tons of steel rails for delivery beginning early in 1930. It is estimated that this will be increased by orders for approximately one million additional tons which would make the rail deliveries in 1930 approximately 2,500,000 tons and substantially in excess of last year. Not believing that there is anything in existing conditions to require it

the executives have no purpose whatever to reduce or abandon any part of this program. They are proceeding with confidence in the future business prosperity of the country and in reliance upon the full cooperation of industry in all its branches equally interested under these circumstances. It is their hope and expectation to proceed on at least a normal basis in their future capital and maintenance expenditures. A movement to increase them, however, has been started and is being actively and intelligently pressed forward. In respect to your desire to organize a committee of contact for the various industries and with a view of harmonizing and stimulating constructive work, resolutions were adopted at this meeting designating me as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Association of Railway Executives, to act for the railways as a means of keeping them in touch with other industrial groups and with developments as they occur; and I was requested to assure you of the willingness of the Executives to assemble and make serviceable, through competent agencies, current figures with respect to capital expenditures and other available information that may be desired."

This program will assure larger employment in the railway equipment industry next year than in 1929 and a very substantial addition to the railway demands for steel.

AGRICULTURAL REPRESENTATIVES

On November 25, the President continued his series of conferences by meeting with representatives of national agricultural organizations. The White House issued the following statement by the Secretary of Agriculture:

"The representatives of the four national agricultural organizations canvassed the situation with the President. As representing such organizations they expressed themselves in hearty accord with the President's program for stabilizing the general industrial situation and securing the continuance of prosperity.

"The general opinion expressed was that confidence has been gaining in agriculture and that the morale of agriculture is now better than it has been for years past. Except in short crop areas there has been genuine improvement in agriculture and an increased income and therefore an increased buying power this year.

"The representatives assembled considered that agriculture has suffered and is now suffering to some extent, from high interest rates induced by the absorption of credit for speculative purposes. They felt that a concerted action by the credit agencies of the government is now possible, and that such action would reflect back to agriculture the lower interest rate. It was also the opinion of the conferees that the savings which might thus be made to agriculture by the lower interest rates would immediately be reflected back into the markets through the purchase of necessary equipment and supplies for the farm.

"The conferees also favored an immediate extension of the road program with special emphasis of farm-to-market roads. The opinion also was expressed that agricultural prices which had suffered in sympathetic action in the stock market have now begun to recover, and that the efforts of the Farm Board in stabilizing those prices has been very helpful.

"The representatives of agriculture present also pledged support to cooperate in every possible way in the support of the President's program for stabilizing the industrial situation and mobilizing the economic power of agriculture."

PUBLIC UTILITY INDUSTRY

On November 27, the White House issued the following statements in connection with the President's meeting with representatives of the public utility industry:

Mr. Matthew Sloane, president of the National Electric Light Association, made the following combined statement of expenditures on behalf of all the utilities:

"The electric light and power, manufactured and natural gas, and electric railway utilities contemplate the expenditure of \$1,400,000,000 during 1930 for new construction and expansion of facilities, an increase over the corresponding expenditures for 1929 of \$110,000,000.

"In addition to this amount, they will spend to maintain existing properties \$410,000,000.

"The following statement by the National Electric Light Association was also presented by Mr. Sloane:

"The electric light and power utility companies of the country contemplate an expenditure during 1930 of \$865,000,000 for expansion of their facilities, an increase of \$65,000,000 over corresponding expenditures for 1929. This does not include expenditures for maintenance.

"The programs provide for expansion and development in all sections of the United States.

"The electric utilities must maintain themselves in a position to meet increasing demands for service as they develop, and they, therefore, plan their construction well in advance.

"The plans for 1930 are completed, large commitments have already been entered into, and many contracts for equipment and material have been placed. Careful consideration of existing conditions has justified this expansion in anticipation of the growing requirements of industry for power, and consumers generally for increased electric service."

The following statement by the American Gas Association was presented by B. J. Mullaney, its president:

"The American Gas Association Statistical Department estimates that expenditures for construction by the manufactured and natural gas industry of the United States in 1930 will aggregate approximately \$425,000,000, an increase of about 6 percent over the corresponding expenditures in 1929. An additional \$50,000,000 will be expended to maintain existing service facilities.

"The construction estimate is based primarily upon budget provisions already formulated for 1930 by companies representing the major part of gas production and distribution in the United States. The conclusions thus indicated have been checked against the factual experience of the industry for many years, as well as against current observation and information, and have been correspondingly strengthened.

"Gas industry growth, while unspectacular, has been marked and steady for upwards of twenty years. The latter part of the period has been its time of most rapid gain. Complete statistical reports for nine months, and covering upwards of 85 percent of the output, indicate that the total output for 1929 should be about nine percent ahead of the 1928 total.

"Construction programs have to anticipate this growth, as well as provide for the consequences of new trends and changing conditions, such as more and more large-volume industrial use of gas; accelerated use for additional domestic purposes, including house heating; increased density of population and use where large apartment houses supplant single-family dwellings. Expansion is further stimulated by the growing popular recognition of gaseous fuel advantages and by the research that develops better utilization.

"In the natural gas branch of the industry, the existence of vast known reserves, coupled with large increases in production, is making long distance transmission economically practicable to a degree not anticipated a few years ago. Development along this line will undoubtedly continue for many years.

"These and collateral facts, trends and factors have been coordinated with obvious necessities in estimating the construction requirements of the industry for 1930. The net results, as summed up in the first sentence of this statement, have been reviewed by officers of the larger gas producing and distributing companies, assembled for that purpose at A. G. A. Headquarters in New York yesterday, and have been approved as a reasonable forecast.

"The customer contacts and day-to-day experiences of the companies represented in the conference reflect no disturbing change in business conditions or trends. They suggest no reason at this time for curtailing the contemplated expenditures for the construction and extension of gas service facilities. On the contrary, it is conceivable that cheaper money, as predicted by many forecasters in economics, might accelerate construction especially on the natural gas side of the industry."

The following statement for the Electric Railways of the country was presented by J. N. Shannahan of Omaha, acting for Paul Shoup, who was absent:

"A canvass of the electric railway companies of the United States, comprising street car, rapid transit, interurban and bus lines handling approximately 16 billion passengers annually, indicates that 97% of the executives responding to our inquiry do not anticipate that the present stock market situation will affect their capital and maintenance expenditures during the coming year.

"This survey, made at the suggestion of Paul Shoup, President of the American Electric Railway Association, who is unfortunately unable to attend this conference due to his presence on the Pacific Coast, indicates that this industry which during 1929 is spending approximately \$1,000,000 a day for

maintenance, betterments and extensions, expects to maintain or exceed this rate of expenditure during 1930.

"At a meeting held at the Association's headquarters in New York on November 26, 1929, representative executives of companies operating in various parts of the country expressed their confidence in the business outlook and their desire to cooperate with President Hoover in every possible way in his effort to stabilize and insure the continued progress and development of business. Analysis of the transportation situation in a number of large cities indicates that as progress is made in bringing about better public understanding of the economic problems involved, improvement in credit will permit considerable increases in capital expenditures to be made for expansion of facilities."

J. N. SHANNAHAN, Omaha & Council Bluffs St., R., Chairman of Advisory Council A.E.R.A.

THOMAS N. MCCARTER, Public Service Corp. of New Jersey, past president A.E.R.A

J. P. BARNES, Louisville Railway Co., past president A.E.R.A

L. S. STORRS, United Railways & Elect. Co., Baltimore, past president A.E.R.A

J. H. HANNA, Capital Traction Co., Washington, D.C. 1st vice president A.E.R.A.

G. A. RICHARDSON, Chicago Surface Lines, 2nd vice-president, A.E.R.A

W. A. DRAPER, Cincinnati Street Railway, 4th vice-president A.E.R.A

Telegrams to Governors Urging Stimulation of Public Works To Aid the Economy*November 23, 1929*

WITH VIEW to giving strength to the present economic situation and providing for the absorption of any unemployment which might result from present disturbed conditions, I have asked for collective action of industry in the expansion of construction activities and in stabilization of wages. As I have publicly stated, one of the largest factors that can be brought to bear is that of the energetic yet prudent pursuit of public works by the Federal Government and state, municipal, and county authorities.

The Federal Government will exert itself to the utmost within its own province and I should like to feel that I have the cooperation of yourself and the municipal, county, and other local officials in the same direction. It would be helpful if road, street, public building and other construction of this type could be speeded up and adjusted in such fashion as to further employment.

I would also appreciate it if your officials would canvass the state, municipal, and county programs and give me such information as you can as to the volume of expenditure that can be prudently arranged for the next twelve months and for the next six months and inform me thereof.

I am asking Secretary Lamont of the Department of Commerce to take in hand the detailed measures of cooperation with you which may arise in this matter.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The White House also released telegrams to the President from the Governor of Arizona and the mayors of Philadelphia, Pa., and St. Paul, Minn., offering cooperation. Over the next several days, responses to the November 23 telegram from the various Governors were made public.

Statement on the Death of Senator Francis E. Warren

November 24, 1929

THE PRESIDENT issued the following statement on the death of Senator Francis E. Warren:

"Senator Warren began his public service with 4 years as a private and officer in the Civil War. Mayor of his city, Governor of his State, Senator for nearly 40 years, every stage of his life was marked by increasing industry and by devotion to national welfare. His span of life covers a generation fast passing, among whose leaders he played a great part and to whom we of this generation owe much of our splendid inheritance."

NOTE: Francis E. Warren was the first Governor of the State of Wyoming. He was elected as a Republican to the United States Senate and served from 1890 to 1893 and from 1895 until his death on November 24, 1929.

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Message to President Gaston Doumergue of France on the Death of Georges Clemenceau
November 24, 1929

CLEMENCEAU was a great patriot. His unselfish love of country inspired his fellow men. He was a valiant advocate of peace who knew how to meet nobly the tragedy of war. His death, which brings mourning to France, is deeply regretted by men of good will in all nations. I send you, Mr. President, this expression of my profound sympathy and that of the American people.

HERBERT HOOVER

[Monsieur Gaston Doumergue, President of France, Paris]

Letter in Reply to a Suggestion for a National Conference of Retail Merchants
November 25, 1929

[Released November 25, 1929. Dated November 22, 1929]

My dear Mr. Liberman:

I have received your kind telegram of November 21st. I wish to express my appreciation of your kind suggestion. I will give it most careful consideration as the situation develops.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Meyer Liberman, Arnold Constable & Company, New York City, N.Y.]

NOTE: The President's letter was in response to Meyer Liberman's telegram of November 21, 1929, suggesting a retail merchants' conference. Mr. Liberman's telegram follows:

The retail establishments, including the department stores of this country, do business amounting into billions and give employment to hundreds of thousands of men and women. Any unsettling of this phase of American commercial life is bound to intensify pessimism and endanger the business stability of this country.

May I urge that such a conference be held under your auspices at the earliest moment for the purpose of appealing to merchants, manufacturers and others to refrain from canceling orders, reducing working staffs and curtailing buying and advertising appropriations?

The retail business is the crux of America's commercial life and the cooperation of the merchants of this country would go far toward reestablishing the present impaired confidence.

The President's News Conference of
November 26, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I am afraid this is a dry day. I have been pretty busy trying to get out a message yesterday and this morning, so that I haven't had much time to think about anything else.

There is no news about the business arrangements that you don't already know, so I am afraid I am very little help this morning.

THANKSGIVING DAY PLANS

Q. Have you any plans for Thanksgiving, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Nothing more than to eat a wild turkey that somebody sent in and decide what is to be done with five other turkeys that have arrived. Other than that we haven't anything in view.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

Q. When do you expect to have the message, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I expect to give you some advance on it if I can make it. I think it will be delivered on Thursday, so Tuesday I hope to get it out. Friday at the latest (it will be delivered).

I can't help you any more than that.

NOTE: President Hoover's sixty-ninth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, November 26, 1929.

The President's first State of the Union address was delivered to the Congress on Tuesday, December 3, 1929 (see Item 295).

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Message on the Award of the National Academy of Design Medal to Elihu Root
November 26, 1929

[Released November 26, 1929. Dated November 13, 1929]

My dear Mr. Gilbert:

I am gratified to learn that the gold medal of the National Academy of Design is to be presented to the Honorable Elihu Root. His contributions to the beautification of Washington are large, and have done much to further the growing interest of the Federal Government in the fine arts as one of the great cultural influences in our country. Recognition of these services by the National Academy of Design is not only a deserved tribute to Mr. Root, but is likewise an inspiration to all who practice and all who appreciate the fine arts.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Cass Gilbert, President, National Academy of Design, 244 Madison Avenue, New York City]

NOTE: The President's message was read by Cass Gilbert during a ceremony held at the Fine Arts Building in New York City.

The President's News Conference of
November 29, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I am expecting Mr. Byrd to fill your columns in the morning, so that I won't have to do anything for you today.

THE PRESS AND PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

There is a purely personal note that I wanted to sound with you about this business situation – not for publication. All of you have been extremely helpful, and the press, in fact, has I think, performed one of the most unique services that has been undertaken in a great many years, in a general restoration of confidence.

The handling of public psychology in a problem of this kind, however, is a little difficult. If we overdo our job we may create a sense that the situation is more serious than it really is. There is always a very difficult point of balance, and I only wanted to make a minor suggestion to you, and that is that hereafter if you could confine yourselves merely to the statement of the things that actually happen; that when the government and municipalities and various sources report that they have gone out to do something, that would be the most helpful form of news on the subject. So far as our activities are concerned, we have developed an organization in the Department of Commerce to cooperate with the State and municipal and Federal Government so far as public works are concerned. And the Chamber of Commerce, as you know, is developing an executive committee to coordinate the work in the business world. These two organizations will follow up and see that those things take place that have been promised to us.

And I am anxious that our form of news be not so much any exaggerated statement of items as it is a definite statement of accomplishment without overdoing the situation. There is a delicate balance in it, but I will leave that to you. We probably won't arrive either way 100 percent, but we will get somewhere with it.

I am making that suggestion to you. It is not my intention to lecture the press on what they should do, but you have shown a cooperative spirit in this problem of nationwide importance, and I merely make this suggestion on the form of news. It is not censorship.

COMMANDER BYRD

Q. Have you heard from Commander Byrd?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't had a word. I am in hopes he will give you something to fill the papers with in the morning, successfully.

NOTE: President Hoover's seventieth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, November 29, 1929.

Comdr. Richard E. Byrd had taken off from Little America on November 28 for a flight to the South Pole.

Message Congratulating Commander Richard E. Byrd on His Flight Over the South Pole
November 29, 1929

To Commander Byrd:

I know that I speak for the American people when I express their universal pleasure at your successful flight over the South Pole. We are proud of your courage and your leadership. We are glad of proof that the spirit of great adventure still lives.

Our thoughts include also appreciation of your companions in flight and your colleagues, whose careful and devoted preparation has contributed to your great success.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The President's message was given to the New York Times for transmission by radio to Commander Byrd. On the following afternoon, the President read the message, edited to refer to Commander Byrd in the third person, for newsreel Cameras.

The President's News Conference of
December 3, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. This being the day that you get 10 or 15 columns from me I do not believe I can adequately add anything to it, so we had better hold in reserve any news we have here until we run dry.

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE BUDGET

I have had here for some months a sort of a personal budget that I thought might be of interest to you after you have done with the budget message, and I will have the tables gotten out and released to you. It is a reconsideration of Government expenditures on a more understandable basis than that on which we have to present the departmental budgets.

The budget as it goes to Congress, of course, is built up by departments, and not by the particular purpose for which expenditures of the Government are made. For instance, each department has regulatory functions, and these are functions in aid of different purposes throughout the country, and does not give as clear a vision of the operations of the Government as constituted for the purposes for which the expenditure is made. So I thought – not for publication – but I will release it to you as soon as we get it mimeographed – probably let you have it for release on Thursday after you are done with the normal budget. It will probably give the public a better understanding as to what all these figures are about.

Q. Will we get that this afternoon, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. This afternoon or tomorrow morning.

NOTE: President Hoover's seventy-first news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, December 3, 1929.

For the President's listing of Federal Government appropriations grouped on a functional basis, see Item 296 note.

State of the Union

December 3, 1929

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The Constitution requires that the President "shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." In complying with that requirement I wish to emphasize that during the past year the Nation has continued to grow in strength; our people have advanced in comfort; we have gained in knowledge; the education of youth has been more widely spread; moral and spiritual forces have been maintained; peace has become more assured. The problems with which we are confronted are the problems of growth and of progress. In their solution we have to determine the facts, to develop the relative importance to be assigned to such facts, to formulate a common judgment upon them, and to realize solutions in spirit of conciliation.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

We are not only at peace with all the world, but the foundations for future peace are being substantially strengthened. To promote peace is our long-established policy. Through the Kellogg-Briand pact a great moral standard has been raised in the world. By it fifty-four nations have covenanted to renounce war and to settle all disputes by pacific means. Through it a new world outlook has been inaugurated which has profoundly affected the foreign policies of nations. Since its inauguration we have initiated new efforts not only in the organization of the machinery of peace but also to eliminate dangerous forces which produce controversies amongst nations.

In January, 1926, the Senate gave its consent to adherence to the Court of International Justice with certain reservations. In September of this year the statute establishing the court has, by the action of the nations signatory, been amended to meet the Senate's reservations and to go even beyond those reservations to make clear that the court is a true international court of justice. I believe it will be clear to everyone that no controversy or question in which this country has or claims an interest can be passed on by the court without our consent at the time the question arises. The doubt about advisory opinions has been completely safeguarded. Our adherence to the International Court is, as now constituted, not the slightest step toward entry into the League of Nations. As I have before indicated, I shall direct that our signature be affixed to the protocol of adherence and shall submit it for the approval of the Senate with a special message at some time when it is convenient to deal with it.

In the hope of reducing friction in the world, and with the desire that we may reduce the great economic burdens of naval armament, we have joined in conference with Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan to be held in London in January to consider the further limitation and reduction of naval arms. We hold high hopes that success may attend this effort.

At the beginning of the present administration the neighboring State of Mexico was best with domestic insurrection. We maintained the embargo upon the shipment of arms to Mexico but permitted the duly constituted Government to procure supplies from our surplus war stocks. Fortunately, the Mexican Government by its own strength successfully withstood the insurrection with but slight damage. Opportunity of further peaceful development is given to that country. At the request of the Mexican Government, we have since lifted the embargo on shipment of arms altogether. The two governments have taken further steps to promote friendly relationships and so solve our differences. Conventions prolonging for a period of two years the life of the general and special claims commissions have been concluded.

In South America we are proud to have had part in the settlement of the long-standing dispute between Chile and Peru in the disposal of the question of Tacna-Arica.

The work of the commission of inquiry and conciliation between Bolivia and Paraguay, in which a representative of this Government participated, has successfully terminated an incident which seemed to threaten war. The proposed plan for final settlement as suggested by the neutral governments is still under consideration.

This Government has continued its efforts to act as a mediator in boundary difficulties between Guatemala and Honduras.

A further instance of profound importance in establishing good will was the inauguration of regular air mail service between the United States and Caribbean, Central American, and South American countries.

We still have marines on foreign soil – in Nicaragua, Haiti, and China. In the large sense we do not wish to be represented abroad in such manner. About 1,600 marines remain in Nicaragua at the urgent request of that government and the leaders of all parties pending the training of a domestic constabulary capable of insuring tranquility. We have already reduced these forces materially and we are anxious to withdraw them further as the situation warrants. In Haiti we have about 700 marines, but it is a much more difficult problem, the solution of which is still obscure. If Congress approves, I shall dispatch a commission to Haiti to review and study the matter in an endeavor to arrive at some more definite policy than at present. Our forces in China constitute 2,605 men, which we hope also further to reduce to the normal legation guard.

It is my desire to establish more firmly our understanding and relationships with the Latin American countries by strengthening the diplomatic missions to those countries. It is my hope to secure men long experienced in our Diplomatic Service, who speak the languages of the peoples to whom they are accredited, as chiefs of our diplomatic missions in these States. I shall send to the Senate at an early date the nominations of several such men.

The Congress has by numerous wise and foresighted acts in the past few years greatly strengthened the character of our representation abroad. It has made liberal provision for the establishment of suitable quarters for our foreign staffs in the different countries. In order, however, that we may further develop the most effective force in this, one of the most responsible functions of our Government, I shall recommend to the Congress more liberal appropriations for the work of the State Department. I know of no expenditure of public money from which a greater economic and moral return can come to us than by assuring the most effective conduct of our foreign relations.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

To preserve internal order and freedom from encroachment is the first purpose of government. Our Army and Navy are being maintained in a most efficient state under officers of high intelligence and zeal. The extent and expansion of their numbers and equipment as at present authorized are ample for this purpose.

We can well be deeply concerned, however, at the growing expense. From a total expenditure for national defense purposes in 1914 of \$267,000,000, it naturally rose with the Great War, but receded again to \$612,000,000 in 1924, when again it began to rise until during the current fiscal year the expenditures will reach to over \$730,000,000, excluding all civilian services of those departments. Programs now authorized will carry it to still larger figures in future years. While the remuneration paid to our soldiers and sailors is justly at a higher rate than that of any other country in the world, and while the cost of subsistence is higher, yet the total of our expenditures is in excess of those of the most highly militarized nations of the world.

Upon the conference shortly to be held in London will depend such moderation as we can make in naval expenditure. If we shall be compelled to undertake the naval construction implied in the Washington arms treaty as well as other construction which would appear to be necessary if no international agreement can be completed, we shall be committed during the next six years to a construction expenditure of upward of \$1,200,000,000 besides the necessary further increase in costs for annual upkeep.

After 1914 the various Army contingents necessarily expanded to the end of the Great War and then receded to the low point in 1924, when expansion again began. In 1914 the officers and men in our regular forces, both Army and Navy, were about 164,000, in 1924 there were about 256,000, and in 1929 there were about 250,000. Our citizens' army, however, including the National Guard and other forms of reserves, increase these totals up to about 299,000 in 1914, about 672,000 in 1924, and about 728,000 in 1929.

Under the Kellogg pact we have undertaken never to use war as an instrument of national policy. We have, therefore, undertaken by covenant to use these equipments solely for defensive purposes. From a defense point of view our forces should be proportioned to national need and should, therefore, to some extent be modified by the prospects of peace, which were never brighter than to-day.

It should be borne in mind that the improvement in the National Guard by Federal support begun in 1920 has definitely strengthened our national security by rendering them far more effective than ever heretofore. The advance of aviation has also greatly increased our effectiveness in defense. In addition to the very large program of air forces which we are maintaining in the Army and Navy, there has been an

enormous growth of commercial aviation. This has provided unanticipated reserves in manufacturing capacity and in industrial and air personnel, which again adds to our security.

I recommend that Congress give earnest consideration to the possibilities of prudent action which will give relief from our continuously mounting expenditures.

FINANCES OF THE GOVERNMENT

The finances of the Government are in sound condition. I shall submit the detailed evidences and the usual recommendations in the special Budget message. I may, however, summarize our position. The public debt on June 30 this year stood at \$16,931,000,000, compared to the maximum in August, 1919, of \$26,596,000,000. Since June 30 it has been reduced by a further \$238,000,000. In the Budget to be submitted the total appropriations recommended for the fiscal year 1931 are \$3,830,445,231, as compared to \$3,976,141,651 for the present fiscal year. The present fiscal year, however, includes \$150,000,000 for the Federal Farm Board, as to which no estimate can as yet be determined for 1931.

Owing to the many necessary burdens assumed by Congress in previous years which now require large outlays, it is with extreme difficulty that we shall be able to keep the expenditures for the next fiscal year within the bounds of the present year. Economies in many directions have permitted some accommodation of pressing needs, the net result being an increase, as shown above, of about one-tenth of 1 per cent above the present fiscal year. We can not fail to recognize the obligations of the Government in support of the public welfare but we must coincidentally bear in mind the burden of taxes and strive to find relief through some tax reduction. Every dollar so returned fertilizes the soil of prosperity.

TAX REDUCTION

The estimate submitted to me by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Budget Director indicates that the Government will close the fiscal year 1930 with a surplus of about \$225,000,000 and the fiscal year 1931 with a surplus of about \$123,000,000. Owing to unusual circumstances, it has been extremely difficult to estimate future revenues with accuracy.

I believe, however, that the Congress will be fully justified in giving the benefits of the prospective surpluses to the taxpayers, particularly as ample provision for debt reduction has been made in both years through the form of debt retirement from ordinary revenues. In view of the uncertainty in respect of future revenues and the comparatively small size of the indicated surplus in 1931, relief should take the form of a provisional revision of tax rates.

I recommend that the normal income tax rates applicable to the incomes of individuals for the calendar year 1929 be reduced from 5, 3, and 1 ½ per cent, to 4, 2, and ½ per cent, and that the tax on the income of corporations for the calendar year 1929 be reduced from 12 to 11 per cent. It is estimated that this will result in a reduction of \$160,000,000 in income taxes to be collected during the calendar year 1930. The loss in revenue will be divided approximately equally between the fiscal years 1930 and 1931. Such a program will give a measure of tax relief to the maximum number of taxpayers, with relatively larger benefits to taxpayers with small or moderate incomes.

FOREIGN DEBTS

The past year has brought us near to completion of settlements of the indebtedness of foreign governments to the United States.

The act of Congress approved February 4, 1929, authorized the settlement with the Government of Austria along lines similar to the terms of settlement offered by that Government to its other relief creditors. No agreement has yet been concluded with that government, but the form of agreement has been settled and its execution only awaits the Government of Austria securing the assent by all the other relief creditors of the terms offered. The act of Congress approved February 14, 1929, authorized the settlement with the Government of Greece, and an agreement was concluded on May 10, 1929.

The Government of France ratified the agreement with us on July 27, 1929. This agreement will shortly be before the Congress and I recommend its approval.

The only indebtedness of foreign governments to the United States now unsettled is that of Russia and Armenia.

During the past year a committee of distinguished experts under American leadership submitted a plan looking to a revision of claims against Germany by the various Governments. The United States denied

itself any participation in the war settlement of general reparations and our claims are comparatively small in amount. They arise from costs of the army of occupation and claims of our private citizens for losses under awards from the Mixed Claims Commission established under agreement with the German Government. In finding a basis for settlement it was necessary for the committee of experts to request all the Governments concerned to make some contribution to the adjustment and we have felt that we should share a proportion of the concessions made.

The State and Treasury Departments will be in a position shortly to submit for your consideration a draft of an agreement to be executed between the United States and Germany providing for the payments of these revised amounts. A more extensive statement will be submitted at that time.

The total amount of indebtedness of the various countries to the United States now funded is \$11,579,465,885. This sum was in effect provided by the issue of United States Government bonds to our own people. The payments of the various Governments to us on account of principal and interest for 1930 are estimated at a total of about \$239,000,000, for 1931 at about \$236,000,000, for 1932 at about \$246,000,000. The measure of American compromise in these settlements may be appreciated from the fact that our taxpayers are called upon to find annually about \$475,000,000 in interest and in addition to redeem the principal of sums borrowed by the United States Government for these purposes.

ALIEN ENEMY PROPERTY

The wise determination that this property seized in war should be returned to its owners has proceeded with considerable rapidity. Of the original seized cash and property (valued at a total of about \$625,000,000), all but \$111,566,700 has been returned. Most of the remainder should be disposed of during the next year.

GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

The country has enjoyed a large degree of prosperity and sound progress during the past year with a steady improvement in methods of production and distribution and consequent advancement in standards of living. Progress has, of course, been unequal among industries, and some, such as coal, lumber, leather, and textiles, still lag behind. The long upward trend of fundamental progress, however, gave rise to over-optimism as to profits, which translated itself into a wave of uncontrolled speculation in securities, resulting in the diversion of capital from business to the stock market and the inevitable crash. The natural consequences have been a reduction in the consumption of luxuries and semi-necessities by those who have met with losses, and a number of persons thrown temporarily out of employment. Prices of agricultural products dealt in upon the great markets have been affected in sympathy with the stock crash.

Fortunately, the Federal reserve system had taken measures to strengthen the position against the day when speculation would break, which together with the strong position of the banks has carried the whole credit system through the crisis without impairment. The capital which has been hitherto absorbed in stock-market loans for speculative purposes is now returning to the normal channels of business. There has been no inflation in the prices of commodities; there has been no undue accumulation of goods, and foreign trade has expanded to a magnitude which exerts a steadying influence upon activity in industry and employment.

The sudden threat of unemployment and especially the recollection of the economic consequences of previous crashes under a much less secured financial system created unwarranted pessimism and fear. It was recalled that past storms of similar character had resulted in retrenchment of construction, reduction of wages, and laying off of workers. The natural result was the tendency of business agencies throughout the country to pause in their plans and proposals for continuation and extension of their businesses, and this hesitation unchecked could in itself intensify into a depression with widespread unemployment and suffering.

I have, therefore, instituted systematic, voluntary measures of cooperation with the business institutions and with State and municipal authorities to make certain that fundamental businesses of the country shall continue as usual, that wages and therefore consuming power shall not be reduced, and that a special effort shall be made to expand construction work in order to assist in equalizing other deficits in employment. Due to the enlarged sense of cooperation and responsibility which has grown in the business world during the past few years the response has been remarkable and satisfactory. We have canvassed the Federal Government and instituted measures of prudent expansion in such work that should be helpful, and upon which the different departments will make some early recommendations to Congress.

I am convinced that through these measures we have reestablished confidence. Wages should remain stable. A very large degree of industrial unemployment and suffering which would otherwise have occurred has been prevented. Agricultural prices have reflected the returning confidence. The measures taken must be vigorously pursued until normal conditions are restored.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural situation is improving. The gross farm income as estimated by the Department of Agriculture for the crop season 1926–27 was \$12,100,000,000; for 1927–28 it was \$12,300,000,000; for 1928–29 it was \$12,500,000,000; and estimated on the basis of prices since the last harvest the value of the 1929–30 crop would be over \$12,650,000,000. The slight decline in general commodity prices during the past few years naturally assists the farmers' buying power.

The number of farmer bankruptcies is very materially decreased below previous years. The decline in land values now seems to be arrested and rate of movement from the farm to the city has been reduced. Not all sections of agriculture, of course, have fared equally, and some areas have suffered from drought. Responsible farm leaders have assured me that a large measure of confidence is returning to agriculture and that a feeling of optimism pervades that industry.

The most extensive action for strengthening the agricultural industry ever taken by any government was inaugurated through the farm marketing act of June 15 last. Under its provisions the Federal Farm Board has been established, comprised of men long and widely experienced in agriculture and sponsored by the farm organizations of the country. During its short period of existence the board has taken definite steps toward a more efficient organization of agriculture, toward the elimination of waste in marketing, and toward the upbuilding of farmers' marketing organizations on sounder and more efficient lines. Substantial headway has been made in the organization of four of the basic commodities – grain, cotton, livestock, and wool. Support by the board to cooperative marketing organizations and other board activities undoubtedly have served to steady the farmers' market during the recent crisis and have operated also as a great stimulus to the cooperative organization of agriculture. The problems of the industry are most complex, and the need for sound organization is imperative. Yet the board is moving rapidly along the lines laid out for it in the act, facilitating the creation by farmers of farmer-owned and farmer-controlled organizations and federating them into central institutions, with a view to increasing the bargaining power of agriculture, preventing and controlling surpluses, and mobilizing the economic power of agriculture.

THE TARIFF

The special session of Congress was called to expedite the fulfillment of party pledges of agricultural relief and the tariff. The pledge of farm relief has been carried out. At that time I stated the principles upon which I believed action should be taken in respect to the tariff:

"An effective tariff upon agricultural products, that will compensate the farmer's higher costs and higher standards of living, has a dual purpose. Such a tariff not only protects the farmer in our domestic market but it also stimulates him to diversify his crops and to grow products that he could not otherwise produce, and thus lessens his dependence upon exports to foreign markets. The great expansion of production abroad under the conditions I have mentioned renders foreign competition in our export markets increasingly serious. It seems but natural, therefore, that the American farmer, having been greatly handicapped in his foreign market by such competition from the younger expanding countries, should ask that foreign access to our domestic market should be regulated by taking into account the differences in our costs of production. * * *

"In considering the tariff for other industries than agriculture, we find that there have been economic shifts necessitating a readjustment of some of the tariff schedules. Seven years of experience under the tariff bill enacted in 1922 have demonstrated the wisdom of Congress in the enactment of that measure. On the whole it has worked well. In the main our wages have been maintained at high levels; our exports and imports have steadily increased; with some exceptions our manufacturing industries have been prosperous. Nevertheless, economic changes have taken place during that time which have placed certain domestic products at a disadvantage and new industries have come into being, all of which create the necessity for some limited changes in the schedules and in the administrative clauses of the laws as written in 1922.

"It would seem to me that the test of necessity for revision is, in the main, whether there has been a substantial slackening of activity in an industry during the past few years, and a consequent decrease of employment due to insurmountable competition in the products of that industry. It is not as if we were setting up a new basis of protective duties. We did that seven years ago. What we need to remedy now is whatever substantial loss of employment may have resulted from shifts since that time. * * *

"In determining changes in our tariff we must not fail to take into account the broad interests of the country as a whole, and such interests include our trade relations with other countries."

No condition has arisen in my view to change these principles stated at the opening of the special session. I am firmly of the opinion that their application to the pending revision will give the country the kind of a tariff law it both needs and wants. It would be most helpful if action should be taken at an early moment, more especially at a time when business and agriculture are both cooperating to minimize future uncertainties. It is just that they should know what the rates are to be.

Even a limited revision requires the consideration and readjustment of many items. The exhaustive inquiries and valuable debate from men representative of all parts of the country which is needed to determine the detailed rates must necessarily be accomplished in the Congress. However perfectly this rate structure may be framed at any given time, the shifting of economic forces which inevitably occurs will render changes in some items desirable between the necessarily long intervals of congressional revision. Injustices are bound to develop, such as were experienced by the dairymen, the flaxseed producers, the glass industry, and others, under the 1922 rates. For this reason, I have been most anxious that the broad principle of the flexible tariff as provided in the existing law should be preserved and its delays in action avoided by more expeditious methods of determining the costs of production at home and abroad, with executive authority to promulgate such changes upon recommendation of the Tariff Commission after exhaustive investigation. Changes by the Congress in the isolated items such as those to which I have referred would have been most unlikely both because of the concentrations of oppositions in the country, who could see no advantage to their own industry or State, and because of the difficulty of limiting consideration by the Congress to such isolated cases.

There is no fundamental conflict between the interests of the farmer and the worker. Lowering of the standards of living of either tends to destroy the other. The prosperity of one rests upon the well-being of the other. Nor is there any real conflict between the East and the West or the North and the South in the United States. The complete interlocking of economic dependence, the common striving for social and spiritual progress, our common heritage as Americans, and the infinite web of national sentiment, have created a solidarity in a great people unparalleled in all human history. These invisible bonds should not and can not be shattered by differences of opinion growing out of discussion of a tariff.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Under the provisions of various acts of Congress \$300,000,000 has been authorized for public buildings and the land upon which to construct them, being \$75,000,000 for the District of Columbia and \$225,000,000 for the country at large. Excluding \$25,000,000 which is for the acquisition of land in the so-called "triangle" in this city, this public building legislation provides for a five-year program for the District of Columbia and between an eight and nine year program for the country at large. Of this sum approximately \$27,400,000 was expended up to June 30 last, of which \$11,400,000 has been expended in the District and \$16,000,000 outside.

Even this generous provision for both the District of Columbia and the country is insufficient for most pressing governmental needs. Expensive rents and inadequate facilities are extravagance and not economy. In the District even after the completion of these projects we shall have fully 20,000 clerks housed in rented and temporary war buildings which can last but a little longer.

I therefore recommend that consideration should be given to the extension of authorizations both for the country at large and for the District of Columbia again distributed over a term of years. A survey of the need in both categories has been made by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Postmaster General. It would be helpful in the present economic situation if such steps were taken as would enable early construction work.

An expedition and enlargement of the program in the District would bring about direct economies in construction by enabling the erection of buildings in regular sequence. By maintaining a stable labor force in the city, contracts can be made on more advantageous terms.

The earlier completion of this program which is an acknowledged need would add dignity to the celebration in 1932 of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of President Washington.

In consideration of these projects which contribute so much to dignify the National Capital I should like to renew the suggestion that the Fine Arts Commission should be required to pass upon private buildings which are proposed for sites facing upon public buildings and parks. Without such control much of the effort of the Congress in beautification of the Capital will be minimized.

THE WATERWAYS AND FLOOD CONTROL

The development of inland waterways has received new impulse from the completion during this year of the canalization of the Ohio to a uniform 9-foot depth. The development of the other segments of the Mississippi system should be expedited and with this in view I am recommending an increase in appropriations for rivers and harbors from \$50,000,000 to \$55,000,000 per annum which, together with about \$4,000,000 per annum released by completion of the Ohio, should make available after providing for other river and harbor works a sum of from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000 per annum for the Mississippi system and thus bring it to early completion.

Conflict of opinion which has arisen over the proposed floodway from the Arkansas River to the Gulf of Mexico via the Atchafalaya River has led me to withhold construction upon this portion of the Mississippi flood control plan until it could be again reviewed by the engineers for any further recommendation to Congress. The other portions of the project are being vigorously prosecuted and I have recommended an increase in appropriations for this from \$30,000,000 of the present year to \$35,000,000 during the next fiscal year.

Expansion of our intracoastal waterways to effective barge depths is well warranted. We are awaiting the action of Canada upon the St. Lawrence waterway project.

HIGHWAYS

There are over 3,000,000 miles of legally established highways in the United States, of which about 10 per cent are included in the State highway systems, the remainder being county and other local roads. About 626,000 miles have been improved with some type of surfacing, comprising some 63 per cent of the State highway systems and 16 per cent of the local roads. Of the improved roads about 102,000 miles are hard surfaced, comprising about 22 per cent of the State highway systems and about 8 per cent of the local roads.

While proper planning should materially reduce the listed mileage of public roads, particularly in the agricultural districts, and turn these roads back to useful purposes, it is evident that road construction must be a long-continued program. Progress in improvement is about 50,000 miles of all types per annum, of which some 12,000 miles are of the more durable types. The total expenditures of Federal, State, and local governments last year for construction and maintenance assumed the huge total of \$1,660,000,000.

Federal aid in the construction of the highway systems in conjunction with the States has proved to be beneficial and stimulating. We must ultimately give consideration to the increase of our contribution to these systems, particularly with a view to stimulating the improvement of farm-to-market roads.

POST OFFICE

Our Post Office deficit has now increased to over \$80,000,000 a year, of which perhaps \$14,000,000 is due to losses on ocean mail and air mail contracts. The department is making an exhaustive study of the sources of the deficit with view to later recommendation to Congress in respect to it.

The Post Office quarters are provided in part by the Federal construction, in part by various forms of rent and lease arrangements. The practice has grown up in recent years of contracting long term leases under which both rent and amortization principal cost of buildings is included. I am advised that fully 40 per cent could be saved from many such rent and lease agreements even after allowing interest on the capital required at the normal Government rate. There are also many objectionable features to some of these practices. The provision of adequate quarters for the Post Office should be put on a sound basis.

A revision of air mail rates upon a more systematic and permanent footing is necessary. The subject is under study, and if legislation should prove necessary the subject will be presented to the Congress. In the meantime I recommend that the Congress should consider the desirability of authorizing further expansion of the South American services.

COMMERCIAL AVIATION

During the past year progress in civil aeronautics has been remarkable. This is to a considerable degree due to the wise assistance of the Federal Government through the establishment and maintenance of airways by the Department of Commerce and the mail contracts from the Post Office Department. The Government-improved airways now exceed 25,000 miles – more than 14,000 miles of which will be lighted and equipped for night-flying operations by the close of the current year. Airport construction through all the States is extremely active. There are now 1,000 commercial and municipal airports in operation with an additional 1,200 proposed for early development.

Through this assistance the Nation is building a sound aviation system, operated by private enterprise. Over 6,400 planes are in commercial use, and 9,400 pilots are licensed by the Government. Our manufacturing capacity has risen to 7,500 planes per annum. The aviation companies have increased regular air transportation until it now totals 90,000 miles per day – one-fourth of which is flown by night. Mail and express services now connect our principal cities, and extensive services for passenger transportation have been inaugurated, and others of importance are imminent. American air lines now reach into Canada and Mexico, to Cuba, Porto Rico, Central America, and most of the important countries of South America.

RAILWAYS

As a whole, the railroads never were in such good physical and financial condition, and the country has never been so well served by them. The greatest volume of freight traffic ever tendered is being carried at a speed never before attained and with satisfaction to the shippers. Efficiencies and new methods have resulted in reduction in the cost of providing freight transportation, and freight rates show a continuous descending line from the level enforced by the World War.

We have, however, not yet assured for the future that adequate system of transportation through consolidations which was the objective of the Congress in the transportation act. The chief purpose of consolidation is to secure well-balanced systems with more uniform and satisfactory rate structure, a more stable financial structure, more equitable distribution of traffic, greater efficiency, and single-line instead of multiple-line hauls. In this way the country will have the assurance of better service and ultimately at lower and more even rates than would otherwise be attained. Legislation to simplify and expedite consolidation methods and better to protect public interest should be enacted.

Consideration should also be given to relief of the members of the Commission from the necessity of detailed attention to comparatively inconsequential matters which, under the existing law, must receive their direct and personal consideration. It is in the public interest that the members of the Commission should not be so pressed by minor matters that they have inadequate time for investigation and consideration of the larger questions committed to them for solution. As to many of these minor matters, the function of the Commission might well be made revisory, and the primary responsibility delegated to subordinate officials after the practice long in vogue in the executive departments.

MERCHANT MARINE

Under the impulse of the merchant marine act of 1928 the transfer to private enterprise of the Government-owned steamship lines is going forward with increasing success. The Shipping Board now operates about 18 lines, which is less than half the number originally established, and the estimate of expenditures for the coming fiscal year is based upon reduction in losses on Government lines by approximately one-half. Construction loans have been made to the amount of approximately \$75,000,000 out of the revolving fund authorized by Congress and have furnished an additional aid to American shipping and further stimulated the building of vessels in American yards.

Desirous of securing the full values to the Nation of the great effort to develop our merchant marine by the merchant marine act soon after the inauguration of the present administration, I appointed an interdepartmental committee, consisting of the Secretary of Commerce, as chairman, the Secretary of the Navy, the Postmaster General, and the chairman of the Shipping Board, to make a survey of the policies being pursued under the act of 1928 in respect of mail contracts; to inquire into its workings and to advise the Postmaster General in the administration of the act.

In particular it seemed to me necessary to determine if the result of the contracts already let would assure the purpose expressed in the act, "to further develop an American merchant marine, to assure its permanence in the transportation of the foreign trade of the United States, and for other purposes," and to develop a coordinated policy by which these purposes may be translated into actualities.

In review of the mail contracts already awarded it was found that they aggregated 25 separate awards imposing a governmental obligation of a little over \$12,000,000 per annum. Provision had been imposed in five of the contracts for construction of new vessels with which to replace and expand services. These requirements come to a total of 12 vessels in the 10-year period, aggregating 122,000 tons. Some other conditions in the contracts had not worked out satisfactorily.

That study has now been substantially completed and the committee has advised the desirability and the necessity of securing much larger undertakings as to service and new construction in future contracts. The committee at this time is recommending the advertising of 14 additional routes, making substantial requirements for the construction of new vessels during the life of each contract recommended. A total of 40 new vessels will be required under the contracts proposed, about half of which will be required to be built during the next three years. The capital cost of this new construction will be approximately \$250,000,000, involving approximately 460,000 gross tons. Should bidders be found who will make these undertakings, it will be necessary to recommend to Congress an increase in the authorized expenditure by the Post Office of about \$5,500,000 annually. It will be most advantageous to grant such an authority.

A conflict as to the administration of the act has arisen in the contention of persons who have purchased Shipping Board vessels that they are entitled to mail contracts irrespective of whether they are the lowest bidder, the Post Office, on the other hand, being required by law to let contracts in that manner. It is urgent that Congress should clarify this situation.

THE BANKING SYSTEM

It is desirable that Congress should consider the revision of some portions of the banking law.

The development of "group" and "chain" banking presents many new problems. The question naturally arises as to whether if allowed to expand without restraint these methods would dangerously concentrate control of credit, and whether they would not in any event seriously threaten one of the fundamentals of the American credit system – which is that credit which is based upon banking deposits should be controlled by persons within those areas which furnish these deposits and thus be subject to the restraints of local interest and public opinion in those areas. To some degree, however, this movement of chain or group banking is a groping for stronger support to the banks and a more secure basis for these institutions.

The growth in size and stability of the metropolitan banks is in marked contrast to the trend in the country districts, with its many failures and the losses these failures have imposed upon the agricultural community.

The relinquishment of charters of national banks in great commercial centers in favor of State charters indicates that some conditions surround the national banks which render them unable to compete with State banks; and their withdrawal results in weakening our national banking system.

It has been proposed that permission should be granted to national banks to engage in branch banking of a nature that would preserve within limited regions the local responsibility and the control of such credit institutions.

All these subjects, however, require careful investigation, and it might be found advantageous to create a joint commission embracing Members of the Congress and other appropriate Federal officials for subsequent report.

ELECTRICAL POWER REGULATION

The Federal Power Commission is now comprised of three Cabinet officers, and the duties involved in the competent conduct of the growing responsibilities of this commission far exceed the time and attention which these officials can properly afford from other important duties. I recommended that authority be given for the appointment of full-time commissioners to replace them.

It is also desirable that the authority of the commission should be extended to certain phases of power regulation. The nature of the electric utilities industry is such that about 90 per cent of all power generation and distribution is intrastate in character, and most of the States have developed their own regulatory systems as to certificates of convenience, rates, and profits of such utilities. To encroach upon their

authorities and responsibilities would be an encroachment upon the rights of the States. There are cases, however, of interstate character beyond the jurisdiction of the States. To meet these cases it would be most desirable if a method could be worked out by which initial action may be taken between the commissions of the States whose joint action should be made effective by the Federal Power Commission with a reserve to act on its own motion in case of disagreement or nonaction by the States.

THE RADIO COMMISSION

I recommend the reorganization of the Radio Commission into a permanent body from its present temporary status. The requirement of the present law that the commissioners shall be appointed from specified zones should be abolished and a general provision made for their equitable selection from different parts of the country. Despite the effort of the commissioners, the present method develops a public insistence that the commissioners are specially charged with supervision of radio affairs in the zone from which each is appointed. As a result there is danger that the system will degenerate from a national system into five regional agencies with varying practices, varying policies, competitive tendencies, and consequent failure to attain its utmost capacity for service to the people as a whole.

MUSCLE SHOALS

It is most desirable that this question should be disposed of. Under present conditions the income from these plants is less than could otherwise be secured for its use, and more especially the public is not securing the full benefits which could be obtained from them.

It is my belief that such parts of these plants as would be useful and the revenues from the remainder should be dedicated for all time to the farmers of the United States for investigation and experimentation on a commercial scale in agricultural chemistry. By such means advancing discoveries of science can be systematically applied to agricultural need, and development of the chemical industry of the Tennessee Valley can be assured.

I do not favor the operation by the Government of either power or manufacturing business except as an unavoidable by-product of some other major public purpose.

Any form of settlement of this question will imply entering upon a contract or contracts for the lease of the plants either as a whole or in parts and the reservation of facilities, products, or income for agricultural purposes. The extremely technical and involved nature of such contracts dealing with chemical and electrical enterprises, added to the unusual difficulties surrounding these special plants, and the rapid commercial changes now in progress in power and synthetic nitrogen manufacture, lead me to suggest that Congress create a special commission, not to investigate and report as in the past, but with authority to negotiate and complete some sort of contract or contracts on behalf of the Government, subject, of course, to such general requirements as Congress may stipulate.

BOULDER DAM

The Secretary of the Interior is making satisfactory progress in negotiation of the very complex contracts required for the sale of the power to be generated at this project. These contracts must assure the return of all Government outlays upon the project. I recommend that the necessary funds be appropriated for the initiation of this work as soon as the contracts are in the hands of Congress.

CONSERVATION

Conservation of national resources is a fixed policy of the Government. Three important questions bearing upon conservation of the public lands have become urgent.

Conservation of our oil and gas resources against future need is a national necessity. The working of the oil permit system in development of oil and gas resources on the public domain has been subject to great abuse. I considered it necessary to suspend the issuance of such permits and to direct the review of all outstanding permits as to compliance of the holders with the law. The purpose was not only to end such abuse but to place the Government in position to review the entire subject.

We are also confronted with a major problem in conservation due to the overgrazing on public lands. The effect of overgrazing (which has now become general) is not only to destroy the ranges but by

impairing the ground coverage seriously to menace the water supply in many parts of the West through quick run-off, spring floods, and autumn drought.

We have a third problem of major dimensions in the reconsideration of our reclamation policy. The inclusion of most of the available lands of the public domain in existing or planned reclamation projects largely completes the original purpose of the Reclamation Service. There still remains the necessity for extensive storage of water in the arid States which renders it desirable that we should give a wider vision and purpose to this service.

To provide for careful consideration of these questions and also of better division of responsibilities in them as between the State and Federal Governments, including the possible transfer to the States for school purposes of the lands unreserved for forests, parks, power, minerals, etc., I have appointed a Commission on Conservation of the Public Domain, with a membership representing the major public land States and at the same time the public at large. I recommend that Congress should authorize a moderate sum to defray their expenses.

SOCIAL SERVICE

The Federal Government provides for an extensive and valuable program of constructive social service, in education, home building, protection to women and children, employment, public health, recreation, and many other directions.

In a broad sense Federal activity in these directions has been confined to research and dissemination of information and experience, and at most to temporary subsidies to the States in order to secure uniform advancement in practice and methods. Any other attitude by the Federal Government will undermine one of the most precious possessions of the American people; that is, local and individual responsibility. We should adhere to this policy.

Federal officials can, however, make a further and most important contribution by leadership in stimulation of the community and voluntary agencies, and by extending Federal assistance in organization of these forces and bringing about cooperation among them.

As an instance of this character, I have recently, in cooperation with the Secretaries of Interior and Labor, laid the foundations of an exhaustive inquiry into the facts precedent to a nation-wide White House conference on child health and protection. This cooperative movement among interested agencies will impose no expense upon the Government. Similar nation-wide conferences will be called in connection with better housing and recreation at a later date.

In view of the considerable difference of opinion as to the policies which should be pursued by the Federal Government with respect to education, I have appointed a committee representative of the important educational associations and others to investigate and present recommendations. In cooperation with the Secretary of the Interior, I have also appointed a voluntary committee of distinguished membership to assist in a nation-wide movement for abolition of illiteracy.

I have recommended additional appropriations for the Federal employment service in order that it may more fully cover its cooperative work with State and local services. I have also recommended additional appropriations for the Women's and Children's Bureaus for much needed research as to facts which I feel will prove most helpful.

PUBLIC HEALTH

The advance in scientific discovery as to disease and health imposes new considerations upon us. The Nation as a whole is vitally interested in the health of all the people; in protection from spread of contagious disease; in the relation of physical and mental disabilities to criminality; and in the economic and moral advancement which is fundamentally associated with sound body and mind. The organization of preventive measures and health education in its personal application is the province of public health service. Such organization should be as universal as public education. Its support is a proper burden upon the taxpayer. It can not be organized with success, either in its sanitary or educational phases, except under public authority. It should be based upon local and State responsibility, but I consider that the Federal Government has an obligation of contribution to the establishment of such agencies.

In the practical working out of organization, exhaustive experiment and trial have demonstrated that the base should be competent organization of the municipality, county, or other local unit. Most of our municipalities and some 400 rural counties out of 3,000 now have some such unit organization. Where

highly developed, a health unit comprises at least a physician, sanitary engineer, and community nurse with the addition, in some cases, of another nurse devoted to the problems of maternity and children. Such organization gives at once a fundamental control of preventive measures and assists in community instruction. The Federal Government, through its interest in control of contagion, acting through the United States Public Health Service and the State agencies, has in the past and should in the future concern itself with this development, particularly in the many rural sections which are unfortunately far behind in progress. Some parts of the funds contributed under the Sheppard-Towner Act through the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor have also found their way into these channels.

I recommend to the Congress that the purpose of the Sheppard Towner Act should be continued through the Children's Bureau for a limited period of years; and that the Congress should consider the desirability of confining the use of Federal funds by the States to the building up of such county or other local units, and that such outlay should be positively coordinated with the funds expended through the United States Public Health Service directed to other phases of the same county or other local unit organization. All funds appropriated should of course be applied through the States, so that the public health program of the county or local unit will be efficiently coordinated with that of the whole State.

FEDERAL PRISONS

Closely related to crime conditions is the administration of the Federal prison system. Our Federal penal institutions are overcrowded, and this condition is daily becoming worse. The parole and probation systems are inadequate. These conditions make it impossible to perform the work of personal reconstruction of prisoners so as to prepare them for return to the duties of citizenship. In order to relieve the pressing evils I have directed the temporary transfer of the Army Disciplinary Barracks at Leavenworth to the Department of Justice for use as a Federal prison. Not only is this temporary but it is inadequate for present needs.

We need some new Federal prisons and a reorganization of our probation and parole systems; and there should be established in the Department of Justice a Bureau of Prisons with a sufficient force to deal adequately with the growing activities of our prison institutions. Authorization for the improvements should be given speedily, with initial appropriations to allow the construction of the new institutions to be undertaken at once.

IMMIGRATION

Restriction of immigration has from every aspect proved a sound national policy. Our pressing problem is to formulate a method by which the limited number of immigrants whom we do welcome shall be adapted to our national setting and our national needs.

I have been opposed to the basis of the quotas now in force and I have hoped that we could find some practical method to secure what I believe should be our real national objective; that is, fitness of the immigrant as to physique, character, training, and our need of service. Perhaps some system of priorities within the quotas could produce these results and at the same time enable some hardships in the present system to be cleared up. I recommend that the Congress should give the subject further study, in which the executive departments will gladly cooperate with the hope of discovering such method as will more fully secure our national necessities.

VETERANS

It has been the policy of our Government almost from its inception to make provision for the men who have been disabled in defense of our country. This policy should be maintained. Originally it took the form of land grants and pensions. This system continued until our entry into the World War. The Congress at that time inaugurated a new plan of compensation, rehabilitation, hospitalization, medical care and treatment, and insurance, whereby benefits were awarded to those veterans and their immediate dependents whose disabilities were attributable to their war service. The basic principle in this legislation is sound.

In a desire to eliminate all possibilities of injustice due to difficulties in establishing service connection of disabilities, these principles have been to some degree extended. Veterans whose diseases or injuries have become apparent within a brief period after the war are now receiving compensation; insurance benefits have been liberalized. Emergency officers are now receiving additional benefits. The doors of the Government's hospitals have been opened to all veterans, even though their diseases or injuries were not the

result of their war service. In addition adjusted service certificates have been issued to 3,433,300 veterans. This in itself will mean an expenditure of nearly \$3,500,000,000 before 1945, in addition to the \$600,000,000 which we are now appropriating annually for our veterans' relief.

The administration of all laws concerning the veterans and their dependents has been upon the basis of dealing generously, humanely, and justly. While some inequalities have arisen, substantial and adequate care has been given and justice administered. Further improvement in administration may require some amendment from time to time to the law, but care should be taken to see that such changes conform to the basic principles of the legislation.

I am convinced that we will gain in efficiency, economy, and more uniform administration and better definition of national policies if the Pension Bureau, the National Home for Volunteer Soldiers, and the Veterans' Bureau are brought together under a single agency. The total appropriations to these agencies now exceed \$800,000,000 per annum.

CIVIL SERVICE

Approximately four-fifths of all the employees in the executive civil service now occupy positions subject to competitive examination under the civil service law.

There are, however, still commanding opportunities for extending the system. These opportunities lie within the province of Congress and not the President. I recommend that a further step be taken by authorization that appointments of third-class postmasters be made under the civil service law.

DEPARTMENTAL REORGANIZATION

This subject has been under consideration for over 20 years. It was promised by both political parties in the recent campaign. It has been repeatedly examined by committees and commissions – congressional, executive, and voluntary. The conclusions of these investigations have been unanimous that reorganization is a necessity of sound administration; of economy; of more effective governmental policies and of relief to the citizen from unnecessary harassment in his relations with a multitude of scattered governmental agencies. But the presentation of any specific plan at once enlivens opposition from every official whose authority may be curtailed or who fears his position is imperiled by such a result; of bureaus and departments which wish to maintain their authority and activities; of citizens and their organizations who are selfishly interested, or who are inspired by fear that their favorite bureau may, in a new setting, be less subject to their influence or more subject to some other influence.

It seems to me that the essential principles of reorganization are two in number. First, all administrative activities of the same major purpose should be placed in groups under single-headed responsibility; second, all executive and administrative functions should be separated from boards and commissions and placed under individual responsibility, while quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial and broadly advisory functions should be removed from individual authority and assigned to boards and commissions. Indeed, these are the fundamental principles upon which our Government was founded, and they are the principles which have been adhered to in the whole development of our business structure, and they are the distillation of the common sense of generations.

For instance, the conservation of national resources is spread among eight agencies in five departments. They suffer from conflict and overlap. There is no proper development and adherence to broad national policies and no central point where the searchlight of public opinion may concentrate itself. These functions should be grouped under the direction of some such official as an assistant secretary of conservation. The particular department or cabinet officer under which such a group should be placed is of secondary importance to the need of concentration. The same may be said of educational services, of merchant marine aids, of public works, of public health, of veterans' services, and many others, the component parts of which are widely scattered in the various departments and independent agencies. It is desirable that we first have experience with these different groups in action before we create new departments. These may be necessary later on.

With this background of all previous experience I can see no hope for the development of a sound reorganization of the Government unless Congress be willing to delegate its authority over the problem (subject to defined principles) to the Executive, who should act upon approval of a joint committee of Congress or with the reservation of power of revision by Congress within some limited period adequate for its consideration.

PROHIBITION

The first duty of the President under his oath of office is to secure the enforcement of the laws. The enforcement of the laws enacted to give effect to the eighteenth amendment is far from satisfactory and this is in part due to the inadequate organization of the administrative agencies of the Federal Government. With the hope of expediting such reorganization, I requested on June 6 last that Congress should appoint a joint committee to collaborate with executive agencies in preparation of legislation. It would be helpful if it could be so appointed. The subject has been earnestly considered by the Law Enforcement Commission and the administrative officials of the Government. Our joint conclusions are that certain steps should be taken at once. First, there should be an immediate concentration of responsibility and strengthening of enforcement agencies of the Federal Government by transfer to the Department of Justice of the Federal functions of detection and to a considerable degree of prosecution, which are now lodged in the Prohibition Bureau in the Treasury; and at the same time the control of the distribution of industrial alcohol and legalized beverages should remain in the Treasury. Second, provision should be made for relief of congestion in the Federal courts by modifying and simplifying the procedure for dealing with the large volume of petty prosecutions under various Federal acts. Third, there should be a codification of the laws relating to prohibition to avoid the necessity which now exists of resorting to more than 25 statutes enacted at various times over 40 years. Technical defects in these statutes that have been disclosed should be cured. I would add to these recommendations the desirability of reorganizing the various services engaged in the prevention of smuggling into one border patrol under the Coast Guard. Further recommendations upon the subject as a whole will be developed after further examination by the Law Enforcement Commission, but it is not to be expected that any criminal law will ever be fully enforced so long as criminals exist.

The District of Columbia should be the model of city law enforcement in the Nation. While conditions here are much better than in many other cities, they are far from perfect, and this is due in part to the congestion of criminal cases in the Supreme Court of the District, resulting in long delays. Furthermore, there is need for legislation in the District supplementing the national prohibition act, more sharply defining and enlarging the duties and powers of the District Commissioners and the police of the District, and opening the way for better cooperation in the enforcement of prohibition between the District officials and the prohibition officers of the Federal Government. It is urgent that these conditions be remedied.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND OBSERVANCE

No one will look with satisfaction upon the volume of crime of all kinds and the growth of organized crime in our country. We have pressing need so to organize our system of administering criminal justice as to establish full vigor and effectiveness. We need to reestablish faith that the highest interests of our country are served by insistence upon the swift and even-handed administration of justice to all offenders, whether they be rich or poor. That we shall effect improvement is vital to the preservation of our institutions. It is the most serious issue before our people.

Under the authority of Congress I have appointed a National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, for an exhaustive study of the entire problem of the enforcement of our laws and the improvement of our judicial system, including the special problems and abuses growing out of the prohibition laws. The commission has been invited to make the widest inquiry into the shortcomings of the administration of justice and into the causes and remedies for them. It has organized its work under subcommittees dealing with the many contributory causes of our situation and has enlisted the aid of investigators in fields requiring special consideration. I am confident that as a result of its studies now being carried forward it will make a notable contribution to the solution of our pressing problems.

Pending further legislation, the Department of Justice has been striving to weed out inefficiency wherever it exists, to stimulate activity on the part of its prosecuting officers, and to use increasing care in examining into the qualifications of those appointed to serve as prosecutors. The department is seeking systematically to strengthen the law enforcement agencies week by week and month by month, not by dramatic displays but by steady pressure; by removal of negligent officials and by encouragement and assistance to the vigilant. During the course of these efforts it has been revealed that in some districts causes contributing to the congestion of criminal dockets, and to delays and inefficiency in prosecutions, have been lack of sufficient forces in the offices of United States attorneys, clerks of courts, and marshals. These conditions tend to clog the machinery of justice. The last conference of senior circuit judges has

taken note of them and indorsed the department's proposals for improvement. Increases in appropriations are necessary and will be asked for in order to reenforce these offices.

The orderly administration of the law involves more than the mere machinery of law enforcement. The efficient use of that machinery and a spirit in our people in support of law are alike essential. We have need for improvement in both. However much we may perfect the mechanism, still if the citizen who is himself dependent upon some laws for the protection of all that he has and all that he holds dear, shall insist on selecting the particular laws which he will obey, he undermines his own safety and that of his country. His attitude may obscure, but it can not conceal, the ugly truth that the lawbreaker, whoever he may be, is the enemy of society. We can no longer gloss over the unpleasant reality which should be made vital in the consciousness of every citizen, that he who condones or traffics with crime, who is indifferent to it and to the punishment of the criminal, or to the lax performance of official duty, is himself the most effective agency for the breakdown of society.

Law can not rise above its source in good citizenship – in what right-minded men most earnestly believe and desire. If the law is upheld only by Government officials, then all law is at an end. Our laws are made by the people themselves; theirs is the right to work for their repeal; but until repeal it is an equal duty to observe them and demand their enforcement.

I have been gratified at the awakening sense of this responsibility in our citizens during the past few months, and gratified that many instances have occurred which refuted the cynicism which has asserted that our system could not convict those who had defied the law and possessed the means to resist its execution. These things reveal a moral awakening both in the people and in officials which lies at the very foundation of the rule of law.

CONCLUSION

The test of the rightfulness of our decisions must be whether we have sustained and advanced the ideals of the American people; self-government in its foundations of local government; justice whether to the individual or to the group; ordered liberty; freedom from domination; open opportunity and equality of opportunity; the initiative and individuality of our people; prosperity and the lessening of poverty; freedom of public opinion; education; advancement of knowledge; the growth of religious spirit; the tolerance of all faiths; the foundations of the home and the advancement of peace.

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House,
December 3, 1929.

Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1931
December 4, 1929

[Released December 4, 1929. Dated December 2, 1929]

To the Congress of the United States:

I have the honor to transmit herewith the Budget of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931.

A comparison between the estimates of appropriations for 1931 and the appropriations for 1930 is set forth in the following table:

	Estimates of appropriations, 1931	Appropriations, 1930
Legislative Establishment:		
Senate	\$3,232,764.00	\$2,951,651.60
House of Representatives	8,153,394.00	7,580,361.00
Architect of the Capitol	11,084,346.98	2,506,800.40
Botanic Garden	173,790.00	173,060.00
Library of Congress	2,248,722.00	2,068,612.00
Government Printing Office	3,270,000.00	3,419,000.00
Miscellaneous	182,050.00	166,960.00
Total Legislative establishment	28,345,066.98	18,866,445.00
Executive Office	422,320.00	447,220.00
Independent establishments:		
Alaska relief funds	15,000.00	15,000.00
American Battle Monuments Commission	1,000,000.00	600,000.00
Arlington Memorial Bridge Commission	1,000,000.00	2,000,000.00
Board of Mediation	328,380.00	302,270.00
Board of Tax Appeals	690,000.00	663,863.00
Bureau of Efficiency	224,330.00	224,330.00
Civil Service Commission	1,362,952.00	1,226,862.00
Commission of Fine Arts	9,080.00	9,080.00
Employees' Compensation Commission	4,210,000.00	4,073,326.00
Federal Board for Vocational Education	8,420,400.00	8,799,520.00
Federal Farm Board ¹	1,900,000.00	151,790,000.00
Federal Oil Conservation Board	22,220.00	
Federal Power Commission	187,250.00	179,500.00
Federal Radio Commission	168,610.00	164,440.00
Federal Reserve Board	2,560,336.00	2,605,741.00
Federal Trade Commission	1,437,460.00	1,277,760.00
General Accounting Office	4,181,000.00	4,092,000.00
Housing Corporation	298,950.00	43,450.00
Interstate Commerce Commission	10,329,963.00	7,548,825.00
Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission	60,000.00	
National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	1,321,000.00	1,292,200.00
Porto Rican Hurricane Relief Commission	1,000,000.00	
Protecting interests of the United States in oil leases and oil lands		100,000.00
Public Buildings and Public Parks of the National Capital	3,591,640.00	2,888,061.00
Public Buildings Commission	100,000.00	
Smithsonian Institution	1,189,683.00	1,106,183.00
Tariff Commission	825,000.00	789,000.00

United States Geographic Board	14,660.00	9,200.00
United States Shipping Board and Merchant Fleet Corporation	6,396,000.00	11,494,000.00
United States Veterans' Bureau	589,755,000.00	597,375,000.00
 Total, Executive Office and independent establishments	 643,021,234.00	 801,316,831.00
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Department of Agriculture	165,088,506.00	155,729,990.00
Department of Department of the Interior	52,382,270.00	58,795,609.00
Department of Justice	304,302,347.74	311,346,075.78
Department of Labor	32,017,292.00	27,937,370.00
Department of Labor	12,219,770.00	10,774,430.00
Navy Department	380,392,526.00	362,061,247.00
Post Office Department:		
Postal Service payable from postal revenues	760,470,577.00	734,235,725.00
Postal deficiency payable from Treasury	78,500,000.00	84,000,000.00
State Department	17,238,659.14	14,794,945.68
Treasury Department	348,107,000.00	342,631,715.80
War Department, including Panama Canal	466,626,332.00	463,452,777.00
District of Columbia	47,880,228.00	44,540,115.00
 Total, ordinary, including Postal Service	 3,336,591,808.86	 3,430,483,276.26
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Reduction in principal of the public debt:		
Sinking fund	395,624,000.00	382,720,000.00
Other redemptions of the debt	239,700,000.00	241,174,100.00
Principal of the public debt	635,324,000.00	623,894,100.00
Interest on the public debt	619,000,000.00	656,000,000.00
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 Total, including Post Office Department And Postal Service	 4,590,915,808.86	 4,710,377,376.26
 Deduct Postal Service payable from postal revenues	 760,470,577.00	 734,235,725.00
 Total payable from the Treasury	 3,830,445,231.86	 3,976,141,651.26

¹ \$150,000,000 included in appropriations for 1930 for Federal Farm Board revolving loan fund. No corresponding figure included for 1931.

The foregoing table shows that the total of the estimates of appropriations payable from the Treasury in this Budget is \$145,696,000 less than the appropriations for 1930. The estimates in the Budget, however, contain no amount for the revolving loan fund for the Federal Farm Board, [p.439] for which \$150,000,000 is included in the appropriations for 1930. Therefore, for purposes of comparison, \$150,000,000 should be deducted from the amount of the appropriations for 1930. Eliminating this item from the 1930 total the estimates of appropriations in the Budget for 1931 exceed the appropriations for 1930 by \$4,304,000. Concerning the Federal Farm Board, I am simply delaying the presentation to the Congress of an estimate for an additional amount for the revolving loan fund until it is known more definitely what further amount will be needed. This will not in any way hamper the board, as it has sufficient funds at present and an estimate will be presented to the Congress in ample time in advance of any requirements for more money.

Through nonrecurring items and justified reductions in other items funds have been found to make increases in certain of our activities without enlarging to any appreciable extent the total of the estimates for 1931 over the appropriations for 1930. I am indicating below, in round figures, the larger items of increase and decrease.

	Increases	Decreases
Legislative Establishment:		
Enlarging and improving the Capitol grounds	\$3,600,000	
New House Office Building	1,500,000	
Completion of Senate Office Building	2,700,000	
Building for Supreme Court	1,000,000	
Independent establishments:		
Arlington Memorial Bridge Commission		\$1,000,000
Federal Farm Board revolving loan fund		150,000,000
(NOTE.--An estimate for 1931 will be submitted later when the amount required can be more definitely determined.)		
Interstate Commerce Commission	2,800,000	
Porto Rican Hurricane Relief Commission	1,000,000	
Shipping Board Merchant Fleet Corporation		5,100,000
Veterans' Bureau--		
Salaries and expenses	2,000,000	
Military and naval compensation	4,550,000	
Medical and hospital services	3,950,000	
Military and naval insurance	4,750,000	
Construction of hospital facilities		4,000,000
Government life insurance fund		8,870,000
Department of Agriculture:		
Forest Service	3,300,000	
Plant quarantine and control	1,000,000	
Public roads	2,500,000	
Department of Commerce:		
Aeronautics branch	2,500,000	
Bureau of the Census		10,500,000
Department of the Interior:		
Indian Service	3,100,000	
Indian trust funds		4,500,000
Army and Navy pensions		7,000,000
Department of Justice:		
Expenses, etc., United States courts	1,100,000	
Penal and correctional institutions	2,250,000	
Department of Labor: Immigration and naturalization	1,150,000	
Navy Department:		
Pay, subsistence and transportation	3,100,000	
Alterations to naval vessels	6,950,000	
Increase of the Navy	3,250,000	
Public works	2,300,000	
Post Office Department: Postal deficiency		5,500,000
State Department: Foreign Service	1,800,000	
Treasury Department:		
Refunding taxes illegally collected	10,000,000	
Bureau of Prohibition	1,275,000	
Coast Guard	2,450,000	
Construction of Public buildings		9,025,000
War Department:		
Buildings at military posts	1,600,000	
Other Quartermaster Corps items	2,650,000	

Air Corps	1,100,000	
Ordnance items	1,700,000	
Citizens' military training	1,500,000	
Maintenance and improvement of rivers and harbors	5,000,000	
Flood control	5,000,000	
Return of funds contributed for flood control		4,370,000
Inland waterways corporation		10,000,000
Restoration of roads and bridges in various States (transferred to Department of Agriculture)		3,650,000
Soldiers' homes	1,100,000	
Panama Canal	1,850,000	
District of Columbia	3,300,000	
Public debt:		
Reduction in the principal of the public debt	11,500,000	
Interest on the public debt		37,000,000

With regard to the increases for 1931 there are certain activities which I desire to bring especially to the attention of the Congress.

Rivers and harbors, flood relief, and Boulder Dam. – The estimates herewith contain an increase of \$5,000,000 for flood control and \$5,000,000 for rivers and harbors over the appropriations for these purposes for the current fiscal year. Moreover, the completion this year of the work on the Ohio River will release about \$5,000,000 for other river and harbor work so that, in effect, the increase in the estimates for rivers and harbors is \$10,000,000. With regard to the Boulder Dam project authorized by the act of Congress approved December 21, 1928, the details have not been completed in time to permit of this project being included in the estimates contained in this Budget. It is contemplated to present to the Congress at an early date an estimate to cover the initiation of this work.

Departments of State and Justice. – I am asking for considerable increases in the appropriations for these two departments for the fiscal year 1931 as compared with appropriations for the fiscal year 1930. I feel that the importance of the functions devolving upon these two departments in the conduct of our foreign affairs and in law enforcement and the administration of our penal system are of vital concern to the Nation and that both departments require more generous appropriations. The increase requested for the Department of State is more than \$2,443,000, or about 16 1/2 per cent, and that for the Department of Justice is more than \$4,079,000, or about 14 1/2 per cent. I am satisfied that these increases will reflect benefits to the Nation greater than can be measured in terms of the increased cost.

Indians. – As wards of the Nation the Government has an obligation to the Indians which concerns not alone their present but their future welfare. To raise the standard of their living, to adequately provide for their health and education, and to advance their opportunity for profitable employment are the concern of the Government. In order that we may meet more fully our obligations to the Indians, I am asking for an increase of something more than \$3,100,000 over the appropriations for the current year. This increase is requested so that we may more adequately meet the need for educational and health work among the [p.442] Indians and for their industrial assistance and advancement. I do not feel, however, that we should wait until the next fiscal year to make a general improvement in our Indian affairs. Rather do I feel that we should commence this now. This will require additional funds for the current fiscal year for which an estimate will be presented to the Congress.

Forest protection. – For the protection of our forests I am asking for a substantial increase in appropriations, amounting to more than \$2,000,000. We have been spending in past years large amounts on the suppression of fires. In the last five years these expenditures have amounted to more than \$8,000,000, and the best estimate is that \$3,500,000 will be required this current fiscal year. We can not hope to eliminate entirely the necessity for spending money in the suppression of fires, but our efforts should be to minimize this necessity by more and more adequate protection measures. This is essential, not merely to effect a saving in the cost of suppressing fires, but to prevent the incalculable loss which results from the destruction of our forests. Such loss involves not only the timber itself, but the protection which it affords against soil erosion and floods. As the custodian of the national forests, national parks, and other public lands the Federal Government is responsible for their protection. The obligations of this stewardship can not be met within the limits of the present appropriation and it is for this reason that I am asking for an increase to commence a program of more adequate protection of our forests. The protection of our present

holdings certainly outweighs in importance the acquisition of further lands which would add to the areas requiring protection. For this reason I am not submitting in this Budget an estimate for the full \$3,000,000 authorized for 1931 for the acquisition of lands for the protection of watersheds. The amount requested for such acquisition is \$2,000,000.

BUILDINGS

The public-building program authorized by the act of May 25, 1926, and enlarged by amendments to the original act, is now proceeding at a satisfactory rate of progress. At the outset unavoidable delays were [p.443] experienced because of difficulties encountered in acquiring sites, it being necessary in some cases to resort to condemnation proceedings in the courts. Many of these difficulties have been overcome and it is expected that the work will now proceed expeditiously, resulting in the completion of 34 new or enlarged buildings in the fiscal year 1930 and 40 in the fiscal year 1931. The program calls for a total expenditure of approximately \$300,000,000 in addition to the proceeds of sale of abandoned property. Individual projects have already been authorized by the Congress at limits of cost in excess of \$260,000,000. There were brought forward into the fiscal year 1930 appropriation balances aggregating \$41,481,099. This is increased by appropriations made at the last session of the Congress, amounting to \$39,475,500, making the total amount available for expenditure \$80,956,599. Of this amount the Treasury Department contemplates spending about \$59,500,000 in the fiscal year 1930. The Budget for 1931 carries estimates for public buildings, including the purchase of additional land in Washington, amounting to \$30,000,000. Supplemental thereto an estimate of about \$5,000,000 will be submitted at a later date when the Treasury Department has concluded its survey of new projects which it is desirable to undertake at this time. The appropriation of these amounts will provide the Treasury with ample funds to continue the work during the fiscal year 1931.

The War Department is also carrying forward a building program, involving an ultimate expenditure of about \$118,000,000, for the housing of military personnel, made necessary by the need for the replacement of World War temporary construction and to provide for the increase in the pre-war strength of the Regular Army. There has already been appropriated for this purpose \$37,193,899, and \$16,062,860 is carried in the estimates for 1931 with authority to make contracts for \$3,000,000 additional. The estimates for 1931 also carry \$3,311,000 for technical buildings for the air services of the Army and Navy, and \$3,176,000 for other buildings for various purposes for the Army, Navy, and Panama Canal.

For completing the \$15,000,000 program for additional hospital facilities for the Veterans' Bureau, \$2,000,000 is provided for liquidating contracts previously authorized by the Congress.

New building construction for the Indian Service has been allowed for a total of \$2,303,000, including reservation and non-reservation schools, hospitals, and administration buildings.

Provision is made for construction projects at several Federal penitentiaries. For Leavenworth, \$22,000 is provided; for Atlanta, \$79,000; for McNeil Island, \$139,000; and \$450,000 is included for continuing the construction of the industrial reformatory at Chillicothe.

In furtherance of the \$10,000,000 program for houses and offices for our foreign representatives, \$1,700,000 is included in these estimates. The annual appropriations under this program are limited to \$2,000,000, but the lesser amount has been included in the Budget because of the fact that the amount of the current estimate added to unexpended balances from prior appropriations will be sufficient to carry on the program during the fiscal year 1931.

Altogether this Budget carries estimates of more than \$59,240,000 for the construction of buildings, including the procurement of sites, with a contract authorization for a further expenditure of \$3,000,000. To the sum of these two amounts there should be added the additional \$5,000,000 for the public-building program for which, as stated, an estimate will be submitted later in the year.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

The estimates for direct appropriations for the War and Navy Departments for 1931 provide a total of \$719,089,000 for national defense. This is exclusive of all items of a nonmilitary character. In addition to the normal maintenance and operation requirements of these two departments, provision is made for carrying forward the Air Service programs of the two services, the housing program of the Army, and the requirements of the Navy with regard to the modernization of old battleships and the construction of new ships authorized by the act of February 13, 1929, as well as the light cruisers and submarines authorized by

prior law. With regard to the 15 new cruisers authorized by the act of last February, provision is made for continuing work on the two cruisers already laid down and on the aircraft carrier and three cruisers to be [p.445] laid down late in the fiscal year 1930 and for the commencement of the construction of the second and third blocks of five cruisers each, late in the fiscal year 1931.

AIR SERVICE

Under the Air Service programs for the Army and Navy I am asking for a total of \$33,000,000 for the procurement of airplanes, their engines, spare parts, and accessories. In addition to this I am asking for the same purposes for the Coast Guard, Department of Commerce, and the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics a total of \$460,000. With regard to the Army, provision is made for the procurement of the 443 airplanes pertaining to the fourth increment of the 5-year program authorized by the Congress. This program calls for 1,515 planes to be on hand and on order on June 30, 1931, and it is believed that this goal will be reached or closely approached by the funds already appropriated and the amounts estimated in this Budget. The present shortage in the program is about 40 planes pertaining to prior increments. No amount has been specifically included in the 1931 estimates to make up this shortage in view of the possibility of its reduction or complete elimination before the final increment is reached. Concerning the Navy Air Service, the last, or fifth, increment of the 5-year program authorized by the Congress will be reached in 1931. This program contemplates about 1,000 planes and 2 lighter-than-air ships to be on hand and on order at the close of that fiscal year. To accomplish this, provision is made for the procurement of 269 airplanes, including their equipment, and for continuing the work on the 2 lighter-than-air ships now under contract. In addition to the amounts which we are spending for the acquisition of aircraft we are also spending large sums for lighting and equipping airways, the inspection and licensing of commercial planes and pilots, and furnishing weather reports necessary to the carrying on of aerial navigation. For these purposes there is included in the estimates of the Department of Congress \$8,925,830 and in those for the Weather Bureau of the Department of Agriculture \$1,400,000. It is estimated that by the end of the fiscal year 1931 there will be about 18,400 miles of airways lighted and equipped.

THE FRENCH DEBT

In the message transmitting the 1930 Budget to the Congress, the French debt was discussed. A portion of the indebtedness of France, representing surplus war materials purchased on credit, was due to mature during the fiscal year 1930, unless the agreement of April 29, 1928, providing for the funding of the entire indebtedness of France to the United States, should be ratified by both France and the United States, in which case this indebtedness would be merged in the general indebtedness of that Government to the United States. In the spring of this year it seemed clear to the Treasury that the Government of France would ratify the French debt agreement prior to August 1, 1929, the maturity date of \$400,000,000 face amount of these obligations mentioned in last year's Budget message. The Congress of the United States was considering the question of recessing for two or three months and the Treasury was faced with the situation that the debt agreement would be ratified by France, that certain obligations of that Government would mature on August 1, that the Congress would not be in session, and that there was no authority on the part of the Executive branch of the Government other than to submit the obligation on their maturity date for payment.

The matter was submitted to the Congress with a recommendation that, in the event the funding agreement was ratified by France, in accordance with its terms, prior to August 1, 1929, the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, be authorized to enter into an agreement with France providing for the postponement of the date of the maturity of the obligations in the principal amount of \$400,000,000 from August 1, 1929, to such time as the Congress should approve or disapprove the funding agreement, but in no event beyond May 1, 1930, provided, however, that France should agree to pay interest on such obligations, the interest so paid to be credited against the annuities first due under the funding agreement. After consideration, House Joint Resolution 80, embodying these provisions, was passed by both Houses of Congress, but failed to receive the formal approval of the Speaker of the [p.447] House and the President of the Senate before adjournment, consequently failing to be enacted into law by August 1, 1929.

The French Government ratified the funding agreement under date of July 27, 1929. Relying upon the expression of the sentiment of the Congress on the matter, as contained in the joint resolution, the Secretary

of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, in an exchange of correspondence agreed with France to extend the maturity date of the obligation in question upon the terms and conditions set out in the resolution. The House joint resolution was subsequently enacted into law, being approved by the President on October 17, 1929. The question, therefore, of the maturity of these obligations is temporarily disposed of. The French debt agreement will be submitted to the Congress in the early part of December. If it receives the approval of the Congress, all of the obligations of France representing the purchase of surplus war material on credit will be merged, under that agreement, in the general debt of France to the United States. The payments thereafter made will conform to the annuities specified in that agreement.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

The receipts and expenditures shown in detail in the Budget are summarized in the following statement:

SUMMARY (EXCLUSIVE OF POSTAL REVENUES AND POSTAL EXPENDITURES PAID FROM POSTAL REVENUES)

	Estimated, 1931	Estimated, 1930	Actual, 1929
Receipts:			
Customs	\$602,000,000	\$602,000,000	\$602,262,786.17
Income tax	2,460,000,000	2,480,000,000	2,330,711,822.66
Miscellaneous internal revenue	640,000,000	635,000,000	607,307,548.98
Miscellaneous receipts	523,727,666	532,263,434	492,968,067.24
Total receipts	4,225,727,666	4,249,263,434	4,033,250,225.05
Total expenditures (including reduction of the public debt required by law to be made from ordinary receipts)	4,102,938,700	4,023,681,900	3,848,463,189.63
Excess of receipts	122,788,966	225,581,534	184,787,035.42

These figures include net expenditures from the revolving loan fund of the Federal Farm Board to the amount of \$200,000,000 in 1931 as compared with an estimated net expenditure of \$75,000,000 for the same purpose in the current fiscal year 1930. Eliminating these figures, for the purpose of comparison, from the estimated expenditures of both years shows the estimated expenditures for all other purposes for the fiscal year 1931 to be about \$46,000,000 less than those for the fiscal year 1930.

The amounts which are shown in this Budget as representing the receipts, expenditures, and surplus for the fiscal years 1929 and 1930 differ materially from those contained in the Budget for 1930, as shown by the following table:

	1930		1929	
	Estimated in this Budget 1930	Estimated in the Budget	Actual	Estimated in the 1930 Budget
Receipts	\$4,249,263,434.00	\$3,841,295,829.00	\$4,033,250,225.05	\$3,831,735,661.00
Expenditures	4,023,681,900.00	3,780,719,647.00	3,848,463,189.63	3,794,745,469.00
Surplus	225,581,534.00	60,576,182.00	184,787,035.42	36,990,192.00

The increase in actual receipts for 1929 over the estimate can be attributed mainly to an unforeseen increase in receipts from the individual income tax. On the expenditure side, while there were a number of increases and decreases in particular items, the total excess of actual expenditures over the estimate, \$54,000,000, is but slightly in excess of the amount paid to the railroads on account of back mail pay, an expenditure which could not have been anticipated in the estimate.

For the current fiscal year 1930 there is a marked improvement over the financial situation as estimated in the Budget for 1930 transmitted to the Congress in December, 1928. Compared with the estimate of one year ago the receipts show an increase of about \$408,000,000 and the expenditures about \$243,000,000. On the receipt side the increase in the estimate is reflected generally in the income tax, \$305,000,000, due to an abnormal increase in the incomes reported by individuals for 1928 and [p.449] to this exceedingly prosperous business year; miscellaneous internal revenue, \$76,000,000 derived in the main from a steady expansion of the tobacco tax and increased stamp-tax receipts; customs, \$20,000,000; and miscellaneous receipts, about \$7,000,000. On the expenditure side the principal items making up the increase in the estimate are \$75,000,000 for the net expenditures from the revolving loan fund of the Federal Farm Board, \$77,000,000 for public-debt retirements, \$12,790,000 for the postal deficiency, \$23,000,000 for the construction and modernization of naval ships, \$42,000,000 for the Treasury Department, pertaining mainly to the settlement of war claims and the public building program, and \$11,800,000 for the Veterans' Bureau.

TAX REDUCTION

With an estimated surplus of over \$225,000,000 this year and \$122,000,000 next year it is felt that some measure of reduction in taxes is justified. Since the fiscal year 1921 four reductions in taxes have been made. Experience has shown that each reduction in taxes has resulted in revenue in excess of the mathematically computed return under the reduced rates. Undoubtedly an increase in the prosperity of business brought forth by tax reduction is partly responsible for this experience. Such reduction gives the taxpayer correspondingly more for his own use and thus increases the capital available for general business. Under the present circumstances I am in favor of a reduction in income taxes to be effective on returns for the calendar year 1929, which will be due March 15, 1930. Payment under these returns will be made during the last half of the current fiscal year 1930 and the first half of the coming fiscal year 1931, so that the reduction will be reflected in the two years for which we now anticipate a surplus. I therefore recommend that taxes upon incomes for the calendar year 1929 be reduced in the approximate sum [p.450] maximum number of taxpayers. Our effort will be to conduct our financial requirements so as to continue the benefits of reduced taxation for succeeding calendar years. It would not, however, at this time be safe to extend the period of the reduction. A year hence we will know more definitely whether the condition of our finances justifies a continuation or extension of the reduction.

CONCLUSION

Our finances are in sound condition. The public debt which at its peak in August, 1919, amounted to \$26,596,000,000, stood at \$16,931,000,000 on June 30, 1929. We are wisely committed to a policy which insures the further progressive reduction of the debt. We will reach in 1931 for the first time the period when the annual reduction required by law in the principal of the debt will be greater than the annual interest charges on the debt. We are also committed to the annual amortization of our other long term commitments--such as the adjusted service certificate of the veterans of the World War and our liability under the retirement laws affecting civilian personnel. Our estimated expenditures for this and the next year are well within our expected receipts. With the recommended reduction in taxes the margin between the two will be considerably lessened, but to what extent we do not definitely know to-day. This situation emphasizes the-necessity for a careful scrutiny of any proposed additional activities which would involve a material increase in expenditures in order that we may not jeopardize either the balanced condition of the Budget or the continuation of the benefits of reduced taxation.

HERBERT HOOVER

December 2, 1929

NOTE: The Budget was submitted to Congress on December 4, 1929. On December 5, the White House issued a table listing Federal Government appropriations grouped on a functional basis, as the President had discussed at his news conference of December 3 (Item 294). The table follows:

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT APPROPRIATIONS GROUPED UPON A FUNCTIONAL BASIS

Estimates of appropriations, 1931	Appropriations, 1930
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GROUP I		
Public Debt:		
Principal	\$635,324,000	\$623,894,100
Interest	619,000,000	656,000,000
	1,254,324,000	1,279,894,100
Veterans of Former Wars	759,799,895	757,044,485
National Defense	719,089,388	692,399,804
Total, Group I	2,733,213,283	2,729,338,389
GROUP II		
Legislative	11,568,208	10,698,973
Executive	422,320	447,220
Judicial, Law Enforcement and Regulatory Commissions	88,310,150	76,922,014
Fiscal Administration and Control of Currency and Banking	76,507,067	76,193,434
Foreign Relations	16,735,902	14,257,626
Administration of Territories and Dependencies	1,918,693	872,785
Service Agencies to the Departments and Independent Establishments	33,599,520	33,406,455
Civil Pensions and Allowances	21,148,000	20,797,000
Balance of postal deficiency after deducting losses due to contract air mail routes, foreign air mail routes and to transportation of foreign mail in American vessels	50,098,000	57,314,000
Total, Group II	300,307,860	291,109,507
GROUP III		
Public Health	20,804,072	19,774,123
Education	14,491,938	14,410,563
Indian Affairs	20,598,330	17,523,516
Conservation of National Resources	47,798,767	43,801,966
Aids to Agriculture:		
Agricultural Marketing Revolving Fund	(a)	150,000,000
Other aids to agriculture	51,755,016	48,818,044
Aids to Labor	6,510,170	6,033,286
Aids to Aviation, including losses on contract air mail routes and foreign mail routes	22,517,630	20,362,620
Aids to Industry and Trade	14,922,044	13,800,242
Aids to Merchant Marine, including losses on transportation of foreign mail in American vessels	57,286,042	58,928,750
Public Buildings and Public Works	246,012,061	245,786,830
Bureau of the Census	8,497,000	19,000,000
Total, Group III	511,193,070	658,239,940
GROUP IV		
Refunds (Taxes, Customs, etc.)	162,528,500	153,009,000
Trust Funds (Veterans Ins., Indian Funds, etc.)	74,617,240	95,318,650
District of Columbia	47,880,228	44,540,115
Miscellaneous	705,050	4,586,050
Total, Group IV	285,731,018	297,453,815
Total, exclusive of Postal Service payable from postal		

revenues	3,830,445,231	3,976,141,651
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(a) Estimate for 1931 to be submitted later when amount required can be more definitely determined.

An additional table appears in the press release file. It is undated but was apparently released on or near the date of the foregoing table. The undated table follows:

APPROPRIATIONS FOR AVIATION PURPOSES FOR 1931 AND 1930
AND ACTUAL EXPENDITURES FOR 1929

	Fiscal years		
	1931	1930	1929
Aids to Commercial Aviation (including losses of Post Office on mail contracts)	\$33,265,630	\$26,526,620	\$19,666,203
Army (including indirect appropriations)	72,843,783	67,429,548	53,510,231
Navy and Marine Corps (including indirect appropriations)	52,230,000	51,430,000	46,473,095
Coast Guard	637, 555	171,205	82,452
Total	158,976,968	145,557,373	119,731,981

Remarks to a Chamber of Commerce Conference on the
Mobilization of Business and Industry for Economic Stabilization
December 5, 1929

THIS BODY represents the industries of the United States. You have been invited to create a temporary organization for the purpose of systematically spreading into industry as a whole the measures which have been taken by some of our leading industries to counteract the effect of the recent panic in the stock market. There has necessarily been some unemployment, starting with the diversion of capital from the channels of business into the speculation, and after the break by some reduction in the demand for luxuries and semi-necessities from those who met with losses. But the large effect was to create undue pessimism, fear, uncertainty, and hesitation in business. These emotions, being emotions, if they had been allowed to run their course would, by feeding on themselves, create difficulties. The American mind is prone to revert to previous occasions when we were much less able to organize to meet such situations.

These are potential difficulties which cannot be cured with words. If we could do so, the merest description of the fundamental stability of our vast organism of production and distribution, touched with the light of the future of the United States, would cure it instantly. The cure for such storms is action; the cure for unemployment is to find jobs.

We have, fortunately, since our previous crashes established the Federal Reserve System. The first step in recovering confidence was made by the powerful effectiveness of that system, and the strong position of the banks, the result of which has been steadily diminishing interest rates, with a smooth and rapid return into the channels of business of the money previously absorbed in the speculative market. This is a reversal of our historic experience and is a magnificent tribute to the System. Capital is becoming more abundant in all parts of the country, the bond market is growing stronger each day and already public issues held back for months have begun to appear.

The second action necessary to maintain progress was the standard set by leading employers that so far as they were concerned there would be no movement to reduce wages, and a corresponding assurance from the leaders of labor that not only would they use their utmost influence to allay labor conflict, but would also cooperate with the employers in the present situation. These assurances have been given and thereby we not only assure the consuming power of the country but we remove fear from millions of homes.

The third line of action has been to undertake through voluntary organization of industry the continuity and expansion of the construction and maintenance work of the country, so as to take up any slack in employment which arises in other directions. The extension and organization of this work are the purpose of this meeting. The greatest tool which our economic system affords for the establishment of stability is the construction and maintenance work, the improvements and betterments, and general cleanup of plants in preparation for cheaper production and the increased demand of the future. It has long been agreed by both businessmen and economists that this great field of expenditure could, by its acceleration in time of need, be made into a great balance wheel of stability. It is agreed that its temporary speeding up to absorb otherwise idle labor brings great subsequent benefits and no liabilities. A very considerable part of our wage earners are employed directly and indirectly in construction and the preparation of and transportation of its materials. In the inevitable periods when the demand for consumable goods increases and labor is fully employed, the construction and maintenance can slacken and we can actually again gain in stability. No one would advocate the production of consumable goods beyond the daily demand; that in itself only stirs up future difficulty.

I am glad to report that such a program has met with universal approval of all those in responsible positions. Our railways and utilities and many of our larger manufacturers have shown a most distinguished spirit in undertaking to maintain and even to expand their construction and betterment programs. The State, county, and municipal governments are responding in the most gratifying way to the request to cooperate with the Federal Government in every prudent expansion of public works. Much construction work had been postponed during the past few months by reason of the shortage of mortgage money due to the diversion of capital to speculative purposes, which should soon be released.

It is to make this movement systematic in all branches of the industrial world that we are here – that is the task. I believe that with the great backlogs which are already assured by the public service institutions and the governmental works you will be able to build up the construction and maintenance activities for 1930 to a higher level than that of 1929, and that is what we require.

Another of the great balance wheels of stability is our foreign trade. But in stimulating our exports we should be mainly interested in development work abroad such as roads and utilities, which increase the standards of living of peoples and thus the increased demand for goods from every nation, for we gain in prosperity by a prosperous world, not by displacing others.

All of these efforts have one end – to assure employment and to remove the fear of unemployment.

The very fact that you gentlemen come together for these broad purposes represents an advance in the whole conception of the relationship of business to public welfare. You represent the business of the United States, undertaking through your own voluntary action to contribute something very definite to the advancement of stability and progress in our economic life. This is a far cry from the arbitrary and dog-eat-dog attitude of the business world of some 30 or 40 years ago. And this is not dictation or interference by the Government with business. It is a request from the Government that you cooperate in prudent measures to solve a national problem. A great responsibility and a great opportunity rest upon the business and economic organization of the country. The task is one fitted to its fine initiative and courage.

Beyond this, a great responsibility for stability and prosperity rests with the whole people. I have no desire to preach. I may, however, mention one good old word – work.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. in the assembly room of the Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C. The address was also broadcast over a chain of National Broadcasting Company stations.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the 15th Annual Report
of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics

December 5, 1929

To the Congress of the United States:

In compliance with the provisions of the act of March 3, 1915, establishing the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, I submit herewith the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Committee for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1929.

It is evident from the Committee's report that, although material progress has been made in aeronautics during the past year, the best efforts of America are needed to keep pace with other progressive nations in the rapidly developing science of aeronautics. Attention is invited to part V of the Committee's report presenting a summary of the progress in aircraft development, and especially to the conclusion, wherein the Committee expresses certain opinions with reference to the relative position of the United States and other nations that are active in the development of aeronautics.

I concur in the Committee's opinion that progress on the two outstanding problems of increased safety and decreased costs necessitates continuous scientific research on the fundamental problems of flight. To this end enlarged facilities are being provided at the Committee's laboratories at Langley Field, Virginia.

It is gratifying to note the Committee's opinion that the efforts of all agencies, governmental and private, concerned with the technical development of aircraft are effectively coordinated in prosecuting the research programs of the Committee.

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House
December 5, 1929

NOTE: The 89-page report was printed by the U.S. Government Printing Office.

Message to the Congress Recommending an Appropriation To Settle Nicaraguan Claims
December 5, 1929

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith a report respecting claims against the United States on account of several Nicaraguans killed or injured in encounters with American marines in December, 1921, and January, 1922, with a request that the recommendations of the Secretary of the Navy as indicated therein be adopted, and that the Congress authorize the appropriation of the sum necessary to pay the indemnities suggested by the Secretary of the Navy.

I recommend that, in order to effect a settlement of these claims in accordance with the recommendation of the Secretary of State, the Congress, as an act of grace, and without reference to the legal liability of the United States in the premises, authorize an appropriation in the sum of \$11,700.

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House
December 5, 1929

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Message to the Congress Recommending the Payment of
Claims Arising From the Occupation of Vera Cruz, Mexico
December 5, 1929

To the Congress of the United States:

I enclose a report by the Secretary of State requesting the submission anew to the present Congress of the matter of the claims arising out of the occupation of Vera Cruz, Mexico, by American forces in 1914. These claims formed the subject of a report made by the Secretary of State to the President on December 27, 1927, and of his message to the Congress dated January 4, 1928, which are printed in Senate Document No. 33, Seventieth Congress, First session. A copy of the document mentioned is attached to the report by the Secretary of State for the convenient information of the Congress.

I renew the recommendation originally made by President Harding that, in order to effect a settlement of these claims, the Congress, as an act of grace and without reference to the question of legal liability of the United States in the matter, authorize an appropriation in the sum of \$45,518.69. In bringing the matter anew to the attention of the present Congress I am hopeful that the action recommended may receive favorable consideration.

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House
December 5, 1929

NOTE: The report was published as Senate Document 45.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the 11th Report
of the National Commission of Fine Arts
December 5, 1929

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, the Eleventh Report of the National Commission of Fine Arts for the period from January 1, 1926, to June 30, 1929.

The report sketches conditions which called for a comprehensive plan for the entire District of Columbia, as primarily the Nation's capital; relates the progressive steps in making the plan of 1901, which restored and amplified the original plan of 1792; notes the advances made in the realization of that plan; and specifies items still to be accomplished. In particular the report deals with the historical as well as the architectural reasoning on which the plan is based.

The movements which have led to the improvement of the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue and to the Mount Vernon Highway are traced.

The report shows the constantly increasing work of the Commission during the nineteen years since its creation, such increase being due to specific legislation by Congress, and calls of the Executive Departments.

The American World War cemeteries and monuments in Europe, as well as the George Rogers Clark Memorial at Vincennes, Indiana, the statue of Henry Clay in Venezuela, and of the Leif Ericsson statue in Iceland, illustrate the extent of the Commission's activities; while the designs of colleges, school and hospital buildings in the District of Columbia show the intensive character of that work. In fact, the Commission is required to give advice on all projects involving questions of art for which the Government makes appropriations.

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House
December 5, 1929

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Letter Suggesting the Renaming of Fort Russell in Honor of Senator Francis E. Warren
December 6, 1929

[Released December 6, 1929. Dated December 5, 1929]

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I have a feeling that it would be a fine tribute to the late Senator Francis E. Warren if the military post at Cheyenne in which he was so long interested could be renamed for him. In doing so it would be desirable to select some post that would properly commemorate the name of General D. A. Russell, whose distinguished service should ever be before our people.

I would be glad if you could make arrangements that would meet with this suggestion.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[The Honorable Patrick J. Hurley, Acting Secretary of War, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Acting Secretary of War Hurley responded to the President's wish by naming Fort Russell at Cheyenne, Wyo., in honor of Senator Warren and upgrading Camp Marfa, Tex., to a fort and renaming it in honor of Gen. D. A. Russell.

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Letter Endorsing a Proposed Statewide Economic Survey in New York
December 6, 1929

[Released December 6, 1929. Dated November 29, 1929]

Dear Mr. Hart:

I have your request that I should comment upon the state-wide economic survey that is proposed through the committee with which you are associated. I am glad to do so.

The distinguished service accomplished in much the same way by the creation of the New England Council and the California Development Association is outstanding demonstration of the importance of such action. This larger view of the problems within the state and their relation to public questions is sure to produce the most constructive results, and I wish the committee every success in its efforts.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Merwin K. Hart, Chairman, Committee of Twenty-Five, New York Statewide Economic Congress, Utica, New York]

NOTE: The Committee of Twenty-Five was formed from leading businessmen to establish specific policies to increase industry in New York State.

The President's News Conference of
December 6, 1929

MESSAGE ON HAITI

THE PRESIDENT. I have no inquiries from you, but I have two or three items from my side. One of them is that I have just sent a message to Congress on the state of Haiti, and when we hear that it has been delivered we will release it to you here, which might be most any minute. We cannot, however, give it to you until they have had it.

APPOINTMENT OF PATRICK J. HURLEY

And I have today sent up Colonel Hurley's name as Secretary of War. Just for a little background for you about Colonel Hurley – as you must know, he is a very experienced lawyer and was a distinguished officer in the World War, and has been a successful business executive. His appointment gives effect to the wish of the Southern States that there should be a Cabinet member from that quarter. He has been endorsed by the leading men of practically every State in the South most urgently.

MEETING WITH BUSINESS LEADERS

There is one other little matter on the background of this conference we had yesterday.¹ I don't know whether it is clearly understood that the committee being set up in the Chamber of Commerce is purely a temporary committee. It has just one function, and that is, to organize each industry for the expansion of its construction and its maintenance work.

Secretary Lamont is setting up today a special division in the Department of Commerce to similarly organize and coordinate the public works with the State and municipal and county governments.

That is all that I have got.

INTERNAL REVENUE COLLECTOR

I might add that a new collector has been appointed for the Port of Brooklyn. We will give you a note about his background.

HAITIAN SITUATION

Q. Mr. President, have you any background on the Haiti situation?

THE PRESIDENT. Nothing more than appears in the message (?).² I have nothing that I can add to that. I stated what the situation is in the message to Congress – as we see it.

Q. Mr. President, will the message deal with the probable appointment of the commission mentioned in the regular message to Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. I would rather leave that until you see the message.

NOTE: President Hoover's seventy-second news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, December 6, 1929.

On the same day, the White House issued a biographic sketch of Walter E. Corwin who had been appointed Collector of Internal Revenue for the first district of New York.

¹ See Item 297.

² The question mark appears in the transcript.

Message to the Congress Requesting Authorization
for a Commission To Investigate Conditions in Haiti

December 7, 1929

To the Congress of the United States:

In my Message to Congress of the 3rd instant I indicated my concern as to the future of our policies in Haiti. I stated that we have there about 700 marines, and that we are confronted with a difficult problem, the solution of which is still obscure. I further stated that if Congress approves I shall dispatch a Commission to Haiti to review and study the matter in an endeavor to arrive at some more definite policy than at present.

Our representatives in Haiti have shown great ability and devotion, and have accomplished signal results in improvement of the material condition of that people. Yet our experience has revealed more clearly than was seen at first the difficulties of the problem, and the entire situation should be reviewed in the light of this experience.

Since the dispatch of my Message disturbances in Haiti emphasize the importance of such an investigation and determination of national policies in the immediate future.

The students at the Agricultural School at Damien went on a strike on October 31st as a protest against a new policy of the Haitian Government. The Haitian Government had heretofore allotted \$10,000 per annum to this School for scholarships but this year it withheld \$2,000 of the appropriation in order to make it possible for needy students to perform practical school work on the grounds. Sympathetic strikes were subsequently declared in the medical and law schools. President [Louis] Borno appointed a committee of Haitians to inquire into the matter and it seemed probable at the time that recommendations presented by this committee and accepted by the authorities would adjust the difficulty. Unfortunately, advantage was taken of the situation by various agencies to foment disturbances against the Haitian Administration and on December 3rd the American High Commissioner reported that the strike movement had spread throughout the country and that it was feared that the Haitian employees of the departments under American Treaty Officials might become involved.

On December 4 custom house employees at Port au Prince abandoned their work in a disorderly manner and crowds have gathered in Port au Prince. At the same time there were reported demonstrations by crowds at Cape Haitian in sympathy with the disturbance in Port au Prince. The American High Commissioner reported that on the morning of December 4 it was feared that disorderly conditions would arise at Aux Cayes and similar disturbances were possible at other places.

The High Commissioner has asked that additional Marines be in readiness to make sure that if the situation becomes serious American lives will be protected, and the force he has suggested has been ordered dispatched for that purpose.

I feel that it is most desirable that the Commission mentioned in my Message of December 3 be constituted and sent to Haiti without delay and I, therefore, request the Congress to authorize the immediate sending of such a Commission and to appropriate for this purpose \$50,000. It is my intention to include one or two Members from each House of Congress on this Commission.

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House
December 7, 1929

Letter Authorizing the Signature of Documents of
Accession to the Permanent Court of International Justice
December 8, 1929

[Released December 8, 1929. Dated November 26, 1929]

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I have received your note of November 18th, analyzing the situation created by the almost unanimous signature on the part of the Members of the Permanent Court of International Justice to the Protocol of Accession of the United States of America and to the Protocol of Revision of the Statute, and in accordance with the request contained therein, I authorize you to make the necessary arrangements for the signature on behalf of the United States on December 9th, 1929, of

1. The protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice,
2. The protocol of Accession of the United States of America to the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and
3. The protocol of Revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

For this purpose, I am enclosing the full powers authorizing Mr. Jay Pierrepont Moffat, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the United States at Berne, to sign these documents.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[The Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.]

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Message to the New York Bible Society

December 8, 1929

[Released December 8, 1929. Dated November 30, 1929]

My dear Dr. Carter:

Mr. Akerson has handed to me your kind letter of November 29 and the Bible which the Society has been so good as to send me in commemoration of its 120th Anniversary. I am glad to receive it and do appreciate the kindness which prompted this thoughtful gift.

Thank you too for your heartening expressions of confidence and approval.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

[Rev. Dr. George Wm. Carter, New York Bible Society, 5 East 48th Street, New York City]

NOTE: The President's message was read by Dr. Carter, general secretary of the New York Bible Society, during a special service held at Holy Trinity Lutheran Church in New York City.

The President's News Conference of
December 10, 1929

SPECIAL AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN

THE PRESIDENT. I have only one thing for today. We are sending Mr. William R. Castle's name up to the Senate as a Special Ambassador to Japan during the period of the arms conference. We want to have there someone who is familiar with the naval proposals, and because of Mr. Castle's special familiarity with it and his fitness for the position we have asked him temporarily to take that position as a Special Ambassador. As you know, he has been one of the principal executives in the State Department for some 10 or 15 years. And he will return to his position as Assistant Secretary of State when we have completed the arms negotiations.

Q. When is he going, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. As soon as he is confirmed.

Q. Will he stay here to meet the Japanese delegation?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, yes, without any doubt.

POSTMASTERS

Other than that I have no news on this occasion, unless you want to know a list of 815 postmasters we have sent up to be appointed.

NOTE: President Hoover's seventy-third news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, December 10, 1929.

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**Message to President Augusto B. Leguia on the Inauguration
of Direct Radio Service Between Peru and the United States**
December 11, 1929

[Released December 11, 1929. Dated December 10, 1929]

UPON THE OCCASION of the inauguration of the All American Cables station at Lima, I wish to extend to you and to the people of Peru, on behalf of myself and the people of the United States, every good wish for the prosperity and continued well-being of the people of Peru.

The President's News Conference of
December 13, 1929

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT OF MEXICO

THE PRESIDENT. I have only one announcement, and that is that the President-elect [Pascual Ortiz Rubio] of Mexico will come to Washington on the 26th of December, and he will be received as a most distinguished guest.

Q. Will he be a White House guest, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Q. Overnight, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think so. Just dinner or something.

THE BUSINESS SITUATION

One point on the business situation – the Department of Commerce and other agencies report that the Christmas buying is up to the average of last year, and a little above the average of last year taking the country as a whole – some places quite well above and, of course, some places a little below, which is a pretty fair index of the situation.

And that is all I have got on my mind.

NOTE: President Hoover's seventy-fourth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, December 13, 1929

Letter to the Speaker of the House Transmitting Supplemental
Estimates of Appropriations for the Department of Justice
December 13, 1929

The Speaker of the House of Representatives:

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith for the consideration of Congress supplemental estimates of appropriations for the Department of Justice for the fiscal year 1930 amounting to \$374,091, consisting of \$62,000 for protecting the interests of the United States under the settlement of war claims act of 1928, and \$312,091 for the United States Industrial Reformatory, Chillicothe, Ohio.

The details of these estimates, the necessity therefor, and the reason for their submission at this time are set forth in the letter of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget transmitted herewith, with whose comments and observations thereon I concur.

As the appropriations for these activities will be exhausted about January 1, 1930, I hope that the estimates will receive the early consideration of Congress.

Respectfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House,
December 13, 1929

Message to the Congress Recommending Payment of a Claim Presented by Great Britain
December 13, 1929

To the Congress of the United States:

I enclose a report received from the Secretary of State requesting the submission anew to the present Congress of the claim presented by the Government of Great Britain for the death, on November 1, 1921, at Consuelo, Dominican Republic, of Samuel Richardson, a British subject, as a result of a bullet wound inflicted presumably by a member of the United States Marine Corps, which formed the subject of a report made by the Secretary of State to the President on December 13, 1927, and the President's message to the Congress dated September 17, 1927, which are published as Senate Document No. 21, Seventieth Congress, First session. Copies of this are furnished for the full information of the Congress.

I concur in the recommendation made by the Secretary of State and recommend that, as an act of grace and without reference to the question of the legal liability of the United States in the matter, the Congress authorize an appropriation in the sum of \$1,000.00 in order to effect a settlement of this claim. In bringing the matter anew to the attention of the present Congress I hope that the action recommended may receive favorable consideration.

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House
December 13, 1929

NOTE: The report was published as Senate Document 52.

White House Statement on a Communist Demonstration

December 14, 1929

THE PRESIDENT considers that the misjudged youths calling themselves Communists who have been arrested for demonstrating in front of the Executive offices should be released and sent to their parents.

He does not believe that any such discourtesy seriously endangers the Republic and that a night in jail is only doing them a favor of cheap martyrdom.

NOTE: The above text is taken from corroborated accounts printed by the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune.

Police arrested a group of 50 self-proclaimed Communist demonstrators for parading without a permit. The demonstration, which occurred in front of the White House, ended with no destruction to property or injury to the participants. After their release the demonstrators assembled at the Woman's Christian Temperance Union Memorial at Seventh Street and Pennsylvania Avenue and denounced the President's action as an effort to prevent pro-Communist feelings from sweeping the Nation. No further arrests were made.

Address to the Gridiron Club
December 14, 1929

Gentlemen of the Gridiron Club and your guests:

I know I express your gratitude to the Gridiron Club for its hospitality and for a full and comprehensive exposition of national problems and policies by those who have large information and no responsibility.

In the middle ages it was the fashion to wear hair shirts to remind one's self of trouble and sin. Many years ago I concluded that a few hair shirts were part of the mental wardrobe of every man. The President differs only from other men in that he has a more extensive wardrobe. We have had tonight an indication of the great variety of persons and organizations who cheerfully and voluntarily insist on acting as hair shirts for the President. I am not complaining; I am only explaining one of the things that train his soul and his public conduct in urbanity. Incidentally, you could discover from these proceedings why Presidents seldom worry about anything. They have so many troubles in the closet or stowed away in the icebox that when one of them gets tiresome they can always send for another, and by great variety maintain interest and a high cheerfulness of spirit.

You have from time to time during this meeting heard mention of the Senate, and you listened to observations upon the relations of the Executive with this great coordinate arm of the Government. I have for some time also been an interested observer of these relations. I have even searched through the intimate history of my predecessors since George Washington, endeavoring earnestly to discover remedies, antidotes, sedatives, irritants, stimulants, and experience. The important thing I have observed from an inspection of 30 administrations is that there is nothing new on this subject. Presidents have long since learned that one of the undisclosed articles in the Bill of Rights is that criticism and digging of political graves are reserved exclusively to members of the legislative arm. But Presidents have also learned that they have one privilege not extended to members of the legislative arm – they have the option on when to talk and when not to talk.

There is always a minority of the Members of Congress who hope that the President will fail in his task, and who make the same unkind remarks in every administration in exactly the same phrases. Those who say the sensational things necessarily command the attention of the press. They do not represent the great majority of that body. The oppositions in Congress developed the same strategies even in Washington's day as those they now employ. Never has there been a session of Congress when somebody did not waste vast energy building a Scylla and a Charybdis for the President to navigate, or did not elaborately spread those old traps known as the devil and the deep blue sea. At various points in every important debate the opposition never fails to call vigorously upon the Executive to exert leadership, to give direction, to use the big stick. If he yields to these temptations, he is immediately discovered to be meddling in the responsibilities of the independent arm of the Government. This is the oldest form of the devil-and-the-deep-blue-sea trap. The Republican Party has no right to complain; it has been the preoccupation of the opposition with this sort of deep and subtle political strategy over many decades that wins us national elections in our party.

Some people become impatient with the length of debate. But let us not forget that any legislation that involves the safety and the welfare of the United States must be probed to the bottom. It is the safety and the vitalizing force of all legislation. In some ways legislatures are much like the old-fashioned rail fences. Some rails are perfect, others are rough. Many of them point in the wrong direction. There are some with sharp splinters. It covers a lot of ground. Yet the fence itself marches straight and performs its function in an effective and lasting manner. Those of us who have had opportunity to observe legislative bodies in other countries, and at the same time to understand some of the varied human motives of men, make no apologies for the Senate of the United States. Together with the House of Representatives it has for over 150 years not only served the American People, but they have time and again proved themselves the greatest of all legislatures of the world.

One of your anxieties this evening has been my appointment of commissions and committees. You have been misled into the impression that I shall soon appoint one every day. That is wrong – I shall probably need to appoint two a day. My conception of government leads me to the firm conviction that we have arrived at a time in our history, because of the increasing complexity of our civilization and the delicacy of its adjustments, when we must make doubly certain that we discover the truth. It is necessary

that we make the fullest use of the best brains and the best judgment and the best leadership in our country before we determine upon policies which affect the welfare of 120 million people. And I propose to do it.

The President of the United States is obliged to determine a multitude of questions and policies. By the Constitution he must recommend to Congress such measures as he shall deem necessary and expedient, and he is required to finally pass upon every act of Congress. He is the Chief Executive of the greatest business in the world, which at some point touches upon every single activity of our people.

By his position he must, within his capacities, give leadership to the development of moral, social, and economic forces outside of government which make for betterment of our country.

If we are to curtail the extension of the arm of government into the affairs of our people, we must do it by inspiration of individuals, by cooperation with voluntary organizations, that they through their own initiative, through their own action should remedy abuse and initiate progress. Self-government comprises more than political institutions. It is more than municipal governments and State governments, legislatures, and executive officers.

The safeguard against oppressive invasions of government into the lives and liberties of our people is that we shall cure abuse and forward progress without the government action. That is self-government in the highest form of which democracy has yet given conception – that is self-government outside of government.

The committees of Congress are themselves commissions for the investigation and determination of legislative policies. But Congress cannot longer encompass the entire human field. Congress cannot determine administrative policies; it cannot inspire or lead voluntary forces.

The most dangerous animal in the United States is the man with an emotion and a desire to pass a new law. He is prolific with drama and the headlines. His is not the road to the fundamental advance of the liberty and the progress of the American people at this time in our history. The greatest antidote for him is to set him upon a committee with a dozen people whose appetite is for facts. The greatest catastrophe that could come to our country is that administration policies or legislation or voluntary movements shall be encouraged or enacted upon the basis of emotion, not upon facts and reason.

The President has open to him many governmental agencies in search for fact and for the determination of conclusion from them. He receives the largest measure of assistance from the executive departments and congressional committees. But over and beyond all these agencies there are a thousand problems; where the truth must be searched from a multitude of facts; where individual and regional experience must be had; where new ideas must be recruited from the kaleidoscope of a great shifting mass of humanity; where judgment must be distilled from many minds; where common agreement must be secured from conflicting forces; where assurance must be given to the people of the correctness of conclusions; and where their exposition must be secured.

These subjects cover the whole range of human thought, and I do not arrogate to myself the combined knowledge or judgment of the technologists, the philosophers, the scientists, the social thinkers, the economists, and the thousand callings of our people.

In these matters commissions and committees of our citizens can be made to add to the security of our steps and the certainty of acceptance of our policies. There is no worse agency of government than commissions and committees for executive action. Action requires undivided mind and undivided responsibility. But for the purpose of these special determinations I shall need more and more commissions, and more and more conferences, and I am grateful for the willingness our citizens have shown to give their time and service upon them.

And it is my belief that this is a vital means of government by the people and for the people, now that the people have ceased to live the simple life.

Those who have responsibility have but little to complain of and much to be grateful for from the press. If they were to complain it would be not against the representatives of the press but against the appetite of the American people as to the form of news. The human animal gets most of his thrills out of Washington from accounts of rivalry, conflict, fight, and combat, both actual and prospective. The press must cater to this and most of the news must be projected in this form, whether it be a stage fight or mere difference of opinion. Obviously, such accounts create and intensify enmities and thus increase combats and generate more news.

But when national interest requires it, the press does not fail to shift from combat to cooperation.

The Nation has passed through a trying period during the past month. Fear, alarm, pessimism, and hesitation swept through the country, which, if unchecked, would have precipitated absolute panic throughout the business world with untold misery in its wake. Its acute dangers were far greater than we are

able to disclose at the present time. But the Washington correspondents and the press not only sensed that danger but gave a wholehearted cooperation which contributed in large degree to smothering that conflagration. We shall feel aftereffects. But the outstanding contribution of the press was the entire abandonment of the search for conflict. The search was for the points of agreement, the word of men of good will, the spread of cooperation.

I am wishing that the press could join in another demonstration of national solidarity in the face of national danger. We have for years seen the steady growth of friction between great naval powers arising from competitive armament. I don't hold that it meant inevitable war, but certainly the continuing pouring of its poison into public mind does not make for peace. The steady arming of Europe before the Great War by the same competitive processes was not the perfection of peace on that occasion.

We have inaugurated conferences designed to bring this competition to an end. The success of those conferences will depend as much upon the press as upon the abilities and character of the negotiators. If the press goes to London resolved that the differences which will inevitably develop shall be painted as fights, campaigns, and combats, rather than earnest effort to find the area of agreement, if the conference is to be represented to the people of the world as an international war of words and intrigue, it will fail. If it fails, the poison flowing from the failure will be a thousandfold more potent in suspicion and hate than ever before.

Never in our history has the press played so large a part or incurred so great a responsibility in our foreign relations as at present. The seasoned public opinion and the example of the American people have become the most powerful influences for peace and orderly progress of the world. Its mobilization at home and the cooperation in its use with other nations abroad is our contribution to peace, entirely within our time-honored refusal to become entangled in such engagements as might involve us in the use of military force.

America has always occupied that mission in the world. Here was lifted the first banner of the right of men to govern themselves, and that voice resounded through the revolutionary drums of the world for a century. It was Americans who first gave effective voice that controversies between nations should be settled by arbitration and judicial determination. It was the public opinion of America which intervened that the results of the World War should not repeat the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War, when one-third of the population of Europe died. It was the voice of America that led to the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. It is the United States that successfully summoned the public opinion of the world against the first violation of the Kellogg Pact. It was the public opinion of the United States that enacted the call for a reduction of naval arms.

Recently I made the suggestion that the time had come when men should renounce starvation of women and children as a weapon of war, not alone for humane considerations but to remove a constant impulse to increasing arms. I have suggested that its enforcement must rest upon the public opinion of the world. There has been an almost universal approbation from our own countrymen of that proposal because it represents the spirit of America. From abroad has come its approval by the leaders of a score of nations. There are discordant notes and discordant nations. The old fallacy has been again produced that making war more terrible will frighten nations to peace. War has become more terrible every year since the invention of gunpowder, and every half century has seen more and more men sacrificed upon the battlefield. Human courage rises far above any terror yet invented. I have been told that one cannot furnish food to civilians without furnishing it to armies, but no body of armed men ever did starve when food existed. There was no army in the World War that did not feed in full up to the last hour of the armistice, no matter when rows of pinched faces and emaciated children stood by roadsides and ransacked their offal for wasted bread.

I am instructed by some that by putting the screws on the civil population we get war over with more quickly and it is thus more humane; the last war proved that attempts at starvation only sharpen hate; it hardens resolution. I have been told that no advance rules made in peace can be made binding in war; that public opinion of the neutral world is futile to restrain belligerents when the war is once launched. That is partly true, unless the subject is one on which public opinion can instantly react as to right and wrong. Public opinion of the neutral world does not react on the legalistic question of whether doormats are contraband or noncontraband. That is the main reason why all the agreements providing for the so-called freedom of the seas have never become a reality. But public opinion can and will react against forced starvation of nations. I have seen it stated that public opinion of neutrals had no effect in the last war. On the contrary, when the final verdict of history is given, it will be found that the loser lost, not for lack of

efficiency, or valor, or courage, or from starvation, but by failure to heed the public opinion of what were originally neutral nations.

Public opinion against the use of starvation as a weapon once created will never be downed. The voice of America on behalf of humanity requires no agreement among nations to give it force. It needs no alliances, no leagues, no sanctions. That voice when raised in human cause is the most potent force in the world today.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Club's semiannual dinner meeting at the Willard Hotel. Gridiron Club addresses are traditionally off-the-record, but the above text was later made public.

For a facsimile of President Hoover's reading copy, with holograph changes, see Appendix D.

The President's News Conference of
December 17, 1929

APPOINTMENTS

THE PRESIDENT. The only questions I have relate to some appointments in the District, and each one starts "Is the White House considering a successor to former Chief Justice, et cetera." I am certainly considering successors. That is part of my job, but I haven't got conclusions.

We will have some appointments of interest during the afternoon, I hope. Otherwise than that I haven't got any news at all.

Q. Will they be local appointments or national?

THE PRESIDENT. National.

So that I am afraid I can't help you out this morning. It is getting time for Christmas and you don't want to work anyway.

NOTE: President Hoover's seventy-fifth news conference was held in the White House at 12 noon on Tuesday, December 17, 1929.

On the same day, the President nominated Joseph B. Eastman for reappointment and Robert Milton Jones for appointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission. A brief biography of Mr. Jones and lists of endorsers for both nominations were issued by the White House.

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Message to the Tanners' Council

December 17, 1929

My dear Mr. Moffatt:

Please express to the members of the Tanners' Council gathered in Washington my cordial greetings and my deep appreciation of their patriotic cooperation in the nationwide task of assuring stability to the economic structure of the country in this hour of stress.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Fraser M. Moffatt, Tanners' Council, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Executives of the leather tanning industry were meeting to discuss actions to follow up suggestions made during the Chamber of Commerce Conference on December 5 (see Item 297).

Message to the Senate Transmitting a Convention
for the Promotion of Safety of Life at Sea

December 17, 1929

To the Senate:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification of the Convention, I transmit herewith a certified copy of a Convention for promoting safety of life at sea, the original of which is deposited with the British Government, signed at London on May 31, 1929, by representatives of eighteen countries at the International Conference held at London in April and May, last, for the purpose of revising the International Convention of January 20, 1914, on the same subject. The countries on whose behalf the Convention was signed are the United States of America, Germany, the Commonwealth of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Spain, the Irish Free State, Finland, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, India, Italy, Japan, Norway, The Netherlands, Sweden and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Senate will observe that by Article 62 of the Convention, the Convention will apply to the colonies, overseas territories, protectorates or territories under sovereignty or mandate of a contracting Government, only if that Government shall so declare its desire in a declaration in writing addressed to the Government of Great Britain.

The Convention is accompanied by the Final Act of the Conference signed at the same time as the Convention, embracing certain supplementary agreements, declarations and recommendations made by the Conference or Delegations of the several Governments represented at the Conference.

An appropriate declaration made by the Delegation of the United States of America, as a safeguard against any possible misconstruction of the position of the United States in regard to the recognition of the regime now functioning in Russia, known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is included in the Final Act.

The attention of the Senate is invited to the enclosed report of the Secretary of State and its accompanying copies of the report of the Delegation of the United States to the Conference and of the Exhibits with the latter report, which documents furnish detailed information regarding the Conference and the Convention.

HERBERT HOOVER

The White House,
December 17, 1929.

NOTE: For the text of the Convention, see Department of State Treaty Series No. 910 or 50 Stat. 1121.

White House Statement on the Appointment of a Research Committee on Social Trends
December 19, 1929

AT THE REQUEST of a number of interested agencies the President has appointed a Research Committee on Social Trends, to direct an extensive survey into the significant social changes in our national life over recent years, paralleling in character the investigation of economic changes made over a year ago. Such subjects will be studied as the improvement of national health and vitality, its bearing upon increased number of persons of "old age" and other results; the changes in maladjusted such as insane, feebleminded, et cetera; the effect of urban life upon mental and physical health; the institutional development to meet these changes; the problems arising from increased leisure; changes in recreation and the provision for it; the changes in occupations, occupations likely to continue to diminish in importance, those likely to increase; the changes in family life, in housing, in education; the effect of inventions upon the life of the people; and many others which may indicate trends which are of importance.

The survey will be a strictly scientific research, carried out by trained technicians, and will require about 2 or 3 years to complete. It is believed that it will produce a body of systematic fact about social problems, hitherto inaccessible, that will be of fundamental and permanent value to all students and workers in the field of social science.

The funds for the research have been provided by the Rockefeller Foundation, and invaluable preliminary aid in defining the nature of the survey has been rendered by the Social Science Research Council.

The members of the Committee are the following:

WESLEY C. MITCHELL, Chairman.

Chairman, Board of Directors, Social Science Research Council, professor of economics, Columbia University; director, National Bureau Economic Research; past president of American Economic Association and of American Statistical Association.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM, chairman of the department and professor of political science, University of Chicago; former president, American Social Science Research Council; director, National Institute of Public Administration.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN, president, American Sociological Society; professor of sociology, University of Chicago; former editor, Journal of the American Statistical Association.

HOWARD W. ODUM, Kenan Professor of Sociology, director of Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina; editor, Social Forces, a Journal of Social Study and Interpretation; and one of the leading sociologists of the South.

SHELBY M. HARRISON, director, Department of Surveys and Exhibits, and vice-general director, Russell Sage Foundation; director of social division, Regional Plan of New York and its Environs.

The President's News Conference of
December 20, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have a complete blank on this occasion, and I don't think that we will bother to have a conference on Tuesday. You will want to go away for Christmas, and I will be too lazy, so I wish to take this occasion to wish you a merry Christmas, and will have a chance to wish you a happy new year later on.

Q. Will there be a Cabinet meeting Tuesday, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. I hadn't thought about it, but now that you mention it I will take your advice.

Q. Do you want to tell us about your Christmas plans?

THE PRESIDENT. I have none. The house is making the usual preparation of green and things that belong to the season. I don't expect to go away and there is nothing special happening.

Q. Are Christmas presents arriving at the White House?

THE PRESIDENT. One or two turkeys already in.

NOTE: President Hoover's seventy-sixth news conference was held in the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, December 20, 1929.

320

Christmas Message to Disabled Veterans

December 20, 1929

To all disabled ex-service men and women:

I send you cordial Christmas greetings and my best wishes for your happiness in the new year, and I do pray for your restoration to health. Your country has not forgotten you and will not forget. The Nation's pride in your valor and devotion, and its gratitude for the service you have rendered, are manifest in its continued concern for your welfare and in its warm sympathy and regard for you.

HERBERT HOOVER

NOTE: The White House announced that the message was sent to veterans' organizations and hospitals throughout the country.

Statement on Signing a Bill for the Construction of Veterans Hospitals

December 23, 1929

IN SIGNING the Hospitalization Bill the President said:

"I have been very glad to sign the bill authorizing the construction over a term of years of further hospitals for war veterans.

"The load seems likely to still further increase and it is desirable that we should know the extent of it, and the policies which should be pursued. We are also in need of more coordination between different government agencies engaged in hospitalization. With view to an exhaustive examination of the subject I have asked General Hines to place the whole question before the Medical Council of the Veterans' Bureau for early study and report. The Council comprises eminent medical men from all parts of the country."

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 234) was Public, No. 29 of the 71st Congress (46 Stat. 53). Gen. Frank T. Hines was Director of the Veterans' Bureau.

322

Message to President Hipolito Irigoyen of Argentina on His Escape From Assassination
December 24, 1929

I HAVE LEARNED with the utmost concern of the dastardly attempt on your life and desire to express to you my heartiest congratulations on your very fortunate escape. The people of the United States join with those of Argentina in deploring this unfortunate occurrence and in expressing their great relief and joy that you escaped unharmed.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Excellency, President Hipolito Irigoyen, Buenos Aires]

NOTE: In Buenos Aires, an alleged anarchist fired several shots at the automobile in which President Irigoyen was riding. Other members of the party were injured, but the President escaped unharmed. The assassin was shot to death by police at the scene.

323

Christmas Greeting to the Nation

December 24, 1929

MAY I have the privilege of wishing you all, and the great unseen audience, both a merry Christmas and a most happy new year?

NOTE: The President's greeting was delivered at the annual Christmas tree lighting ceremony in Sherman Square near the White House. The ceremony was broadcast nationwide.

The President touched a button to light the tree but was not scheduled to speak. As the ceremony concluded, however, he stepped to the microphone to deliver his impromptu greeting. The text of his greeting is quoted from a contemporary newspaper report.

CHRISTMAS BUSINESS REPORTS

THE PRESIDENT. One of the last reports coming into the Department of Commerce shows that the Christmas shopping this year was fully up to that of last year. Of course, there are some exceptions, some down and some up above, but it is a very encouraging result because the mercantile community estimated from the stock exchange collapse they would probably see anything from 10 to 15 percent fall in Christmas shopping, so that as it is up to last year everybody is much encouraged.

PROGRESS OF PUBLIC WORKS SURVEYS

Another item is that the surveys being made by the Governors of the various States of the public works that will be undertaken during this next year – they are in 26 States, some of which are only partial – but so far they show a total of about \$825 million of public works. That will represent only a portion of the total when all of the surveys are in and when those out of the 26 that are partial are made complete. We are in hopes that they can be made complete so that we can tabulate them and give them to you soon after the first of the year.

BACKGROUND DISCUSSION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

Now, you have heard a great deal of discussion on prohibition and law enforcement. I would like to talk to you on the background of that situation, but with the understanding that it is not for quotation, directly or indirectly, or anything else, but merely for your own information. I have been told several times that you would like it – that where I know a subject you would like to have what I believe about it. But I don't care to get into this discussion for no reason.

The problem as I have outlined parts of it is a much more difficult one than appears on the surface. It involves all criminal law enforcement. For some 25 years or more the Government has been steadily failing behind in its criminal work. That is attributed by some to the increasing technology and technological character of our court procedure which delays action, and then also to the very natural fact that the population has been growing, and probably more important than any other factor, the very large expansion of the Federal Government's activities into criminal control – not only the prohibition laws but the narcotics and, curiously enough, to an extraordinary degree the interstate thefts of automobiles. That comprises today nearly 15 percent of all the Federal criminal activities. Then we have the Mann Act, which is a contribution, and we have the Immigration Act, which also gives the Federal Government a very considerable area of criminal activity. In any event, the load on the courts and the enforcement machinery of the country has grown tremendously, and the machinery is far behind its load, and you cannot separate one element of that load from another. The effect is that our courts are behind in their work.

There are cases like the District of Columbia, where they are 18 months behind in their criminal docket. It is impossible to enforce the law, . . . when you have to wait 18 months before a criminal can be brought to trial.¹ One effect of this enormous piling up of criminal activities of the courts has been the tendency of district attorneys to try to get relief by wholesale confessions, and the net result of that is the establishing of a sort of a licensing system by which the various offenders can go and confess and be assured of a small fine, and that puts them in a position of considerable safety. So we have a tremendous lot of confessions of that kind in progress. We have the whole judicial and enforcement system overloaded as it stands today, and you cannot separate any one segment from the problem.

The Law Enforcement Commission has been investigating the different phases of this problem with view to arriving at some sort of a broad and effective solution. There are certain steps in it as to which conclusion has been reached, and that involved some very intricate and some very difficult questions. There seems to be some misunderstanding, for instance, of the position of district attorney. A district attorney in the main is an official of the Department of Justice to whom cases are brought by various police agencies of the government for him to take into the courts. In the main he is not a police officer – or only in a few directions – nor has he any staff for detective purposes. He cannot go out himself and find a criminal and hail him into court. He has to wait until various instruments of the government bring them to him or bring cases to him. When we come to enforcement of narcotics and others which are carried on by detection

forces and some prosecution forces that have been built up, they come to the district attorney bringing the cases. Sometimes they are not well presented, and the district attorney is not able to get effective action. He blames the police or the prosecuting detection agencies, whatever they may be, for his failure, and they in turn blame him and blame the Department of Justice. And so we have a passing of the buck as between these different agencies, and we have the same triangle. We have it from the two passing it to the State governments and back again. That applies to narcotics, automobile traffic, and prohibition, all of them feel that the State has a function there, and if it happens that the local State authority does not want the responsibility he passes it off on the Federal agency and they pass it back to him. Generally, we have a tendency everywhere then to forgo responsibility by passing it off on some agency of the government.

Up to last March I think I am correct in saying that nobody had raised any disturbance about the fundamentals that were involved in this problem. I undertook to see whether we could establish national opinion and some positive definite steps to get at the root of it. It is not a question of arriving at some summary of an idea that is a panacea for all this. I can illustrate in the case of the court. I think there are something like 50,000 prohibition cases in the Federal court. Some 4,000 were brought to trial, and the rest of them pleaded guilty. Thereby cleaning the docket periodically.

You have two or three alternatives. One of them is to add to the number of district courts, which are insufficient to say the least, when the appointments are for life, a sufficient number of judges to act in a police capacity as police magistrates on behalf of the Government. Another view is to create some kind of subsidiary courts to the district court. Another proposal has been to create enlarged authority in the court commissioners.

Now any consideration of these alternatives involves the most obtuse constitutional questions as well as practical questions. And some manner by which courts may be set up for minor cases, that are not created for life or permanent – appointments of judges to deal with the cases of congested dockets.

The Law Enforcement Commission has given a very exhaustive consideration to that problem and has prepared their views and material and their reports upon it. They also have, in cooperation with the Federal officials, investigated the question of dual relationships in the Federal Government, and have come to conclusions and made reports on that subject.

And another intricate problem in connection with prohibition is the fact that prohibition is not enforced by the Volstead Law, but by 24 different statutes, extending over 40 years, with a great deal of background to them; and the need for some sort of injunction of that situation in order to effect facile handling of enforcement.

Last June in order to try to get the matter in hand in constructive fashion, I requested that there should be a joint select committee of the House appointed that could cooperate with the Law Enforcement Commission and the Federal Government in working out a program for handling the many different things that have to be undertaken. That proposal passed the Senate 10 or 12 days ago and probably will pass the House early after it reconvenes. The object of having a joint select committee was not to load the responsibility on them, but the fact that there are four and perhaps five separate committees in the House that would need to deal with this problem by virtue of their being functions of the Government. And there are a number of committees in the Senate, and it would simplify and expedite it if they had a select committee.

It was felt by the Law Enforcement Commission and other officials of the Government that as such a committee was in process it would not be quite courteous to lay down to them the exact ironclad proposals that we have on the side of the administration and in the Law Enforcement Commission, but to await their appointments and take up the material and reports which have been prepared, and with the Commission to work out a series of different acts.

From the point of view of the administration, and subject always to the views of that committee, we had four proposals for immediate presentation to that committee:

The first is the method for relieving congestion in the courts.

The second was to transfer the detection and prosecution function of the Prohibition Bureau to the Department of Justice, and then centralize responsibility in one point. That also would probably fill some functions of the Government. In other words, that the Department of Justice should enlarge its processes of detection and take over a very large element of prosecution which now exists in the Prohibition Bureau.

A further proposal there was to utilize the various boards of control into some sort of definite expansion of the Coast Guard so as to avoid overlapping between five different forms of border patrol that now exist, all now more or less conflicting and lacking coordination and cooperation. We have the

Customs, and we have the Border Guard [Immigration]; we have Labor, and Prohibition, and Narcotics. I think all of them act in the same manner in the matter of border patrol.

A fourth proposal there is to see what might be done by coordination.

Then a further strengthening of the situation by increasing the staff in the district attorneys' office which the Attorney General has asked. In fact, he has asked for it in the Deficiency Bill. All of the district attorneys are under equipped with staff at the present moment to carry on the functions they are now performing.

A still further step was in the direction of improved personnel. That implies payments of salaries by which adequate personnel can be maintained. That is not such a large item, but it is an important one.

In other words, here are a series of steps that have been worked out by careful investigation all along the line, having regard for fundamental problems involved, to go before Congress at as early a date as possible for action. That does not comprise by any means the whole of the questions involved. There is a very large question here of what procedure should be on the question of cooperation with the States, and they will have to form subsequent steps, and they are being investigated in as exhaustive a fashion as possible as to what can be arrived at. By and large problems of this character can only be adequately founded if they are based on a very careful examination and research into what has gone on before, as to what are the broad problems involved – and it cannot be hurried up overnight. That the various agencies are ready to present the material and reinforce it as to five important steps is a worthy accomplishment of some 6 or 7 months labor.

Now in the Government there has been a very distinct tightening up of activities all along the line. A great many changes have been made in officials throughout the country that are beneficial, but to secure real and effective action there must be legislation in the nature or reorganization of these vital questions. The Federal Government obviously can have just one object in view, and that is to secure an adequate enforcement of the law, whatever it is. And that is being undertaken, and will be much more possible of successful action when we have cleared up a number of things which have arisen from handicapped effective action.

That then is the situation in the background, and about all that I can present on the subject. I cannot go into the constitutional questions that affect the expansion of the courts, but I think new and successful methods have been worked out as to possibilities, and are ready for submission to Congress.

We are not arriving at any sudden determination, and it is not the policy of this administration to enter upon programs in connection with law enforcement. I believe the enforcement of the law must be built up step by step in the spirit of the men who have the problem in their hands; that it must be built up in the spirit of the people, and that when one begins to enter upon changes in our whole judicial and enforcement system we must enter upon them with an adequate consideration of a century and a half of background of constitutional authority, and a proper consideration of what makes for constructive development, and not for dramatics and sudden onslaught and fire of one kind or another.

Q. Has the Law Enforcement Commission given you any indication of when it expects to finish its report, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. The Law Enforcement Commission has been ready for a month.

Q. May we use the fact that the Commission is ready with this report?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I would rather you would not. The Commission will have something to say for itself. I gave these discussions of this subject because I thought you would like to have my point of view and clarify your own minds on it.

Q. Do I understand that we are not to use the fact that the Commission is ready to report on this?

THE PRESIDENT. You are not to use this as from me. I do not know whether it has been stated from the Commission itself. They will be stating that shortly.

NOTE: President Hoover's seventy-seventh news conference was held in the State, War, and Navy Building at 4 p.m. on Friday, December 27, 1929. The President's offices were moved to that building after a Christmas eve fire in the executive office wing of the White House (see Item 328).

¹ The ellipsis is indicated in the transcript.

325

Message Contributed to a Symposium on the Washington Cathedral
December 27, 1929

[Released December 27, 1929. Dated November 12, 1929]

IN THE COURSE of time I hope that Washington may become architecturally an inspiration to the nation. This hope will be achieved when there is beautiful architectural expression of the fundamental aspects of our democracy. Certainly one of these aspects, because it is the deepest spring of our national life, is religion. Therefore, as a wonderfully beautiful expression of religion, I watch with sympathetic interest the growth of the great Cathedral on the heights overlooking Washington.

HERBERT HOOVER

**Messages to the Presidents of Guatemala and El Salvador on the
Inauguration of a Direct Rail Route Between the Two Republics**
December 28, 1929

TO PRESIDENT LAZARO CHACON OF GUATEMALA

ON THE OCCASION of the inauguration of the first direct rail route between two sister Republics of Central America, permit me to felicitate Your Excellency and the people of Guatemala and to assure you of the sincere pleasure with which this event is viewed in the United States. The establishment of this new bond of union between the Republics of Guatemala and El Salvador constitutes an important contribution to the constantly advancing progress and welfare of Central America.

TO PRESIDENT PIO ROMERO BOSQUE OF EL SALVADOR

Permit me to extend to Your Excellency and the people of El Salvador the assurance of the interest and pleasure with which the completion of direct rail communication between the Republics of El Salvador and Guatemala has been viewed in the United States. In felicitating Your Excellency upon this notable occasion, when for the first time two Central American Republics will enjoy direct rail communication, I venture to express the hope that it will contribute substantially to the increasing advancement and welfare of Central America.

The President's News Conference of
December 31, 1929

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't anything of a news character today

NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS TO THE PRESS

I want to take this occasion to wish you all a happy new year, and to express my appreciation for the fine cooperation that I have had during this 8 months from all of you. The job is difficult enough, as you know, of maintaining a press relationship, and it is one in which I am in hopes we have established complete confidence with you, and I know it is one in which I have complete confidence on my side. We have tried to experiment now for about 8 months, a rather fundamental line of at least a departure from previous months, and I think it has worked out satisfactorily. We have difficulties at times, but nevertheless I have fine cooperation on your side, and I want to express that feeling to you and to wish you the happiest new year.

NOTE: President Hoover's seventy-eighth news conference was held in the State, War, and Navy Building at 12 noon on Tuesday, December 31, 1929.

328

Letter to the District of Columbia Fire Department on
Its Service in Fighting an Executive Office Fire
December 31, 1929

[Released December 31, 1929. Dated December 30, 1929]

My dear Chief Watson:

I want you to know of my appreciation of the excellent service rendered by you and the men of your Department during and following the fire in the Executive Office on Christmas eve. It was a fine piece of work and I thank you sincerely for all your efforts.

Yours faithfully,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Chief Engineer George S. Watson, Fire Department, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Shortly after the President's return to the White House from the Christmas tree lighting ceremony on December 24, fire was discovered in the executive office wing of the White House, and he watched from the roof as firemen fought the blaze. The President's personal files were saved, but the building suffered extensive damage and he was forced to vacate the offices during reconstruction. The fire did not reach the White House itself.

329

New Year's Message to Albert, King of the Belgians

December 31, 1929

[Released December 31, 1929. Dated December 30, 1929]

IN ACKNOWLEDGING Your Majesty's cordial greetings which I have received with deepest appreciation, permit me to extend to you and to the Belgian people on behalf of the American people my best wishes for the coming year.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Majesty Albert, King of the Belgians, Brussels, Belgium]

330

New Year's Message to King Vittorio Emmanuele of Italy
December 31, 1929

[Released December 31, 1929. Dated December 30, 1929]

I THANK Your Majesty for your cordial new year greetings. May the coming years bring to Your Majesty health and happiness, and to the great nation over which you preside, continued peace and prosperity.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Majesty Vittorio Emmanuele III, King of Italy, Rome]

331

Message to Emperor Hirohito of Japan on a Washington
Visit of Japanese Delegates to the London Naval Conference
December 31, 1929

BOTH Mrs. Hoover and I were very happy to have Mr. Wakatsuki and the other members of the Japanese Delegation as our guests and we are gratified to learn that their visit to our Capital city was a pleasant one. The American Delegates to the London Conference were most pleased to meet their fellow Japanese Delegates and look forward to reciprocal and hearty cooperation in their coming mission.

HERBERT HOOVER

[His Majesty Hirohito, Emperor of Japan, Tokyo]

NOTE: Reijiro Wakatsuki was chairman of the Japanese delegation to the London Naval Conference. During their visit, the Japanese delegates attended two meetings with the American delegates to discuss points of view relating to the Conference.

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Supplement I
Acceptance of the Nomination

Message to the Republican National Convention.
June 14, 1928

I HAVE your telegram and I sincerely appreciate the confidence which the party has shown in me and the honor bestowed upon me.

You convey too great a compliment when you say that I have earned the right to the Presidential nomination. No man can establish such an obligation upon any part of the American people. My country owes me no debt. It gave me, as it gives every boy and girl, a chance. It gave me schooling, independence of action, opportunity for service and honor. In no other land could a boy from a country village, without inheritance or influential friends, look forward with unbounded hope.

My whole life has taught me what America means. I am indebted to my country beyond any human power to repay. It conferred upon me the mission to administer America's response to the appeal of great nations stricken of famine by the war. It honored me with high responsibilities in our Government during the war. It has called me into the Cabinets of two Presidents. By these experiences I have observed the burdens and responsibilities of the greatest office in the world. That office touches the happiness of every home. It deals with the peace of nations. No man could think of it except in terms of solemn consecration.

You ask me for a message:

A new era and new forces have come into our economic life and our setting among nations of the world. These forces demand of us constant study and effort if prosperity, peace, and contentment shall be maintained.

Supplement I

This convention, like those which have preceded it for two generations, has affirmed the principles of our party and defined its policies upon the problems which now confront us. I stand upon that platform. At a later date I shall discuss it fully, but in the meantime I may well say that under these principles the victory of the party will assure national defense, maintain economy in the administration of government, protect American workmen, farmers, and businessmen alike from competition arising out of lower standards of living abroad, foster individual initiative, insure stability of business and employment, promote our foreign commerce, and develop our national resources.

You have manifested a deep concern in the problems of agriculture. You have pledged the party to support specific and constructive relief upon a nationwide scale backed by the resources of the Federal Government. We will and must find a sound solution that will bring security and contentment to this great section of our people.

But the problems of the next 4 years are more than economic. In a profound sense they are moral and spiritual. This convention has sounded a note of moral leadership.

Shall the world have peace? Shall prosperity in this nation be more thoroughly distributed? Shall we build steadily toward the ideal of equal opportunity to all our people? Shall there be secured that obedience to law which is the essential assurance of life of our institutions? Shall honesty and righteousness in government and in business confirm the confidence of the people in their institutions and their laws?

Government must contribute to leadership in answer to these questions. The Government is more than administration; it is power for leadership and cooperation with the forces of business and cultural life in city, town, and countryside. The Presidency is more than executive responsibility. It is the inspiring symbol of all that is highest in America's purposes and ideals.

It is vital to the welfare of the United States that the Republican Party should continue to administer the government. It is essential that our party should be continued in organization and in strength in order that it may perpetuate its great principles in our national life.

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If elected by my fellow countrymen I shall give the best within me to advance the moral and material welfare of all our people and uphold the traditions of the Republican Party so effectively exemplified by Calvin Coolidge.

HERBERT HOOVER

[George H. Moses, Chairman, Republican National Convention, Kansas City, Missouri]

Address Accepting the Nomination.
August 11, 1928

[Delivered at ceremonies in the Stanford University stadium in California, where Mr. Hoover was formally notified of his nomination.]

YOU BRING, Mr. Chairman, formal notice of my nomination by the Republican Party to the Presidency of the United States. I accept. It is a great honor to be chosen for leadership in that party which has so largely made the history of our country in these last 70 years.

Mr. Chairman, you and your associates have in 4 days traveled 3,000 miles across the continent to bring me this notice. I am reminded that in order to notify George Washington of his election Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Congress, spent 7 days on horseback to deliver that important intelligence 230 miles from New York to Mount Vernon.

In another way, too, this occasion illuminates the milestones of progress. By the magic of the radio this nomination was heard by millions of our fellow citizens not 7 days after its occurrence, nor one day, nor even one minute. They were, to all intents and purposes, present in the hall and participants in the proceedings. Today these same millions have heard your voice and now are hearing mine. We stand in their unseen presence. It is fitting, however, that the forms of our national life, hallowed by generations of usage, should be jealously preserved, and for that reason you have come to me, as similar delegations have come to other candidates through the years.

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Those invisible millions have already heard from Kansas City the reading of our party principles. They would wish to hear from me not a discourse upon the platform—in which I fully concur—but something of the spirit and ideals with which it is proposed to carry it into administration.

Our problems of the past 7 years have been problems of reconstruction; our problems of the future are problems of construction. They are problems of progress. New and gigantic forces have come into our national life. The Great War released ideas of government in conflict with our principles. We have grown to financial and physical power which compels us into a new setting among nations. Science has given us new tools and a thousand inventions. Through them have come to each of us wider relationships, more neighbors, more leisure, broader vision, higher ambitions, greater problems. To insure that these tools shall not be used to limit liberty has brought a vast array of questions in government.

The points of contact between the Government and the people are constantly multiplying. Every year wise governmental policies become more vital in ordinary life. As our problems grow so do our temptations grow to venture away from those principles upon which our Republic was founded and upon which it has grown to greatness. Moreover, we must direct economic progress in support of moral and spiritual progress.

Our party platform deals mainly with economic problems, but our nation is not an agglomeration of railroads, of ships, of factories, of dynamos, or statistics. It is a nation of homes, a nation of men, of women, of children. Every man has a right to ask of us whether the United States is a better place for him, his wife, and his children to live in, because the Republican Party has conducted the Government for nearly 8 years. Every woman has a right to ask whether her life, her home, her man's job, her hopes, her happiness will be better assured by the continuance of the Republican Party in power. I propose to discuss the questions before me in that light.

With this occasion we inaugurate the campaign. It shall be an honest campaign; every penny will be publicly accounted for. It shall be a

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true campaign. We shall use words to convey our meaning, not to hide it.

The Republican Party came into authority nearly 8 years ago. It is necessary to remind ourselves of the critical conditions of that time. We were confronted with an incompleting peace and involved in violent and dangerous disputes both at home and abroad. The Federal Government was spending at the rate of 5 1/2 billions per year; our national debt stood at the staggering total of 24 billions. The foreign debts were unsettled. The country was in a panic from over-expansion due to the war and the continued inflation of credit and currency after the armistice, followed by a precipitant nationwide deflation which in half a year crashed the prices of commodities by nearly one-half. Agriculture was prostrated; land was unsalable; commerce and industry were stagnated; our foreign trade ebbed away; 5 millions of unemployed walked the streets. Discontent and agitation against our democracy were rampant. Fear for the future haunted every heart.

No party ever accepted a more difficult task of reconstruction than did the Republican Party in 1921. The record of these 7½ years constitutes a period of rare courage in leadership and constructive action. Never has a political party been able to look back upon a similar period with more satisfaction. Never could it look forward with more confidence that its record would be approved by the electorate.

Peace has been made. The healing processes of good will have extinguished the fires of hate. Year by year in our relations with other nations we have advanced the ideals of law and of peace, in substitution for force. By rigorous economy Federal expenses have been reduced by 2 billions per annum. The national debt has been reduced by 6 1/2 billions. The foreign debts have been settled in large part and on terms which have regard for our debtors and for our taxpayers. Taxes have been reduced four successive times. These reductions have been made in the particular interest of the small taxpayers. For this purpose taxes upon articles of consumption and popular service have been removed. The income tax rolls today show a reduction of 80 percent in the total revenue collected on incomes under \$10,000 per year, while they show a reduction of only 25 percent in revenues from incomes above that

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amount. Each successive reduction in taxes has brought a reduction in the cost of living to all our people.

Commerce and industry have revived. Although the agricultural, coal, and textile industries still lag in their recovery and still require our solicitude and assistance, yet they have made substantial progress. While other countries engaged in the war are only now regaining their prewar level in foreign trade, our exports, even if we allow for the depreciated dollar, are 58 percent greater than before the war. Constructive leadership and cooperation by the Government have released and stimulated the energies of our people. Faith in the future has been restored. Confidence in our form of government has never been greater.

But it is not through the recitation of wise policies in government alone that we demonstrate our progress under Republican guidance. To me the test is the security, comfort, and opportunity that have been brought to the average American family. During this less than 8 years our population has increased by 8 percent. Yet our national income has increased by over \$30 billion per year or more than 45 percent. Our production—and therefore our consumption—of goods has increased by over 25 percent. It is easily demonstrated that these increases have been widely spread among our whole people. Home ownership has grown. While during this period the number of families has increased by about 2,300,000, we have built more than 3,500,000 new and better homes. In this short time we have equipped nearly 9 million more homes with electricity, and through it drudgery has been lifted from the lives of women. The barriers of time and distance have been swept away and life made freer and larger by the installation of 6 million more telephones, 7 million radio sets, and the service of an additional 14 million automobiles. Our cities are growing magnificent with beautiful buildings, parks, and playgrounds. Our countryside has been knit together with splendid roads.

We have doubled the use of electrical power and with it we have taken sweat from the backs of men. The purchasing power of wages has steadily increased. The hours of labor have decreased. The 12-hour day has been abolished. Great progress has been made in stabilization of commerce and industry. The job of every man has thus been

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made more secure. Unemployment in the sense of distress is widely disappearing.

Most of all, I like to remember what this progress has meant to America's children. The portal of their opportunity has been ever widening. While our population has grown but 8 percent, we have increased by 11 percent the number of children in our grade schools, by 66 percent the number in our high schools, and by 75 percent the number in our institutions of higher learning.

With all our spending we have doubled savings deposits in our banks and building and loan associations. We have nearly doubled our life insurance. Nor have our people been selfish. They have met with a full hand the most sacred obligation of man—charity. The gifts of America to churches, to hospitals, and institutions for the care of the afflicted, and to relief from great disasters have surpassed by hundreds of millions any totals for any similar period in all human record.

One of the oldest and perhaps the noblest of human aspirations has been the abolition of poverty. By poverty I mean the grinding by undernourishment, cold, and ignorance, and fear of old age of those who have the will to work. We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land. The poorhouse is vanishing from among us. We have not yet reached the goal, but, given a chance to go forward with the policies of the last 8 years, we shall soon with the help of God be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this Nation. There is no guarantee against poverty equal to a job for every man. That is the primary purpose of the economic policies we advocate.

I especially rejoice in the effect of our increased national efficiency upon the improvement of the American home. That is the sanctuary of our loftiest ideals, the source of the spiritual energy of our people. The bettered home surroundings, the expanded schools and playgrounds, and the enlarged leisure which have come with our economic progress have brought to the average family a fuller life, a wider outlook, a stirred imagination, and a lift in aspirations.

Economic advancement is not an end in itself. Successful democracy rests wholly upon the moral and spiritual quality of its people. Our

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growth in spiritual achievements must keep pace with our growth in physical accomplishments. Material prosperity and moral progress must march together if we would make the United States that commonwealth so grandly conceived by its founders. Our government, to match the expectations of our people, must have constant regard for those human values that give dignity and nobility to life. Generosity of impulse, cultivation of mind, willingness to sacrifice, spaciousness of spirit—those are the qualities whereby America, growing bigger and richer and more powerful, may become America great and noble. A people or government to which these values are not real, because they are not tangible, is in peril. Size, wealth, and power alone cannot fulfill the promise of America's opportunity.

The most urgent economic problem in our Nation today is in agriculture. It must be solved if we are to bring prosperity and contentment to one-third of our people directly and to all of our people indirectly. We have pledged ourselves to find a solution.

To my mind most agricultural discussions go wrong because of two false premises. The first is that agriculture is one industry. It is a dozen distinct industries incapable of the same organization. The second false premise is that rehabilitation will be complete when it has reached a point comparable with prewar. Agriculture was not upon a satisfactory basis before the war. The abandoned farms of the Northeast bear their own testimony. Generally, there was but little profit in Midwest agriculture for many years except that derived from the slow increases in farmland values. Even of more importance is the great advance in standards of living of all occupations since the war. Some branches of agriculture have greatly recovered, but taken as a whole it is not keeping pace with the onward march in other industries.

There are many causes for failure of agriculture to win its full share of national prosperity. The after-war deflation of prices not only brought great direct losses to the farmer, but he was often left indebted in inflated dollars to be paid in deflated dollars. Prices are often demoralized through gluts in our markets during the harvest season. Local taxes have been increased to provide the improved roads and schools. The tariff on some products is proving inadequate to protect him from imports from abroad.

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The increases in transportation rates since the war have greatly affected the price which he receives for his products. Over 6 million farmers in times of surplus engage in destructive competition with one another in the sale of their product, often depressing prices below those levels that could be maintained.

The whole tendency of our civilization during the last 50 years has been toward an increase in the size of the units of production in order to secure lower costs and a more orderly adjustment of the flow of commodities to the demand. But the organization of agriculture into larger units must not be by enlarged farms. The farmer has shown he can increase the skill of his industry without large operations. He is today producing 20 percent more than 8 years ago, with about the same acreage and personnel. Farming is and must continue to be an individualistic business of small units and independent ownership. The farm is more than a business: it is a state of living. We do not wish it converted into a mass-production machine. Therefore, if the farmer's position is to be improved by larger operations it must be done not on the farm but in the field of distribution. Agriculture has partially advanced in this direction through cooperatives and pools. But the traditional cooperative is often not a complete solution.

Differences of opinion as to both causes and remedy have retarded the completion of a constructive program of relief. It is our plain duty to search out the common ground on which we may mobilize the sound forces of agricultural reconstruction. Our platform lays a solid basis upon which we can build. It offers an affirmative program.

An adequate tariff is the foundation of farm relief. Our consumers increase faster than our producers. The domestic market must be protected. Foreign products raised under lower standards of living are today competing in our home markets. I would use my office and influence to give the farmer the full benefit of our historic tariff policy.

A large portion of the spread between what the farmer receives for his products and what the ultimate consumer pays is due to increased transportation charges. Increase in railway rates has been one of the penalties of the war. These increases have been added to the cost to the

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farmer of reaching seaboard and foreign markets and result therefore in reduction of his prices. The farmers of foreign countries have thus been indirectly aided in their competition with the American farmer. Nature has endowed us with a great system of inland waterways. Their modernization will comprise a most substantial contribution to Midwest farm relief and to the development of 20 of our interior States. This modernization includes not only the great Mississippi system, with its joining of the Great Lakes and of the heart of Midwest agriculture to the gulf, but also a ship-way from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic. These improvements would mean so large an increment in farmers' prices as to warrant their construction many times over. There is no more vital method of farm relief.

But we must not stop here.

An outstanding proposal of the party program is the wholehearted pledge to undertake the reorganization of the marketing system upon sounder and more economical lines. We have already contributed greatly to this purpose by the acts supporting farm cooperatives, the establishment of intermediate credit banks, the regulation of stockyards and public exchanges, and the expansion of the Department of Agriculture. The platform proposes to go much farther. It pledges the creation of a Federal Farm Board of representative farmers to be clothed with authority and resources with which not only to still further aid farmers' cooperatives and pools and to assist generally in solution of farm problems but especially to build up, with Federal finance, farmer-owned and farmer-controlled stabilization corporations which will protect the farmer from the depressions and demoralization of seasonal gluts and periodical surpluses.

Objection has been made that this program, as laid down by the party platform, may require that several hundred millions of dollars of capital be advanced by the Federal Government without obligation upon the individual farmer. With that objection I have little patience. A nation which is spending 90 billions a year can well afford an expenditure of a few hundred millions for a workable program that will give to one-third of its population their fair share of the Nation's prosperity. Nor does this proposal put the Government into business except so far as

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it is called upon to furnish capital with which to build up the farmer to the control of his own destinies.

The program adapts itself to the variable problems of agriculture not only today but which will arise in the future. I do not believe that any single human being or any group of human beings can determine in advance all questions that will arise in so vast and complicated an industry over a term of years. The first step is to create an effective agency directly for these purposes and to give it authority and resources. These are solemn pledges and they will be fulfilled by the Republican Party. It is a definite plan of relief. It needs only the detailed elaboration of legislation and appropriations to put it into force.

During my term as Secretary of Commerce I have steadily endeavored to build up a system of cooperation between the Government and business. Under these cooperative actions all elements interested in the problems of a particular industry such as manufacturer, distributor, worker, and consumer have been called into council together, not for a single occasion but for continuous work. These efforts have been successful beyond any expectation. They have been accomplished without interference or regulation by the Government. They have secured progress in the industries, remedy for abuses, elimination of waste, reduction of cost in production and distribution, lower prices to the consumer, and more stable employment and profit. While the problem varies with every different commodity and with every different part of our great country, I should wish to apply the same method to agriculture so that the leaders of every phase of each group can advise and organize on policies and constructive measures. I am convinced that this form of action, as it has done in other industries, can greatly benefit farmer, distributor, and consumer.

The working out of agricultural relief constitutes the most important obligation of the next administration. I stand pledged to these proposals. The object of our policies is to establish for our farmers an income equal to those of other occupations; for the farmer's wife the same comforts in her home as women in other groups; for the farm boys and girls the same opportunities in life as other boys and girls. So far as my own abilities may be of service, I dedicate them to help secure prosperity

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and contentment in that industry where I and my forefathers were born and nearly all my family still obtain their livelihood.

The Republican Party has ever been the exponent of protection to all our people from competition with lower standards of living abroad. We have always fought for tariffs designed to establish this protection from imported goods. We also have enacted restrictions upon immigration for the protection of labor from the inflow of workers faster than we can absorb them without breaking down our wage levels.

The Republican principle of an effective control of imported goods and of immigration has contributed greatly to the prosperity of our country. There is no selfishness in this defense of our standards of living. Other countries gain nothing if the high standards of America are sunk and if we are prevented from building a civilization which sets the level of hope for the entire world. A general reduction in the tariff would admit a flood of goods from abroad. It would injure every home. It would fill our streets with idle workers. It would destroy the returns to our dairymen, our fruit, flax, and livestock growers, and our other farmers.

No man will say that any immigration or tariff law is perfect. We welcome our new immigrant citizens and their great contribution to our nation; we seek only to protect them equally with those already here. We shall amend the immigration laws to relieve unnecessary hardships upon families. As a member of the commission whose duty it is to determine the quota basis under the national origins law, I have found it is impossible to do so accurately and without hardship. The basis now in effect carries out the essential principle of the law and I favor repeal of that part of the act calling for a new basis of quotas.

We have pledged ourselves to make such revisions in the tariff laws as may be necessary to provide real protection against the shiftings of economic tides in our various industries. I am sure the American people would rather entrust the perfection of the tariff to the consistent friend of the tariff than to our opponents, who have always reduced our tariffs, who voted against our present protection to the worker and the farmer, and whose whole economic theory over generations has been the destruction of the protective principle.

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Having earned my living with my own hands, I cannot have other than the greatest sympathy with the aspirations of those who toil. It has been my good fortune during the past 12 years to have received the cooperation of labor in many directions, and in promotion of many public purposes.

The trade union movement in our country has maintained two departures from such movements in all other countries. They have been staunch supporters of American individualism and American institutions. They have steadfastly opposed subversive doctrines from abroad. Our freedom from foreign social and economic diseases is in large degree due to this resistance by our own labor. Our trade unions, with few exceptions, have welcomed all basic improvement in industrial methods. This largeness of mind has contributed to the advancing standards of living of the whole of our people. They properly have sought to participate—by additions to wages—in the result of improvements and savings which they have helped to make.

During these past years we have grown greatly in the mutual understanding between employer and employee. We have seen a growing realization by the employer that the highest practicable wage is the road to increased consumption and prosperity, and we have seen a growing realization by labor that the maximum use of machines, of effort, and of skill is the road to lower production costs and in the end to higher real wages. Under these impulses and the Republican protective system our industrial output has increased as never before and our wages have grown steadily in buying power. Our workers with their average weekly wages can today buy two and often three times more bread and butter than any wage earner of Europe. At one time we demanded for our workers a "full dinner pail." We have now gone far beyond that conception. Today we demand larger comfort and greater participation in life and leisure.

The Republican platform gives the pledge of the party to the support of labor. It endorses the principle of collective bargaining and freedom in labor negotiations. We stand also pledged to the curtailment of excessive use of the injunction in labor disputes.

The war and the necessary curtailment of expenditure during the

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reconstruction years have suspended the construction of many needed public works. Moreover, the time has arrived when we must undertake a larger-visioned development of our water resources. Every drop which runs to the sea without yielding its full economic service is a waste.

Nearly all of our greater drainages contain within themselves possibilities of cheapened transportation, irrigation, reclamation, domestic water supply, hydroelectric power, and frequently the necessities of flood control. But this development of our waters requires more definite national policies in the systematic coordination of those different works upon each drainage area. We have wasted scores of millions by projects undertaken not as a part of a whole but as the consequence of purely local demands. We cannot develop modernized water transportation by isolated projects. We must develop it as a definite and positive interconnected system of transportation. We must adjust reclamation and irrigation to our needs for more land. Where they lie together we must coordinate transportation with flood control, the development of hydroelectric power and of irrigation, else we shall as in the past commit errors that will take years and millions to remedy. The Congress has authorized and has in process of legislation great programs of public works. In addition to the works in development of water resources, we have in progress large undertakings in public roads and the construction of public buildings.

All these projects will probably require an expenditure of upward of \$1 billion within the next 4 years. It comprises the largest engineering construction ever undertaken by any government. It involves three times the expenditure laid out upon the Panama Canal. It is justified by the growth, need, and wealth of our country. The organization and administration of this construction is a responsibility of the first order. For it we must secure the utmost economy, honesty, and skill. These works, which will provide jobs for an army of men, should so far as practicable be adjusted to take up the slack of unemployment elsewhere.

I rejoice in the completion of legislation providing adequate flood control of the Mississippi. It marks not alone the undertaking of a

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great national task, but it constitutes a contribution to the development of the South. In encouragement of their economic growth lies one of the great national opportunities of the future.

I recently stated my position upon the 18th amendment, which I again repeat:

"I do not favor the repeal of the 18th amendment. I stand for the efficient enforcement of the laws enacted thereunder. Whoever is chosen President has under his oath the solemn duty to pursue this course.

"Our country has deliberately undertaken a great social and economic experiment, noble in motive and far-reaching in purpose. It must be worked out constructively."

Commonsense compels us to realize that grave abuses have occurred—abuses which must be remedied. An organized searching investigation of fact and causes can alone determine the wise method of correcting them. Crime and disobedience of law cannot be permitted to break down the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Modification of the enforcement laws which would permit that which the Constitution forbids is nullification. This the American people will not countenance. Change in the Constitution can and must be brought about only by the straightforward methods provided in the Constitution itself. There are those who do not believe in the purposes of several provisions of the Constitution. No one denies their right to seek to amend it. They are not subject to criticism for asserting that right. But the Republican Party does deny the right of anyone to seek to destroy the purposes of the Constitution by indirection.

Whoever is elected President takes an oath not only to faithfully execute the Office of the President, but that oath provides still further that he will, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I should be untrue to these great traditions, untrue to my oath of office, were I to declare otherwise.

With impressive proof on all sides of magnificent progress, no one can rightly deny the fundamental correctness of our economic system. Our preeminent advance over nations in the last 8 years has been due to distinctively American accomplishments. We do not owe these accomplishments

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to our vast natural resources. These we have always had. They have not increased. What has changed is our ability to utilize these resources more effectively. It is our human resources that have changed. Man for man and woman for woman, we are today more capable, whether in the work of farm, factory, or business, than ever before. It lies in our magnificent educational system, in the hardworking character of our people, in the capacity of farsighted leadership in industry, the ingenuity, the daring of the pioneers of new inventions, in the abolition of the saloon, and the wisdom of our national policies.

With the growth and increasing complexity of our economic life the relations of government and business are multiplying daily. They are yearly more dependent upon each other. Where it is helpful and necessary, this relation should be encouraged. Beyond this it should not go. It is the duty of government to avoid regulation as long as equal opportunity to all citizens is not invaded and public rights violated. Government should not engage in business in competition with its citizens. Such actions extinguish the enterprise and initiative which has been the glory of America and which has been the root of its preeminence among the nations of the earth. On the other hand, it is the duty of business to conduct itself so that government regulation or government competition is unnecessary.

Business is practical, but it is founded upon faith—faith among our people in the integrity of businessmen, and faith that it will receive fair play from the Government. It is the duty of government to maintain that faith. Our whole business system would break down in a day if there was not a high sense of moral responsibility in our business world. The whole practice and ethics of business has made great strides of improvement in the last quarter of a century, largely due to the effort of business and the professions themselves. One of the most helpful signs of recent years is the stronger growth of associations of workers, farmers, businessmen, and professional men with a desire to cure their own abuses and a purpose to serve public interest. Many problems can be solved through cooperation between government and these self-governing associations to improve methods and practices. When business

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cures its own abuses it is true self-government, which comprises more than political institutions.

One of the greatest difficulties of business with government is the multitude of unnecessary contacts with government bureaus, the uncertainty and inconsistency of government policies, and the duplication of governmental activities. A large part of this is due to the scattering of functions and the great confusion of responsibility in our Federal organizations. We have, for instance, 14 different bureaus or agencies engaged in public works and construction, located in 9 different departments of the Government. It brings about competition between government agencies, inadequacy of control, and a total lack of coordinated policies in public works. We have eight different bureaus and agencies charged with conservation of our natural resources, located in five different departments of the Government. These conditions exist in many other directions. Divided responsibility, with the absence of centralized authority, prevents constructive and consistent development of broad national policies.

Our Republican Presidents have repeatedly recommended to Congress that it would not only greatly reduce expenses of business in its contacts with government, but that a great reduction could be made in governmental expenditure and more consistent and continued national policies could be developed, if we could secure the grouping of these agencies devoted to one major purpose under single responsibility and authority. I have had the good fortune to be able to carry out such reorganization in respect to the Department of Commerce. The results have amply justified its expansion to other departments and I should consider it an obligation to enlist the support of Congress to effect it.

The Government can be of invaluable aid in the promotion of business. The ideal state of business is freedom from those fluctuations from boom to slump which bring on one hand the periods of unemployment and bankruptcy and, on the other, speculation and waste. Both are destructive to progress and fraught with great hardship to every home. By economy in expenditures, wise taxation, and sound fiscal finance it can relieve the burdens upon sound business and promote financial stability. By sound tariff policies it can protect our workmen, our farmers,

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and our manufacturers from lower standards of living abroad. By scientific research it can promote invention and improvement in methods. By economic research and statistical service it can promote the elimination of waste and contribute to stability in production and distribution. By promotion of foreign trade it can expand the markets for our manufacturers and farmers and thereby contribute greatly to stability and employment.

Our people know that the production and distribution of goods on a large scale is not wrong. Many of the most important comforts of our people are only possible by mass production and distribution. Both small and big business have their full place. The test of business is not its size—the test is whether there is honest competition, whether there is freedom from domination, whether there is integrity and usefulness of purpose. As Secretary of Commerce I have been greatly impressed by the fact that the foundation of American business is the independent businessman. The Department by encouragement of his associations and by provision of special services has endeavored to place him in a position of equality in information and skill with larger operations. Alike with our farmers his is the stronghold of American individuality. It is here that our local communities receive their leadership. It is here that we refresh our leadership for larger enterprise. We must maintain his opportunity and his individual service. He and the public must be protected from any domination or from predatory business.

I have said that the problems before us are more than economic, that in a much greater degree they are moral and spiritual. I hold that there rests upon government many responsibilities which affect the moral and spiritual welfare of our people. The participation of women in politics means a keener realization of the importance of these questions. It means higher political standards.

One-half of our citizens fail to exercise the responsibilities of the ballot box. I would wish that the women of our country could embrace this problem in citizenship as peculiarly their own. If they could apply their higher sense of service and responsibility, their freshness of enthusiasm, their capacity for organization to this problem, it would become, as it should become, an issue of profound patriotism. The whole

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plane of political life would be lifted, the foundations of democracy made more secure.

In this land, dedicated to tolerance, we still find outbreaks of intolerance. I come of Quaker stock. My ancestors were persecuted for their beliefs. Here they sought and found religious freedom. By blood and conviction I stand for religious tolerance both in act and in spirit. The glory of our American ideals is the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

In the past years there has been corruption participated in by individual officials and members of both political parties in national, State, and municipal affairs. Too often this corruption has been viewed with indifference by a great number of our people. It would seem unnecessary to state the elemental requirement that government must inspire confidence not only in its ability but in its integrity. Dishonesty in government, whether national, State, or municipal, is a double wrong. It is treason to the State. It is destructive of self-government. Government in the United States rests not only upon the consent of the governed but upon the conscience of the Nation. Government weakens the moment that its integrity is even doubted. Moral incompetency by those entrusted with government is a blighting wind upon private integrity. There must be no place for cynicism in the creed of America.

Our civil service has proved a great national boon. Appointive office, both North, South, East, and West, must be based solely on merit, character, and reputation in the community in which the appointee is to serve; as it is essential for the proper performance of their duties that officials shall enjoy the confidence and respect of the people with whom they serve.

For many years I have been associated with efforts to save life and health for our children. These experiences with millions of children both at home and abroad have left an indelible impression—that the greatness of any nation, its freedom from poverty and crime, its aspirations and ideals are the direct quotient of the care of its children. Racial progress marches upon the feet of healthy and instructed children. There should be no child in America that is not born and does not live under sound conditions of health; that does not have full opportunity of

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education from the beginning to the end of our institutions; that is not free from injurious labor; that does not have every stimulation to accomplish the fullest of its capacities. Nothing in development of childlife will ever replace the solicitude of parents and the surroundings of home, but in many aspects, both parents and children are dependent upon the vigilance of government—national, State, and local.

I especially value the contribution that the youth of the country can make to the success of our American experiment in democracy. Theirs is the precious gift of enthusiasm, without which no great deeds can be accomplished. A government that does not constantly seek to live up to the ideals of its young men and women falls short of what the American people have a right to expect and demand from it. To interpret the spirit of the youth into the spirit of our Government, to bring the warmth of their enthusiasm and the flame of their idealism into the affairs of the Nation is to make of American Government a positive and living force, a factor for greatness and nobility in the life of the Nation.

I think I may say that I have witnessed as much of the horror and suffering of war as any other American. From it I have derived a deep passion for peace. Our foreign policy has one primary object, and that is peace. We have no hates; we wish no further possessions; we harbor no military threats. The unspeakable experiences of the Great War, the narrow margin by which civilization survived its exhaustion, is still vivid in men's minds. There is no nation in the world today that does not earnestly wish for peace—that is not striving for peace.

There are two cooperating factors in the maintenance of peace—the building of good will by wise and sympathetic handling of international relations, and the adequate preparedness for defense. We must not only be just; we must be respected. The experiences of the war afforded final proof that we cannot isolate ourselves from the world, that the safeguarding of peace cannot be attained by negative action. Our offer of treaties open to the signature of all, renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, proves that we have every desire to cooperate with other nations for peace. But our people have determined that we can give the greatest real help—both in times of tranquility and in times of

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strain—if we maintain our independence from the political exigencies of the Old World. In pursuance of this, our country has refused membership in the League of Nations, but we are glad to cooperate with the league in its endeavors to further scientific, economic, and social welfare, and to secure limitation of armament.

We believe that the foundations of peace can be strengthened by the creation of methods and agencies by which a multitude of incidents may be transferred from the realm of prejudice and force to arbitration and the determination of right and wrong based upon international law.

We have been and we are particularly desirous of furthering the limitation of armaments. But in the meantime we know that in an armed world there is only one certain guarantee of freedom—and that is preparedness for defense. It is solely to defend ourselves, for the protection of our citizens, that we maintain armament. No clearer evidence of this can exist than the unique fact that we have fewer men in army uniform today than we have in police uniforms, and that we maintain a standing invitation to the world that we are always ready to limit our naval armament in proportion as the other naval nations will do likewise. We earnestly wish that the burdens and dangers of armament upon every home in the world might be lessened. But we must and shall maintain our naval defense and our merchant marine in the strength and efficiency which will yield to us at all times the primary assurance of liberty, that is, of national safety.

There is one of the ideals of America upon which I wish at this time to lay especial emphasis. For we should constantly test our economic, social, and governmental system by certain ideals which must control them. The founders of our Republic propounded the revolutionary doctrine that all men are created equal and all should have equality before the law. This was the emancipation of the individual. And since these beginnings, slowly, surely, and almost imperceptibly, this Nation has added a third ideal almost unique to America—the ideal of equal opportunity. This is the safeguard of the individual. The simple life of early days in our Republic found but few limitations upon equal opportunity. By the crowding of our people and the intensity and complexity of their activities it takes today a new importance.

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Equality of opportunity is the right of every American—rich or poor, foreign or native-born, irrespective of faith or color. It is the right of every individual to attain that position in life to which his ability and character entitle him. By its maintenance we will alone hold open the door of opportunity to every new generation, to every boy and girl. It tolerates no privileged classes or castes or groups who would hold opportunity as their prerogative. Only from confidence that this right will be upheld can flow that unbounded courage and hope which stimulate each individual man and woman to endeavor and to achievement. The sum of their achievement is the gigantic harvest of national progress.

This ideal of individualism based upon equal opportunity to every citizen is the negation of socialism. It is the negation of anarchy. It is the negation of despotism. It is as if we set a race. We, through free and universal education, provide the training of the runners; we give to them an equal start; we provide in the Government the umpire of fairness in the race. The winner is he who shows the most conscientious training, the greatest ability, and the greatest character. Socialism bids all to end the race equally. It holds back the speedy to the pace of the slowest. Anarchy would provide neither training nor umpire. Despotism picks those who should run and those who should win.

Conservative, progressive, and liberal thought and action have their only real test in whether they contribute to equal opportunity, whether they hold open the door of opportunity. If they do not they are false in their premise no matter what their name may be.

It was Abraham Lincoln who firmly enunciated this ideal as the equal chance. The Sherman Law was enacted in endeavor to hold open the door of equal opportunity in business. The commissions for regulation of public utilities were created to prevent discrimination in service and prevent extortion in rates—and thereby the destruction of equal opportunity.

Equality of opportunity is a fundamental principle of our Nation. With it we must test all our policies. The success or failure of this principle is the test of our government.

Mr. Chairman, I regret that time does not permit the compass of many important questions. I hope at a later time to discuss the development

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of waterways, highways, aviation, irrigable lands, foreign trade and merchant marine, the promotion of education, more effective administration of our criminal laws, the relation of our government to public utilities and railways, the primary necessity of conservation of natural resources, measures for further economy in government and reduction of taxes—all of which afford problems of the first order.

I would violate my conscience and the gratitude I feel, did I not upon this occasion express appreciation of the great President who leads our party today. President Coolidge has not only given a memorable administration, he has left an imprint of rectitude and statesmanship upon the history of our country. His has been the burden of reconstruction of our country from the destruction of war. He has dignified economy to a principle of government. He has charted the course of our Nation and our party over many years to come. It is not only a duty but it is the part of statesmanship that we adhere to this course.

No man who stands before the mighty forces which ramify American life has the right to promise solutions at his hand alone. All that an honest man can say is that, within the extent of his abilities and his authority and in cooperation with the Congress and with leaders of every element in our people, these problems shall be courageously met and solution will be courageously attempted.

Our purpose is to build in this Nation a human society, not an economic system. We wish to increase the efficiency and productivity of our country, but its final purpose is happier homes. We shall succeed through the faith, the loyalty, the self-sacrifice, the devotion to eternal ideals which live today in every American.

The matters which I have discussed directly and deeply affect the moral and spiritual welfare of our country. No one believes these aspirations and hopes can be realized in a day. Progress or remedy lie often enough in the hands of State and local government. But the awakening of the national conscience and the stimulation of every remedial agency is indeed a function of the National Government. I want to see our government great, both as an instrument and as a symbol of the Nation's greatness.

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The Presidency is more than an administrative office. It must be the symbol of American ideals. The high and the lowly must be seen with the same eyes, met in the same spirit. It must be the instrument by which national conscience is livened and it must under the guidance of the Almighty interpret and follow that conscience.

Supplement II
Addresses During the Campaign

West Branch, Iowa.

August 21, 1928

THIS IS a homecoming. It hardly seems an occasion for a lengthy political speech—rather is it an opportunity to recall old associations and renew old friendships.

I am glad, a son of Iowa, to come back to the place where I was born. Here I spent the first 10 years of my boyhood. Here my parents and my grandparents toiled, worshipped God, did their part in building this community, and now lie in the cemetery over the hill.

During the past 44 years I have returned from time to time that I might pay respect to their memory, that I might express my appreciation of those kindly and sympathetic folk who, taking a boy to their hearts, wiped away the one grief of childhood. One of my vivid recollections was my earnest interest in the debate between neighbors and relatives when they were discussing not who was to assume me as a burden, but who was to take the boy as a member of their own flock. That is the spirit of the people of Iowa. It is the spirit of the thousands of villages and towns in all this wide land.

And I have no apology for even a more personal note. There is present here today a lady who took part in that debate and who was for years my teacher in your public school. She embodies the spirit of that vast body of women who not only teach and inspire our children but watch over their wider destinies. You have come to do me courtesy as a son of Iowa. I take this occasion to acknowledge my debt to that lady—Mrs. Curran.

There is no imprint upon our minds so deep as those of early boyhood. Mine are the joys of Iowa—the glories of snowy winters, the

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wonder at the growing crops, the joining of the neighbors to harvest, the gathering of apples, the pilgrimage to the river woods for the annual fuel and nuts, the going to school, the interludes from work, in the swimming hole, fishing in creeks, the hunting for prairie chickens and rabbits in the hedges and woods. It is the entry to life which I could wish for every American boy and girl.

Again today I have had refreshment of spirit in returning to these scenes. The swimming hole is still in use. It has the same mudbank. It is still impossible to dress without carrying mud home in one's inner garments. As an engineer I could devise improvements for that swimming hole. But I doubt if the decrease in mothers' grief at the home-coming of muddy boys would compensate the inherent joys of getting muddy.

I have been to see the old Quaker meeting-house. It has been moved across the street and replaced by a more modern structure. The old building appears at some time to have been turned into a moving-picture house, which reminds me of the time I heard Aunt Hannah, moved in meeting, bitterly denounce the rise of modern ways and prophesy that, if they were persisted in, that edifice dedicated to God would some day be transformed into a place of abomination. I do not place the movies in that class, but knowing Aunt Hannah's views on any form of human recreation, even to the godlessness of sliding down hill, I suspect that if she knew of this she would get great satisfaction at the consummation of her warnings.

This was always a Republican village. It was here that I received my first touch of the national life. I well recollect the hoisting of the flag at half-mast over my father's blacksmith shop on the assassination of President Garfield. I also recollect well the torchlight procession in the Garfield election. I was not high enough to be permitted the conduct of a torch, but I participated by walking alongside for miles. At that time there were two or three Democrats in the town. I do not know today whether what seemed to me an enormous torchlight parade was instituted for their conversion or not, but I believe it was quite hopeless, because one of my boyhood friends and opponents

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in battle, who I expect is in this audience today, is a descendant of one of those Democrats and has been regenerated only in the last month.

I am proud to have been born in Iowa. I have oftentimes said that the good Lord made it the richest stretch of agricultural land that ever blessed any one sovereign government. It was settled by the adventurous, the courageous, who fought their way across the ever-extending frontier. They have builded here in so short a period as 75 years a State with the least poverty, the highest average intelligence, the most generous education which ever blessed a single commonwealth.

Here in West Branch can be found all the milestones of the changes which have come to American agriculture. Only a mile from here is the farm of my Uncle Allan, where I spent some years of my boyhood. That was just at the passing stage of the great pioneer movement. Many farms were still places where we tilled the soil for the immediate needs of our families. We ground our wheat and corn on toll at the mill; we slaughtered our hogs for meat; we wove at least a part of our own clothing; we repaired our own machinery; we got our own fuel from the woods; we erected our own buildings; we made our own soap; we preserved our own fruit and grew our own vegetables. Only a small part of the family living came by purchases from the outside. Perhaps 20 percent of the products were sold in the markets to purchase the small margin of necessities which we could not ourselves produce, and to pay interest on the mortgage.

In a half-century the whole basis of agriculture has shifted. We have improved seed and livestock; we have added a long list of mechanical inventions for saving of labor; we have increased the productivity of the land. And it has become a highly specialized business. There is no longer one industry called farming, but in fact a dozen industries. Probably over 80 percent of its products now go directly or indirectly to the markets, and probably over 80 percent of the family living must be purchased from outside. In the old days when prices fluctuated in the Chicago market, at most they affected only 20 percent of the income of the farm. A violent drop in prices could reduce the family income by only 4 or 5 percent. Today the same fluctuation in price, affecting as it does 80 percent to 100 percent

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of the products of the farm, can take 25 to 50 percent away from the family net income and make the difference between comfort and freedom from anxiety or, on the other hand, debts and discouragements.

I do not suggest a return to the greater security which agriculture enjoyed in its earlier days, because with that security were lower standards of living, greater toil, less opportunity for leisure and recreation, less of the comforts of home, less of the joy of living.

I am often conscious of sentimental regret for the passing of those old time conditions. I have sometimes been as homesick for the ways of those self-contained farm homes of 40 years ago as I have been for the kindly folk who lived in them. But I know it is no more possible to revive those old conditions than it is to summon back the relatives and friends in the cemetery yonder. While we recognize and hold fast to what is permanent in the old time conditions, we must accept what is inevitable in the changes that have taken place. It is fortunate indeed that the principles upon which our government was founded require no alteration to meet these changes.

Just as there is transformation in agriculture, so there is in other industry; just as there is more specialization on the farm, so there is in other industry. We live today by the exchange of goods among 10,000 sorts of producers of specialties. A large number of occupations which were conducted on the farm in old days are now conducted in the factory. That is one reason why we have a decreasing proportion of our people on the farms. By this revolution the American farmer has become enmeshed in powerful, and yet delicate, economic forces, which are working to his disadvantage.

In my acceptance speech 10 days ago I made an extended statement upon the legislative proposals for relief to the agricultural industry which the Republican Party has put forward in its platform. You would not wish me to take your time to review that statement. I should, however, like to emphasize that the spirit of those legislative proposals is to work out a more economical and stable marketing system. A Federal Farm Board is to be set up with the necessary powers and resources to assist the industry to meet, not alone the varied problems of today, but those which may arise in the future. My fundamental concept of

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agriculture is one controlled by its own members, organized to fight its own economic battles and to determine its own destinies. Nor do I speak of organization in the narrow sense of traditional farm cooperatives or pools, but in the much wider sense of a sound marketing organization. It is not by these proposals intended to put the Government into the control of the business of agriculture, nor to subsidize the prices of farm products and pay the losses thereon either by the Federal treasury or by a tax or fee on the farmer. We propose with governmental assistance and an initial advance of capital to enable the agricultural industry to reach a stature of modern business operations by which the farmer will attain his independence and maintain his individuality.

And upon this whole question I should like to repeat from my acceptance speech that:

"The working out of agricultural relief constitutes the most important obligation of the next administration. The object of our policies is to establish for our farmers an income equal to those of other occupations; for the farmer's wife the same comforts in her home as women in other groups; for the farm boys and girls the same opportunities in life as other boys and girls. So far as my own abilities may be of service, I dedicate them to help secure prosperity and contentment in that industry where I and my forefathers were born and nearly all my family still obtain their livelihood."

In formulating recommendations for legislation to carry out the proposals of the party, I trust that we may have the full assistance of the leaders of agricultural thought. I am not insensible to the value of the study which sincere farm leaders have given to this question of farm legislation. They have all contributed to the realization that the problem must be solved. They will be invited into conference. Outstanding farmers such as Governor Lowden will be asked to join in the search for common ground upon which we can act.

I had thought today to particularly point out the importance of the development of our interior waterways as bearing on the prosperity not only of agriculture but of the whole of our Midwest business and commerce. It is a most important supplement to agricultural relief.

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The necessarily large advances in railway rates from the war militate against the economic setting of this whole interior section. This, together with the completion of the Panama Canal and the fact that ocean rates have increased but little since before the war, further disturbs the whole economic relationship of the Midwest. It is as if a row of toll gates had been placed around this whole section of our country. It seriously affects the farmer. I think we can accept it as an economic fact that the farmer on most occasions pays the freight on his products. It is a deduction from the ultimate price; you yourself can attest this. In a general way, the center point of markets is overseas or the Atlantic seaboard, where prices are determined by the meeting of streams of world products. For every 100 miles you are removed from these market centers the price of farm products is lower by the amount of freight rates. Some calculations which I made a few years ago showed that the increases in railway rates had in effect moved the Midwest 200 to 400 miles farther from seaboard. Moreover, some of the competitive agricultural regions such as the Argentine and Australia are close to seaboard, and, with sea rates about the same as before the war, they are able to compete with the American farmer in foreign markets to a greater advantage than before the war. This increase in transportation rates also affects the prices of many things which the farmer must buy, for much raw material which comes into the Midwest pays the increased freight rate and this in turn is taken up by the consumer. We cannot return to prewar railway rates without ruin to the railways. Therefore, I have long asserted that the real hope of reducing charges upon our bulk goods was through the modernization of our great interior waterways. By modernization, I mean increasing depths to a point where we can handle 10,000 tons in a line of barges pulled by a tug. This administration has authorized the systematic undertaking of this modernization. Within a few years we will have completed the deepening of the Ohio up to Pittsburgh, the Missouri up to Kansas City, Omaha, and beyond, the Mississippi to St. Paul and to a point where we can handle 10,000 tons in a line of barges pulled results, for with only the main river from St. Louis to New Orleans as yet working properly, the rates for transportation of bulk agricultural

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products through that section are near prewar railway rates. We will not have the advantages of full results until the entire Mississippi and its tributaries are in one connected transportation system.

We have another great opportunity of relief in the building of a shipway from the Great Lakes to the sea. Our engineers have recommended the St. Lawrence route as the preferable outlet. The administration has undertaken negotiations with Canada upon the subject. If these negotiations fail, we must consider alternative routes. In any event, the completion of this great system of bargelines on the rivers and connecting the lakes with the gulf, of opening a shipway from the lakes to the sea, will make an effective transportation system 12,000 miles in length penetrating 20 Midwest States. It will connect these States with seaboard at the gulf on one hand and with the North Atlantic on the other. And this means more than the mere saving upon the actual goods shipped over these routes. If part of our crops can move to market at a 7- to 10-cent saving per bushel, the buyers' competitive bidding for this portion of the crop will force upward the price of the whole crop.

And this development concerns not alone agriculture, but every industry and business in the Midwest. The manufacturer and merchant in this section is suffering from a curtailment of his distribution field; his business province has shrunk. This development should tend to increase manufacturing industry in the Midwest and thereby create a larger diversity of employment and a greater local market for agricultural products. Nor does this development mean the crippling of our railways. The annual increase in railway traffic will give to them a far more than complete offset to these diversions. Moreover, everything that increases the prosperity of the country also helps the railways. The policy of rapid consummation of this great project will be continued if the Republican administration be continued. We should at the present rate of progress have completed the Mississippi system within the next 4 years. It is a vital part of the rehabilitation of the Middle West agriculture and business.

The modernizations of our waterways recall again the earlier life of Iowa. At one time its transportation was in large degree over these same

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rivers, and many of our pioneers reached this State by the old packet boats and their own rafts. Nor are the days of the pioneer over. We have to pioneer through economic problems, through scientific development and invention, onto frontiers just as forbidding, just as romantic, and just as pregnant of added happiness as our fathers ever knew. The test of our generation will be whether we can overcome these frontiers, whether we can hold mastery over the system we have created, whether we can maintain the advantage we have inherited, whether we can hold ourselves a nation dedicated to equal opportunity for all.

There are those in this audience who saw Iowa an open prairie. I recall members of my own family who in my childhood were still breaking the soil in the western part of the State and were then still living in the first sod houses of the pioneer farmer. Our fathers and grandfathers who poured over the Midwest were self-reliant, rugged, God-fearing people of indomitable courage. They combined to build the roads, bridges, and towns; they cooperated together to erect their schools, their churches, and to raise their barns and harvest their fields. They asked only for freedom of opportunity and an equal chance. In these conceptions lies the real basis of American democracy. They and their fathers gave a genius to American institutions that distinguished our people from any other in the world. Their demand for an equal chance is the basis of American progress. To those who have by necessity worked in other lands comes this most vivid meaning of America and a deep gratitude for what our fathers have builded. Here there are no limits to hope, no limits upon accomplishment; our obligation today is to maintain that equal opportunity for agriculture as well as for every other calling.

When we traverse the memories of those who have builded this State and this Nation we recall these acts which are rooted in the soil of service. When we rehearse our own memories we find that none give us such comfort and satisfaction as the record of service we have been able to render. I do not believe our people have lost those finer qualities of rugged character, self-reliance, or initiative, nor have they lost the great quality which they embedded in American character, the quality

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of neighborly cooperation and mutual service. It is in this quality that our hopes must lie in the solution of our great problems.

And I must say again that the solution of these problems has but one purpose—that is, the comfort and welfare of the American family and the American home. The family is the unit of American life and the home is the sanctuary of moral inspiration and of American spirit. The true conception of America is not a country of 110 million people but a Nation of 23 million families living in 23 million homes. I pledge my services to these homes.

Newark, New Jersey.

September 17, 1928

REAL WAGES and standards of living of our labor have improved more during the past 7½ years of Republican rule than during any similar period in the history of this or of any other country.

When I speak of wages I refer both to those who work at the bench and those who work at the desk. Nor is this addressed to men alone. More than 10 million women march to work every morning side by side with the men. Steadily the importance of women is gaining not only in the routine tasks of industry but in executive responsibility. I include also the woman who stays at home as the guardian of the welfare of the family. She is a partner in the job and the wages. Women constitute a part of our industrial achievement.

I wish to lay down the proposition that the very prerequisite, the very foundation, of economic progress to our industrial and business employees is full and stable employment. A continued surplus of unemployed workers means decreasing wages, increasing hours, and fear for the future. To protect labor, to maintain its prosperity, to abolish poverty, we must so organize our economic system as to provide a job for all who have the will to work.

Full employment depends not only upon a strong and progressive economic system but upon the sound policies of and the vigorous cooperation by the Government to promote economic welfare. Labor in its collective efforts has contributed greatly to the maintenance of proper

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wages and to improved conditions of labor. But collective bargaining cannot overcome the forces that make for unemployment. I, for one, am willing to trust the proved ability of employees to take care of their rights if there is employment to be had. And our workers as citizens at the ballot box have a large part in the determination of these economic policies.

The problem of insuring full work all the time is a problem of national concern. It is one to which government must give its attention. It is one which government may contribute to solve. Behind every job is a vast, intricate, and delicately adjusted system of interlocked industries dependent upon skilled leadership and upon finding a market for their products at home or in foreign lands. The forces of credit, communications, transportation, power, foreign relations, and what not, must all be kept in tune if steady employment is to be assured. A failure in any part imposes a penalty upon labor through unemployment. Break this chain of relationship at any point and the whole machine is thrown out of order. Close down a New Jersey factory because of inadequate transportation or inadequate tariff and its effect is felt by the New Jersey truck farmer. Cease exporting automobiles to South America or Europe, and automobile workers are thrown out of employment in Michigan. The suffering does not stop there. It only begins. The steel mills slacken in Pennsylvania and Indiana. The mines employ fewer workers at Lake Superior. And every farmer in the United States suffers from the diminished purchasing power and enforced stringency in thousands of homes.

The modern relationships of government and industry are a tangled mass of economic and social problems. They are neither abstract propositions nor statistics. They are very human beings. They can make for the happiness of every home in our country.

The Republican Party has performed unparalleled service to the employees in our commerce and industry throughout its history and notably during the past 7½ years. Continuous employment and prosperity of labor depend upon the continuance of those policies. It is these wider issues of governmental responsibility in laying broad and deep

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foundations of employment that I wish to discuss tonight. The Republican Party recognizes this responsibility. Proof of this rests upon its actual record of accomplishment. That record can be tested by examination of the situation of labor in the country today.

When we assumed direction of the Government in 1921 there were 5 to 6 millions unemployed upon our streets. Wages and salaries were falling and hours of labor increasing. Anxiety for daily bread haunted nearly one-quarter of our 23 million families.

The Republican administration at once undertook to find relief for this situation. At once a nationwide employment conference was called. It was made up of representatives of both employers and employees. I had the honor to be chairman of that conference. We set up a program for the systematic organization of the whole business community to restore employment. By means of immediate institution of public works, the extension of financial aid to industry during the critical period of readjustment, by cooperation of employers, and by a score of other devices, we started the wheels of industry turning again. We did not resort to the expedients of some foreign countries, of doles, subsidies, charity, or inflation—all of which in the end are borne by the people.

Within a year we restored these 5 million workers to employment. But we did more, we produced a fundamental program which made this restored employment secure on foundations of prosperity. As a result wages and standards of living have during the past 61/2 years risen to steadily higher levels. This recovery and this stability are no accident. It has not been achieved by luck. Were it not for sound governmental policies and wise leadership, employment conditions in America today would be similar to those existing in many other parts of the world. None of the larger countries engaged in the Great War have as yet restored full employment. Doles to the idle and other devices of desperation still exist abroad.

There have been assertions of wide unemployment at the present time. There was a temporary dip of employment last winter. From this we are now rapidly recovering. Its causes were local and temporary. They were the combined effect of the Mississippi flood, a great shift in the

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motor industry, and the collapse of real estate speculation. An accurate survey of the Department of Labor showed that, even including the usual winter seasonal unemployment, about 1,800,000 employees were out of work as contrasted with 5 to 6 millions in 1921. During the past 2 months there has been a higher record of production and consumption of goods than during corresponding months of any previous year. There could not be such a record unless employment was steadily recovering.

There are two industries which have only partially recovered to our general industrial prosperity. They are the bituminous coal and the textile industries. Here the difficulties of recovery from overexpansion during the war have been increased by a duplication of part of both industries in the Southern States. They have also been affected by changes in use of textiles on one hand and by the increase of electricity on the other. We have a duty to continue effort to their full recovery by every assistance that the Government can afford. This will be carried forward diligently.

Despite these rare exceptions, the average of real wages is higher today than ever before. And the arduous hours of labor have decreased. We can easily prove this. As a standard of comparison let us take the purchasing power of wages in 1913 or before the war. In purchasing power we consider both the dollars paid and the cost of living. Taking this standard we shall find that real wages at the height of the war inflation were about 30 percent over 1913. Despite the great afterwar slump they have risen until today they are over 50 percent greater than before the war. Viewed in another way, while the cost of living today is about 60 points on the index above prewar, wages are 127 above. Parallel with this increase in real wages the average hours of labor have steadily decreased.

Moreover our real wages and our standards of living are the highest in the world. And I am again speaking of the real buying power of wages. To compare ours with foreign wages we must find a common denominator, because translation of foreign currencies means but little. If we say that 5 percent of butter and 95 percent of flour form the basis of that useful mixture called "bread and butter," then the weekly earnings in each country would buy at retail in those countries the following total of this useful compound. Please note these figures carefully.

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WEEKLY WAGES IF APPLIED TO THE PURCHASE OF "COMPOSITE POUNDS
OF BREAD AND BUTTER"

(Each pound 95 percent wheat flour and 5 percent butter)

	Railway Engineers	Carpen- ters	Elec- tricians	Coal Miners	Weavers	Day Labor
United States	717	731	778	558	323	259
United Kingdom	367	262	267	267	136	160
Germany	217	173	158	133	106	112
France	269	94	123	136	73	68
Belgium	150	96	76	94	94	65
Italy	166	151	152	95	75	110
Sweden	261	256	224	180	155	162
Japan	164	125	96	60	83	66

Of course the American employee does not use his higher income to buy unnecessary pounds of bread and butter. He uses it to diversify and expand his consumption of all things. It spells better homes, automobiles, radios, and a thousand things for the family that were utterly unknown a generation ago, and are still utterly unknown to the average citizen in most countries of the world. Fear of poverty has been reduced. Fear of loss of employment has been lessened by stability. Fear of old age and for the future of the family has been lessened through increased payments to the savings banks, to the insurance companies, and to our labor benefit societies.

Before I discuss the policies by which this has been brought about let me say that the Republican administration makes no claim to credit which belongs to the enterprise, energy, and character of a great people. Education, prohibition, invention, scientific discovery, increase in skill in managers and employees have contributed to magnificent progress. But all of these efforts would be incomplete and the margin of employment would have been less had it not been for the cooperative actions taken by the Government. And it is this margin of employment which makes for the safety or the danger of labor.

The first of our policies which have given security and expansion of employment has been the enactment of the protective tariff. The protective tariff has been a fundamental policy of the Republican Party ever since the party was founded. Against it the Democratic

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Party has battled for these same 70 years. Two months ago their platform hinted that they thought we might be right. However, they declared for a tariff that would maintain effective competition. That must mean a tariff which will maintain effective competition of foreign against American goods. That is not protection. That this is the meaning is borne out by references to the Underwood Tariff of the last Democratic administration as the ideal. The reenactment of that tariff would let in a flood of foreign goods, destroy employment and lower wages, and demoralize our farmers all over the United States. I would suggest that the employees of industries in New Jersey and the country should directly investigate as to what would happen to their employment with lowered tariffs.

The Republican administration imposed restrictions upon immigration largely to protect the American workman. With the bars of immigration down the flow of those seeking relief from the poverty of Europe would create a horde of job hunters around every employment office and every industrial gate in the United States. The pressure of this flood would break our wages toward the levels of Europe.

No one places a higher worth upon the foreign-born citizen than I do. He brings many elements of great value in our cultural development. We welcome his help in building our new civilization. The immigration laws should be amended to remedy the hardships to families. I have urged before that this be done. In my acceptance speech I stated my opposition to any increase in immigration. The restriction upon immigration is a boon not only to those of my hearers who were born on American soil but to those who have come from the old countries, for everyone would suffer equally by the lowering of our wages and standards of living.

The enactment of this law was opposed on economic grounds. I do not here propose to enter into the arguments which were advanced in perfect good faith that production in America would shrink because we would have too few workers, that the cost of living would thus increase, or that it would destroy America's ability to compete in the shipment of her goods into foreign markets. I did not agree with those arguments. I believe that the maintenance of the higher standards of

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living stimulates the development of laborsaving devices, increases skill in our workmen and in our managers, and that in this way we compensate for higher wages. It is proving itself so today. We are exporting more goods abroad than ever in our history. We are gradually lowering the cost of living by greater efficiency.

There is no measure on our statute books today that represents a more fundamental, sound, and important step in true progress than does this new charter of American labor. It is the necessary and natural companion piece of a protective tariff. In the one instance we protect the American worker from the goods of foreign factories, made under their lower standards of living. In the other case, we check the excess labor flooding through our doors to reduce the American wage.

When at the beginning of the Republican administration we were determining those measures which would restore and increase employment, one of our first decisions was vigorously to build up our foreign trade. We determined that we must sell more products abroad if we would have steady and assured employment for labor in our industries. We realize that we must energetically promote the sale of our farmers' surplus abroad both in their interest and in the interest of labor. By so doing we increase the farmer's buying power and in turn his demand for the products of labor.

When we came into office we were confronted with a total disorganization of the world trade due to the war. We had been exporting great quantities of munitions. This business was finished. World trade was demoralized to such an extent that the actual movement of commodities between all nations was some 20 percent less than before the war.

We set out upon a definitely organized campaign to build up the export of the products of American labor and of the American farm. We reorganized the Department of Commerce for the promotion of American trade abroad on a greater scale than had ever been achieved or ever attempted by any government anywhere in the world. We mobilized our manufacturers and exporters; cooperated with them in laying out and executing strategic plans to expand our foreign trade in all directions. That this great part played by the Government is no hypothetical

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assertion is amply evidenced by the fact that the daily applications for assistance by exporters to the Department have steadily increased from 500 daily in 1922 to an average of 10,000 a day in 1928. In the last year before the war our total exports were a little under \$2,500 million. In 1922, the first year of the Republican administration, they were \$3,750 million. The dollar since the war has not been as valuable a dollar as in 1913. If we make a correction so as to estimate them on a quantity basis, we find that our exports for 1922 were, in prewar dollars, about \$2,730 million. During the year 1927 our exports were \$4,750 million, and if for comparison we convert this figure to the prewar value of the dollar they were \$3,840 million. Thus on any calculation our exports have increased by over \$1 billion during the past 7 years. This is an increase of 41 percent since 1922 and an increase of 58 percent over prewar.

Now, I want to clearly show what this means. It was not due to world recovery. If we make a survey of the world's trade today, we shall find that the export trade of all countries is only 10 percent above prewar, while ours is 58 percent. Also, if we make a survey of what has happened to the other great trading nations who were engaged in the war, we find that their foreign trade for the year 1927, when it is similarly adjusted for the depreciation of money, shows only a bare recovery to prewar bases. It is no accident which has brought about this unique situation in the United States. It is not chance that has brought this added employment for American workmen, and added markets for American farmers. Things like that don't happen.

More than 2 million families in the United States earn their living today producing goods for export, and another million families earn their living in the manufacture of raw materials which we import in exchange for our exports. This increase in exports has brought a living to a half-million families. This means more than statistics. It means higher standards of living—more jobs make more wages. Foreign trade is no artificial stimulant to employment. Its development is a vital contribution to the welfare of the American workman and the American merchant and the American farmer. I propose that we shall continue this service to our people.

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One of the large opportunities for the further improvement of labor lies in the further improvement of agriculture. Some of its most important branches have lagged behind industry in its advance since the war. This is not an occasion to enter upon that question, but by sympathetic policies we should materially further increase the farmers' buying power and thus add to the security of employment in the industries. This becomes one of our first duties in common interest.

American labor has been the first labor body in the world that has had the intelligence and courage to realize and express the fact that increased wages and salaries must in the long run be based upon a sharing of labor in the savings made through industrial and commercial efficiency. Within the past few months British labor has followed this lead of American labor. That is, if we are able by labor-saving machinery and reduction of the wastes in industry to decrease the cost of production of an article, we know by long experience that a train of consequences of the highest importance follow. Wages in that industry will rise, prices decrease, consumption increase at home and in our foreign markets, the demand for labor is enlarged, and our standards of living improve. The ancient bitter opposition to improved methods on the ancient theory that it more than temporarily deprives men of employment, which is still maintained in some parts of the world, has no place in the gospel of American progress.

Eight years ago I caused a nationwide investigation to be undertaken of the whole subject. I felt that it was in the interest of our country to know what opportunities we had to improve our methods. It developed that there were great opportunities for increased efficiency in our whole industrial machine. We have the highest ingenuity and efficiency, in the operation of our individual industries, of any nation. Yet there were great wastes which were not the fault of individuals, employers, or employees. These wastes were due to seasonal unemployment and to unemployment during depressions; to speculation and overproduction during booms; to labor turnover and labor conflicts; to intermittent failure of transportation, of supplies, of fuel, of power, and of credit to synchronize with demand; to lack of simplification and standardization in many of our commonly used commodities; to losses in our processes and

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materials and scores of other directions. They all combined to represent a huge deduction from the goods and services and employment we might all enjoy if we could but eliminate these wastes.

We adopted a new policy in government. That was, that the Secretary of Commerce should cooperate with industry in organization against such waste, not by law or regulation, but by purely voluntary action in which the joint service of the associations representing the managers of a given industry, its employees, its distributors, and its consumers were all enlisted in a common purpose. We have had magnificent cooperation from the leaders and the employees of American business. I will not take your time to recite the literally thousands of cooperative actions undertaken and carried through with beneficent results, but I will give an illustration.

From time immemorial the building industry has been a seasonal business. It was idle a large part of the winter. The first conference upon reducing its seasonal character was called under my chairmanship in 1923. It was participated in by manufacturers of building material, by contractors, by engineers, by real estate men, by representatives of the employees. An exhaustive examination by this body resulted in the conclusion that the average seasonal unemployment in the building trades was about 100 days out of the year. A number of specific remedies were initiated by organized cooperation in different centers. By this cooperative action and by improved methods the average days of unemployment have been decreased by nearly one-half.

There has been no decrease in daily wages. In fact, there has been increase in wages; but far more important, the annual income of workers in the building trades has been substantially increased by the decrease in idle days. It has enabled us to increase the total annual volume of building with the same complement of labor and equipment. It has decreased the unit cost of building and contributed to the expansion of building generally. Nor are the benefits confined to the construction industries. They give greater stability to all the manufacturers of building material and to transportation.

As another instance of an action of fundamental importance to labor I might mention the organization of measures in the Government to

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mitigate the violence of the so-called business cycle. That is, the recurrent periods of boom and false hope, waste and extravagance, followed by hard times with their hideous unemployment, decreasing wages, bankruptcy in business, and ruinous prices to the farmer. These booms and slumps have occurred periodically for 75 years, although less than half as often under Republican as under Democratic administrations. The great unemployment period of 1921 was the direct result of war inflation and the boom of 1920. No one has suffered more from these movements than our salary and wage earners.

Time forbids a discussion of the intricate problems involved or the remedies which we have inaugurated. They include better organization of credit, advance information as to demand for industrial products, as to volume of their production, as to the use of public construction in slack times, and many other methods. As a result of cooperation with industry and banking and public officials, we have greatly mitigated this most dangerous of all disasters to our breadwinners. The proof lies in the fact that we have had a far longer period of stability in industry and commerce and in the far greater security of employment than ever before in our history.

In my speech of acceptance I outlined our national programs of prospective public works, including the development of water resources, public roads, and the construction of public buildings. In that speech I pointed out that these projects would require upwards of \$1 billion within the next 4 years. I there recommended that, so far as practicable, this work should be carried on in such a way as to take up the slack of occasional unemployment.

While the judicious arrangement of government construction work can aid in wiping out the unemployment caused by seasonal variations in business activity, the Federal Government can do more. The Department of Labor should be authorized to undertake the collection of regular statistics upon seasonal and other unemployment. We must have this fundamental information for further attack upon this problem, from the further solution of which will come still greater stability and prosperity in the world of employer and employee.

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We have gained enormously in efficiency in our whole economic machinery in the past 7 years. I cannot take the time to recite to you the extraordinary evidence of this. I hesitate to express it statistically lest I appear to exaggerate. Taken as a whole we have swelled our production on a quantity basis by nearly 30 percent. Parallel with it wages have risen and the prices of manufactured goods have fallen.

I have heard voices raised in protest that the effect of these activities is to destroy employment. This is a re-echo of a century ago. As a matter of fact we have gone through an extraordinary industrial revolution in 7 years and we do not find any such unemployment as would be implied by these protests. There are individual cases of unemployment in these shifts, but wise policies and cooperation with industry have rendered them but momentary. The reasons why no dangers lie in store are simple enough.

As we transfer the burden from the backs of men to machines we increase the wages of workers. We increase their buying power. We create a demand for new commodities and new services. By the energies and capital which we have released through increased efficiency of the older industries we have been able to expand other industries and to create new ones to further employment and to supply new additions to the comfort of every home.

From these and other causes we see a great expansion in the automobile industry, in telephones and electric lights. In 7 years we have seen the radio industry emerge from a few hundred thousands to hundreds of millions in its product. We have seen the airplane industry develop from almost nothing 7 years ago to a most potent industry today. Due to increased efficiency hundreds of thousands of men and women have been transferred from the factories to our expanding insurance and banking to take care of enlarged savings; other hundreds of thousands have been transferred to our filling stations, our garages, our hotels, and our restaurants. We have in this period seen a half-million families find occupation in increased export of goods, and, above all, we have seen an increase of nearly 2 million youths taken largely from the potential rank of labor and placed in institutions of

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education. This is proof of real progress. It is the road to further progress. It is the road to abolition of poverty.

I have already stated the position of the Republican Party in positive support of free collective bargaining. I have stated that it is necessary to impose restrictions on the excessive use of injunctions. It is my desire and the desire of every good citizen to ameliorate the causes of industrial conflict, to build toward that true cooperation which must be the foundation of common action for the common welfare. The first requisite to less conflict is full employment. By full employment we are steadily reducing conflict and loss.

The whole relationship between employer and employee has shown great improvement in these past 7 years. During these years there has been a revolution through shifting of basic ideas on the part of both business and labor. The large majority of both sides today willingly accept the fundamental principle that the highest possible wages are the road to increased consumption of goods and thereby to prosperity. Both accept the fundamental fact that greater efficiency, larger application of mechanical devices, and full personal effort are the road to cheaper costs, lower prices, and thus again to wider consumption and larger production of goods. Both discard the ancient contention that labor is an economic commodity. Both realize that labor is entitled to participation in the benefits of increased efficiency by increased wage, either directly or through the decrease in living costs. Both have joined in repelling socialism and other subversive movements.

He would be a rash man who would state that we are finally entering the industrial millennium, but there is a great ray of hope that America is finding herself on the road to a solution of the greatest of all her problems. That problem is to adjust our economic system to our social ideals. We are making progress toward social peace and contentment with the preservation of private industry, of initiative, and full development of the individual. Working out of this ideal cannot be attained by compulsory settlement of employee and employer conflicts by the hand of the Government. It cannot be attained by placing the Government in business and reducing our people to bureaucracies.

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It is idle to argue that there are no longer any conflicts of interest between employee and employer. But there are wide areas of activity in which their interests should coincide, and it is the part of statesmanship to organize and increase this identity of interest in order to limit the area of conflict. Conflict diminishes and common purpose flourishes only in prosperity and in an encouraging atmosphere of sound governmental policies.

At such a time as this a change in national policies involves not only a choice between different roads by either of which we may go forward— as some may lightly think—but a question also as to whether we may not be taking the wrong road and moving backward. The measure of our national prosperity, of our stability, of our hope of further progress at this time, is the measure of what we may risk through a change in present policies. More than once in our national history a change in policies in a time of advancement has been quickly followed by a turn toward disaster.

Our economic system has abuses; it has grave faults in its operation. But we can build toward perfection only upon a foundation of prosperity. Poverty is not the cause of progress. Enduring national life cannot be builded upon the bowed and sweating backs of oppressed and embittered men and women. It must be uplifted and upheld by the willing and eager hands of the whole people. They will uphold it if our economic life be built for the whole people, not for any special group.

To assure this sort of progress our first necessity is to assure the ability and character of our leadership. It requires that we secure into its ranks all of the intelligence and character of our race—that it be sympathetic with the life and aims of all of our 23 million homes. At no time have we had more able leaders in economic life than today. At no time have we been more certain that the fiber and intelligence of our people furnishes a vast reservoir of such leadership adequate to the future. But able administrators, skilled workers, professional and moral leaders cannot be made by birth or money. They cannot be selected by divine right or through bureaucracy. Nor can their ranks be filled from a limited class.

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Our leadership can be found and it will be sympathetic to our ideals if we maintain the decency and dignity of family life through a stable economic system; if we maintain free and universal education and thus provide them the open stair to leadership; if we maintain for every individual an equality of opportunity to attain that position in the community to which his character and his ability entitle him. Then our supply of leadership will stream forward of its own impulse. It is in this insistence upon an equal chance and a free road to rise in leadership that our great American experiment has departed from those of history. It is our sure guarantee of the future. In its vast possibilities is the hope of every mother for her boys and her girls.

Under such leadership, replenished constantly from the great mass of our people, we can aspire to a democracy which will express a common purpose for the common good. We can build a civilization where national conscience is alert to protect the rights of all, curtail selfish economic power, and hold to the ideal of distributed contentment among the whole people.

Elizabethton, Tennessee.

October 6, 1928

I AM PROUD to have been invited as your guest in this celebration of your progress and this review of your part in national history.

When southerners go North or northerners go South to deliver public addresses they seem to feel it necessary to first launch into an explanation that all lines of sectionalism have disappeared in the United States. I am from the West, where our people are proud to be the melted product of both the North and the South. Our accent differs from that of the people of Alabama and Vermont, but we have the same hearts, the same kind of homes, the same ideals and aspirations. Every morning and evening we read the same news; every night we listen by radio to the same voices. Our mental and physical frontiers are gone. It happens that we need geographical divisions for statistical and descriptive use, but otherwise we could leave this question to orators and humorists.

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Your celebration today raises many memories of our national beginnings. Patriotism is of many inspirations. It receives refreshment from many springs. None are more powerful than our traditions of service, of suffering, of accomplishment, and of heroism. The rivulets of these traditions from every part of our country in the course of history merge into that great stream of national memories which is the constant refreshment of national ideals. These memories are indeed the imponderable force which builds and cements our national life.

To the westerner, appreciative of history and tradition, this occasion presents a double significance. As you have shown today, this locality was once the Nation's frontier. Here were enacted some of the most stirring scenes in the brilliant drama of our pioneer era. Seven years before the Declaration of Independence there came to the banks of the Watauga—which was then the Far West—the first permanent settlers. They were soon followed by others from the back country of North Carolina. In these settlements, frontiersmen remote from the centers of civilization, freed by difficult distance from the sway of all governmental authority, voluntarily created their own frame of popular government. They erected what was to all practical purposes a free and independent state, under their own constitution.

In the Articles of the Watauga Association were implanted some of the great principles which later found permanent lodgment in our fundamental law. Similar associations sprang into being in other parts of these mountains. Historians of our frontier agree that no more striking proof of the native capacity of our early Americans for local self-government was ever given than by these associations. They not only created a government, the Watauga men, determined in their independence, rallied to the improvised army during the Revolution which at Kings Mountain struck a decisive blow for the colonial cause.

They with their compatriots from Virginia and the Carolinas attacked and disastrously defeated a formidable army under competent leadership, fading again into the forest as soon as their task was accomplished. No battle more dramatic or marked by courage and skill of a higher order has been fought on this continent. It was a turning point in the Revolutionary War. It compelled the retirement of General Cornwallis

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toward the coast, revived the flagging spirit of the discouraged colonists, and opened the way for the final victory at Yorktown. I wish to compliment you upon your pageant commemorating these achievements.

These States in common with those to the north began the greatest drama of all history—the spread of Americans from a feeble foothold on the Atlantic seaboard to the most powerful Nation in the world in scarce two centuries. The great West was won not by the action of the Government, but by the individual effort of intrepid and courageous men from all these Atlantic States. They builded their own self-government. Tennessee, Kentucky, and Texas were gained by pioneers under Sevier, Robertson, Clark, Boone, Houston, and others. They won not only homes for themselves, but for a long time determined the course of history westward. The Mississippi River ceased to be a boundary, and year after year the powerful pulsation of westward expansion throbbed with heroism and sacrifice. They were ready to fight for the simple right of self-government. General Fremont, the pathfinder to the Pacific coast, came from Georgia, and true to tradition he fought for and erected the first self-government of my own State of California.

To me it is an inspiration to be standing on this spot, for in a sense I have a common heritage with you. The earliest ancestor of whom I have record, Andrew Hoover, a settler in Maryland about two centuries ago, migrated to North Carolina and built his home 100 miles from this spot. In Randolph County of that State he did his part in building the community, and his grave lies in the little burying-ground on what was then the Uharrie River farm. His son, my great-great-grandfather, was part of that movement which started west from your frontier.

As Secretary of Commerce I have been profoundly interested in the amazing progress of the South in this past 7½ years. In order that the Department might assist to the fullest extent in that progress, we increased our branch offices in the South from 3 in 1920 to 29 in 1928. As a result of the contact thus established we were able to observe your increasing prosperity.

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The record is impressive. There are in the South about 8 million families, and in this period they have shown increase in numbers by perhaps 10 percent. Contrasted with this, the manufacturing output has increased by over 60 percent. The number of employees has increased by over 30 percent. The value of crops has increased by over 45 percent. The shipments from Southern ports have increased by 50 percent; the net income of your railways has grown by over 140 percent; electrical power in use has been increased by 125 percent. The postal receipts have grown by 45 percent. That this enormous increase in wealth and production has had wide distribution can be seen on every hand. It is indicated by increased wages and decreased cost of living, in 20 percent of new homes, in a gain of 150 percent of automobiles, and 30 percent in telephones. Life insurance in force has increased by 70 percent and bank clearings have increased by 50 percent. Depositors in savings banks have more than doubled. Building and loan association assets have increased 180 percent. In nearly every case these percentages exceed the corresponding increase in the country as a whole. All this has been accomplished in 7 1/2 years.

In every phase of life the South is moving forward. New vistas of betterment are opening. The ability and energy of the people is constantly growing and is of more dynamic scope. They have engaged in every form of useful community effort to improve both the material and spiritual side of life.

I have had the honor to be president of the Better Homes Association. In that organization over 2,000 towns have actively cooperated throughout the South during this past year. Fourteen out of 24 of the annual prizes given by this association for the most successful work during the last 5 years have been awarded to the Southern committees for leadership in bettering homes. Moreover, as director in various national committees devoted to increase of playgrounds and public parks, I have had occasion to note with gratification the extraordinary progress made throughout the South in the provision for wholesome recreation. You have not been negligent of education. In the past 7 years the attendance in high schools has increased by 91 percent and in institutions

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of higher learning by 70 percent. Your moral and spiritual foundations have been strengthened.

I know that the people of the South will agree with me that these results could never have been attained but for helpful cooperation and sound policies in the National Government, and that change of these policies can bring only distress and disaster.

The South possesses vast resources of raw materials and electrical power, easy access to the sea, a great reserve of labor, a wealth of soil, a moderate climate. Most of these factors have been here always. Such resources exist in many other countries, but if they are not accompanied by fine leadership, by intellect and character as well as sound policies of government, there could be no such development as we have witnessed in the South during this last 7 years. That leadership has not been by immigration from the North. It has been the product of Southern men and women. The South has again proved to have in her blood that strain of leadership and fortitude which contributed so much to found our Republic and so much to build our own West.

I realize that I come here as the candidate of a political party with whose policies many of you within my sight and many within the sound of my voice have often differed. I respect your views regarding that difference. Yet so closely welded in common interest are the pressing issues of our Nation today that it should be no longer unusual for a citizen of any region to vote for a President who represents the principles which correspond with his convictions.

Our national officials are chosen in order that they may protect the political and economic health of the American people. In a contest such as this there is no place for personal bitterness. A great attribute of our political life has been the spirit of fair play with which our Presidential contests have been waged in former years and the sportsmanlike spirit in which we have accepted the result. We prove ourselves worthy of self-government and worthy of confidence as officials in proportion as we keep these contests free from abuse, free from misrepresentation, and free from words and acts which carry regret. Whatever the result, we remain fellow countrymen.

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No better illustration of true sportsmanship in American politics can be found than in the historic contest waged in this State between two brilliant brothers, one of whom honors us with his presence at this meeting, the beloved Alfred Taylor of Tennessee. In the annals of chivalry no chapter portrays human nature to better advantage than your own "War of the Roses" in which Alfred Taylor, the Republican, and Robert Taylor, the Democrat, engaged in fierce political combat, attracted the attention of the whole Nation, and stirred this whole State from center to circumference. Yet in the heat of strife they kept in mind the advice of that good mother who had admonished her two stalwart sons never to forget the tie of brotherhood. It is in that spirit I wish to discuss the problems that concern our country and the methods I believe necessary to obtain their solution.

Our country has entered upon an entirely new era. For 14 years our attention in public life has been mainly given to the Great War and reconstruction from it. These 14 years have witnessed a revolution in our world relations, in many phases of our economic life and our relations of government to them. Due to the ingenuity and hard work of our people and the sound policies in government, we have come since the war to be the greatest reservoir of the world's wealth. We have transformed ourselves from a country borrowing capital from abroad to the foremost lender of capital to foreign countries. Our people, growing in efficiency and productive power, are pressing for expansion of world markets. Competition for these markets grows keener each year. Our increasing foreign trade has penetrated into every country in the world. Political diseases arising from the war misery of foreign countries have at times disturbed us by their infection of certain of our people. The poverty of Europe presses huge immigration toward us. We still have unsettled debts due us from the war. For all these reasons our international relations have vastly increased. By our growth of wealth and power we have a great burden of responsibility for the peace of the world. Abolition of the liquor traffic has become a part of our fundamental law and great problems of enforcement and obedience to law have arisen from it. From the violence of the war we have inherited increase in crime. Technicalities of court procedure have been

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used to defeat justice and to aid law violators. The invention of the gas engine has brought the automobile and the airplane. It has shortened distances, but it has brought new problems in roads and traffic.

Discoveries in electricity have meant an immense expansion in power and communication, which bring also their problems of regulation to protect public rights. The war has vastly increased the expenditures of the Government. The assessment of taxes and expenditures of public monies have come to bear a vital part in business stability. During these years we have adopted a measure of Federal control of credit. Errors in that delicate adjustment can cause us fabulous losses. The war has dislocated our transportation relations both within our country and with foreign countries. Development of inland waterways, of merchant marine, and consolidation of railways are forced upon us. More acute than all are the readjustments in the world's producing and consuming power. Great expansion of agricultural production in Canada and the Southern Hemisphere, combined with increasing efficiency and larger production by our own farmers, has rendered unstable those branches of our agriculture which are dependent upon foreign markets. These circumstances have brought a long train of difficulties to the American farmer. With fewer men needed upon the farm and with more needed in other lines of production, our great cities have, within this 14 years, a little less than doubled in population, with resultant social problems. Increasing skill and prosperity have brought us more material comfort and greater leisure but also serious questions as to how we should use our leisure time. New inventions, including the automobile and the radio, have brought us into closer relations with our neighbors, and given us a keener knowledge of each other, a broader vision of the world, and higher ambitions. This higher standard of living, this new prosperity, is dependent upon an economic system vastly more intricate and delicately adjusted than ever before. It now must be kept in perfect tune if we would not, through its dislocation, have a breakdown in employment and in the standards of living of our people. From all this, new moral and spiritual as well as economic problems crowd upon us.

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Our government was created in the belief that economic activities— that is, the forces of business and commerce—would translate themselves into widely distributed public welfare if left alone by the Government. The Government has come more and more to touch this delicate web at a thousand points. We indeed wish the Government to leave it alone to the utmost degree, but yearly the relations of government to national prosperity become more and more intimate regardless of what we wish to think. All this places a greater strain upon the flexibility of our government and should give us deep concern over every extension of its authority lest we overburden it to the breaking point.

I wish to remind you of something which may sound humble and commonplace, but it vibrates through every hope of the future. It is this—the unit of American life is the family and the home. It is the economic unit as well as the moral and spiritual unit. But it is more than this. It is the beginning of self-government. It is the throne of our highest ideals. It is the source of the spiritual energy of our people. For the perfecting of this unit of national life we must bend all of our material and scientific ingenuity. For the attainment of this end we must lend every energy of the Government.

I have before emphasized that the test of our government is what it does to insure that the home is secure in material benefit and comfort; what it does to keep that home free from bureaucratic domination; what it does to open the door of opportunity to every boy and girl within it; what it does in building moral safeguards and strengthening moral and spiritual inspiration. From the homes of America must emanate that purity of inspiration only as a result of which we can succeed in self-government. I speak of this as a basic principle that should guide our national life. I speak of it as the living action of government in the building of a nation. I speak of it as the source from which government must rise to higher and higher standards of perfection from year to year.

I cannot within the limits of time discuss in detail the policies of our government or the solution of the multitude of issues that confront us and the attitude of my party and myself toward them. I shall mention shortly those which have more particular interest to the South.

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As never before does the keeping of our economic machine in tune depend upon wise policies in the administrative side of the Government. And from its stability do we assure the home against unemployment and preserve its security and comfort.

I advocate strengthening of the protective tariff as Henry Clay of Kentucky advocated it; not as an abstract economic theory, but as a practical and definite policy of protecting the standards of living of the American family. The purpose of the tariff is not to balance the books of business corporations but to safeguard the family budget. With the increasing pressures from countries of lower standards of living it has become the fundamental safeguard of the American workman and the American farmer. I wish to see complete protection for the farmer of our home market. It is vital to the South as well as to other parts of the country. It would produce a needed further diversification of southern agriculture. A retreat would ruin millions of our farmers today.

And likewise the great manufacturing industries of the South are dependent upon it. Your vast spinning industry, your iron and steel industries, are the product of it. No more beneficent exhibit of the result of the Protective Tariff Act of 1922 exists than in this very city. Here factories are in course of erection and expansion whose establishment within the United States is due solely to that tariff act. Directly and indirectly they will provide improved livelihood to more than 15,000 homes. If it were not for that protection these goods would be imported today as the product of foreign labor.

We must continue our endeavor to restore economic equality to those farm families who have lagged behind in the march of progress.

In the past 7½ years Congress has passed more than a score of constructive acts in direct aid of the farmer and the improvement of his marketing system. They have contributed greatly to strengthen the agricultural industry. Our party has undertaken to go farther than this and to still further reorganize farmers' marketing systems, placing it on a basis of greater stability and security. I may repeat these proposals. We stand specifically pledged to create a Federal Farm Board of men sympathetic with the problem, to be clothed with powers and resources

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with which not only to further aid farmers' cooperatives and assist generally in solving the multitude of different farm problems which arise from all quarters of our nation, but in particular to build up with initial advances of capital from the Government farmer-owned and farmer-controlled stabilization corporations which will protect the farmer from depressions and the demoralization of summer and periodic surpluses. Such an instrumentality should be able to develop as years go on the constructive measures necessary to solve the farmers' new problems that will inevitably arise. It is no proposal of subsidy or fee or tax upon the farmer. It is a proposal to assist the farmer on to his own feet into control of his own destinies. This is not a theoretic formula. It is a business proposition designed to make farming more profitable. No such far-reaching and specific proposal has ever been made by a political party on behalf of any industry in our history. It marks our desire for establishment of farmers' stability and at the same time maintains his independence and individuality.

I do not favor any increase in immigration. Restriction protects the American home from widespread unemployment. At the same time we must humanize the laws but only within the present quotas.

The purpose of the 18th amendment is to protect the American home. A sacred obligation is imposed on the President to secure its honest enforcement and to eliminate the abuses which have grown up around it; I wish it to succeed.

I believe in continued development of good roads. They bring the farmers' produce to market more cheaply, and by them we gain in neighborly contacts and uplift of spirit.

I advocate the enlarged and vigorous development of our inland waterways because they tend to diversify industry, they cheapen the transportation of farm produce, and they bring larger returns to the farm home.

I rejoice at the enactment of legislation authorizing the construction of flood control works of the Mississippi and other rivers, for they give protection to thousands of homes and open the opportunity for new homes. We should complete these works with the utmost energy.

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Because 3 million of our homes obtain their support from manufacture of articles which we import and export, we must continue to promote and defend our foreign trade.

We must assure a sound merchant marine to safeguard our overseas trade against foreign discrimination.

We must inexorably pursue the present policies of economy in government, for through every tax reduction we leave more income in every home.

It is vital that the Government continue its effort to aid in the elimination of waste in production and distribution, through scientific research and by direct cooperation with business. By it we have made great gains in stability. From stability in business come increased consumption of farm products, regularity of employment, and certainty to the family budget.

We must maintain our Navy and our Army in such fashion that we shall have complete defense of our homes from even the fear of foreign invasion.

Our foreign policies must be ever directed to the cause of peace that we never again need sacrifice our sons on the field of battle.

To our veterans who gave freely of their all in times of danger we must continue to be not only just but generous in enacting and interpreting laws for their relief.

To protect our people from violence at home we must revise our court procedure to produce swifter and surer justice and we should begin with the Federal Government.

I believe in the merit system of the Civil Service, and I believe further that appointive offices must be filled by those who deserve the confidence and respect of the communities they serve.

It is absolutely essential to the moral development and the enlarged opportunity of the boys and girls in every home that we increasingly strengthen our public school system and our institutions of higher learning.

All legislation, all administrative action, must stand the supreme test that it provide equal opportunity for all our citizens, not for any special group.

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I do not favor any general extension of the Federal Government into the operation of business in competition with its citizens. It is not the system of Lincoln or Roosevelt. It is not the American system. It not only undermines initiative but it undermines State and local self-government. It is the destruction of States' rights. Democracy, however, must be master in its own house. It can assure the conservation of our governmentally controlled natural resources in the interest of the people. It has demonstrated that by the power of regulation it can prevent abuse; it can and must control natural monopolies in full public interest. It can do so without abdicating the very principles upon which our nation has been founded and through which we have reached a standard of living and comfort unparalleled in the world. Violations of public interest by individuals or corporations should be followed by the condemnation and punishment they deserve, but this should not induce us to abandon progressive principles and substitute in their place deadly and destructive doctrines. There are local instances where the Government must enter the business field as a byproduct of some great major purpose, such as improvement in navigation, flood control, scientific research, or national defense; but they do not vitiate the general policy to which we should adhere.

The President has primarily the great task of administering the biggest business in the world—the United States Government. It is a business involving an expenditure of \$3,500 million a year and the employment of hundreds of thousands of people. Its honest and efficient administration touches the welfare of our people to a degree perhaps as great as the legislative and political policies. The President also has the responsibility of cooperating with Congress in the enactment of laws and securing their enforcement. In the determination of policies he is not only the leader of a party. He is more than this. He is the President of the whole people. He must interpret the conscience of America. He must guide his conduct by the idealism of our people. The Presidency is no dictatorship. It is not intended to be. Safeguards are provided to prevent it. Our fathers knew that men were not made for government but government for men—to aid and to serve them. Our government

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rests solely upon the will of the people; it springs from the people; its policies must be approved by the people.

From my experience in government in the past years both in war and peace I have been profoundly impressed with the fact that we have increasing need to replace dictation by law to the fullest extent possible by cooperation between the administrative side of our government and the forces in the community. Scores of activities organized in these years through cooperation with voluntary bodies on both the economic and welfare sides have convinced me that far more of the problem of progress can be accomplished by voluntary action assisted with cooperation by the Government than has been supposed.

One test of our economic and social system is its capacity to cure its own abuses. New abuses and new relationships to the public interest will occur as long as we continue to progress. If we are to be wholly dependent upon government to cure every evil, we shall by this very method have created an enlarged and deadening abuse through the extension of bureaucracy and the clumsy and incapable handling of delicate economic forces. And much abuse has been and can be cured by inspiration and cooperation rather than by regulation of the Government.

I have had the good fortune of many journeys to the South and of many warm friendships there. To me came the opportunity of service during the long months of the greatest disaster which has ever come to our own country outside of war—the Mississippi flood. In that service I came to even more fully appreciate not only the character and the devotion of the southern people, but I found proof of a phase of our American life that I had long believed existed but was difficult of demonstration. I, with other Americans, have perhaps unduly resented the stream of criticism of American life, of the stature and character of our people. More particularly have I resented the sneers at Main Street. For I have known that in the cottages that lay behind the street rested the strength of our national character. When it came to the organization necessary to meet that great catastrophe, the pressure of time alone made it necessary to rely wholly upon the leadership, intelligence, the devotion, the sense of integrity and service of hundreds of towns

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and villages on the border of the flood. It was they who must undertake the instant work of rescue, the building of gigantic camps, the care of children, the provision of food, the protection of health of three-quarters of a million of homeless people. All that we who were in the direction could do was to outline the nature of the service that every town and village should perform, assist them with resources. In the face of that terrific problem that would test the stamina and quality of any people, there was not a failure in a single case. This perhaps stands out larger in my mind than in most men because under similar conditions of great emergency I have had the duty to organize populations abroad. And in no country does there exist the intelligence, the devotion, the probity, the ability to rise to a great emergency that exists in the Main Street of the American town and village. I do not wish to disparage the usefulness of Broadway, Pennsylvania Avenue, or State Street, but it is from Main Street and its countryside that the creative energies of the Nation must be replenished and restored.

I rejoice with you at the wonderful development in the South not alone because of the benefits which it has brought but because it represents something more fundamental. Many of our most difficult problems in national life have come because of the extraordinary growth of our great cities. History shows that crowded cities too often breed injustices and crimes, misery and suffering. The people of the South, and of New England especially, are showing the country how to join industry with agriculture to their mutual benefit. The importance of your effort and your success cannot be overstated.

The Federal Government can assist this movement of wider spread of industry by scientific research, by surveys of the resources of each region and study of its interest in and adaptability to various industries. And the Government can do more. It can directly assist not only the South but the whole Nation in this course by the improvement of our roads, waterways, and ports, and by the encouragement of the spread of electrical power to factory and farm, by building up of the merchant marine, and expansion of the foreign markets natural to each section.

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I have endeavored in this address to present to you the policies which have made and will make for prosperity of our country. They hold the hope of the final abolition of poverty. They make for better homes. They make for more individuality in life. They open the door of opportunity to boys and girls of town and country as well as of the great cities. From these accomplishments comes the lift of moral and spiritual life. From them comes an America greater and higher in purpose.

Boston, Massachusetts.

October 15, 1928

ECONOMIC questions have over the past 50 years grown to a larger and larger proportion of our national issues. Today these questions are more dominant than ever. Upon their sound solution depend our prosperity, our standards of living, and the opportunities for a fuller life to every home. I make no apologies, therefore, for speaking to you tonight on economic questions, as they are affected by the tariff and our foreign trade, including our merchant marine. Obviously, the policies of our government bear the most important relationship to the maintenance and expansion of foreign trade, and the Government is the sole origin of the tariff.

I have been told that traditionally these subjects are of less interest to the women of our country than to the men. This I do not believe. Not alone are women today a large part of the army of industry, but they are also the treasurers of the household, and the security of the family income is to them of primary concern.

There are no more important questions to the people of New England than this. Nature has given you no coal mines, no oil wells, no vast expanse of prairie—in fact, no great possessions of raw materials. Your transportation relations, both inland and overseas, do not present to you the economic opportunity for basic raw material industries.

But New England has something even more important than all this. It has from the very beginnings of our history provided industrial and commercial leadership and skilled workmanship in the United States.

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The courage, genius, and lofty integrity of that leadership have for 200 years carried New England through a score of those inevitable crises that come from invention, from change in demand.

New England began with a shipping industry as her dominant commercial occupation. She succeeded in it because she built better ships, because she was more skillful in ship construction, and because she developed greater skill in operation. She spread her ships over all the seas. She was the first part of our country to develop the factory system. She trained the first skilled workers, erected the first machinery, and set up the first equipment of modern industry. Her people have developed not only a great industry and commerce but a great inheritance of method and skill. It is not simply a great past; it is a great present.

Today, with her reservoir of skilled artisanship, of able technologists and administrators, with her own capital, with access to the markets of our own country and of the world, New England is, and will continue to be over many generations to come, the great American center for production of those articles where we require quality rather than quantity. But the very nature of her location, the character of her industry, and her resources make New England on one hand dependent upon the tariff to protect certain of her industries in the American market, and upon the other hand the development of foreign trade to find world markets for others.

And today the whole Nation has more profound reasons for solicitude in the promotion of our foreign trade than ever before. As the result of our inventive genius and the pressure of high wages, we have led the world in substituting machines for hand labor. This, together with able leadership and skilled workers, enables us to produce goods much in excess of our own needs. Taking together our agriculture and our manufactures and our mining, we have increased our production approximately 30 percent during the last 8 years, while our population has increased only about 10 percent. Much of this increase of production has been absorbed in higher standards of living, but the surplus grows with this unceasing improvement. To insure continuous employment

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and maintain our wages we must find a profitable market for these surpluses.

Nor is this the only reason for lending high importance to our foreign trade, either for New England or the country as a whole. Our business ideal must be stability—that is, regularity of production and regularity of employment. We attain stability in production, whether it be in the individual factory or in the whole industry, or whether it is in the Nation at large, by the number of different customers we supply. The shock of decreased demand from a single customer can be absorbed by the increase from another, if distribution be diffused. Consequently our industries will gain in stability, the wider we spread our trade with foreign countries. This additional security reflects itself in the home of every worker and every farmer in our country.

The expansion of export trade has a vital importance in still another direction. The goods which we export contribute to the purchase from foreign countries of the goods and raw materials which we cannot ourselves produce. We might survive as a nation, though, on lower living standards and wages, if we had to suppress the 9 percent or 10 percent of our total production which is now sold abroad. But our whole standard of life would be paralyzed and much of the joy of living destroyed if we were denied sufficient imports. Without continued interchange of tropical products with those of the temperate zone, whole sections of the world, including our own country, must stagnate and degenerate in civilization. We could not run an automobile, we could not operate a dynamo or use a telephone, were we without imported raw materials from the tropics. In fact, the whole structure of our advancing civilization would crumble and the great mass of mankind would travel backwards if the foreign trade of the world were to cease. The Great War brought into bold relief the utter dependence of nations upon foreign trade. One of the major strategies of that hour was to crush the enemy by depriving him of foreign trade and therefore of supplies of material and foodstuffs vital to his existence.

Trade in its true sense is not commercial war; it is a vital mutual service. The volume of world trade depends upon prosperity. In fact, it grows from prosperity. Every nation loses by the poverty of another.

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Every nation gains by the prosperity of another. Our prosperity in the United States has enabled us in 8 years to make enormous increases in the purchase of goods from other nations. These increasing purchases have added prosperity and livelihood to millions of people abroad. And their prosperity in turn has enabled them to increase the amount of goods they can buy from us.

Realizing these essentials, one of the first acts of the Republican administration when we came into power 7½ years ago—confronted as we were by millions of unemployed—was to devise measures to vigorously restore and expand our foreign trade. It was evident that we must sell more products abroad if we would restore jobs, maintain steady employment for labor and activity for our industries. It was clear that we must dispose of the farmer's surplus abroad if he was to recover stability and an ability to buy the products of our labor. As an aftermath of the war we were confronted with a total disorganization of our export trade. Our exports of war materials had been brought suddenly to an end. But, more than this, the trade of the entire world was demoralized to the extent that the actual movement of commodities between nations was less than before the war. We set out on a definitely organized campaign to build up the export of our products. To accomplish this we reorganized the Department of Commerce on a greater scale than has ever been attempted or achieved by any government in the world. We mobilized our manufacturers and exporters, and cooperated with them in laying out and executing strategic plans for expanding our foreign trade with all nations and in all directions.

The Republican administration by this action introduced a new basis in government relation with business and, in fact, a new relationship of the Government with its citizens. That basis was definitely organized cooperation. The method was not dictation nor domination. It was not regulation, nor subsidies, nor other artificial stimulants such as were adopted by foreign nations in similar plight. It was the Government, with all its prestige, interested solely in public welfare, acting through trained specialists in voluntary cooperation with committees of businessmen to promote the interest of the whole country in expansion of its trade and its ultimate expression, which is increased and stable

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employment. It was the promotion of initiative and enterprise which characterize our businessmen, and nowhere greater than in New England.

In the year 1922 our foreign trade upon a quantitative basis was almost the same as it was before the war, that is, if we reduce the values by the amount of inflation of the dollar. Since that time our trade has increased steadily year by year until in the year 1927 our exports amounted to the gigantic sum of \$4,865 million—or a billion dollars increase under Republican rule. Our imports increased in the past 7 years by over \$1,675 million to a total of \$4,185 million. There never have been such increases in a similar period before in our history. Today we are the largest importers and the second largest exporters of goods in the world. Our exports show on a quantitative basis an increase of 58 percent over prewar, while our imports are 80 percent above prewar. The other combatant nations are only now barely recovering their prewar basis. All this has a very human interpretation. Our total volume of exports translates itself into employment for 2,400,000 families, while its increase in the last 7 years has interpreted itself into livelihood for 500,000 additional families in the United States. And in addition to this, millions more families find employment in the manufacture of imported raw materials. The farmer has a better market for his produce by reason of their employment.

Nor has New England failed to participate fully in this great advance.

With perhaps pardonable pride I may point out some indication of the assistance which the Government has given to this great expansion of our export trade through searching out opportunity for American goods abroad. I know of no better index of what the Federal Government's contribution has been in this enormous growth than the number of requests which come constantly to the Department of Commerce from our manufacturers and exporters for assistance and service of one kind or another. During the year before we undertook this broad plan of cooperation the Government at its various offices over the world received less than 700 such requests per day. These demands have increased steadily until this last fiscal year they exceeded the enormous

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total of over 10,000 daily. Unless these services to individual manufacturers and exporters were bringing positive results in dollars and cents, we should never have seen this phenomenal growth.

Nor is the Government solely concerned with the sale of our products abroad. We are deeply interested in many ways in our imports. One of the most intricate questions has been to secure the supply, at reasonable prices, of raw materials which we do not produce. Beginning soon after the war, certain foreign governments possessing practical monopoly of such materials, began the organization of controls designed to establish prices to the rest of the world, and especially to us, the largest purchaser. These controls increased in number until they embraced nearly one-third of our imports and the undue tax upon our consumers reached hundreds of millions of dollars. We regarded such controls to be in the long run uneconomic and disastrous to the interests of both producer and consumer. We, however, felt we had no complaint except in cases where these methods resulted in speculation and consequent unfair prices to our people. We wish to pay fair price for what we buy just as we wish to secure a fair price for what we sell. It was necessary for us to demonstrate that the consumer has inherent rights. Our government used its influence to assist American industry to meet this situation, by encouraging the use of substitutes and synthetic products, and by recommending public conservation at times of absolute necessity. Happily the trend in the creation and management of these monopolies has reversed itself, and I believe this question will present no further difficulty.

The Government bears other direct responsibilities in promoting and safeguarding our foreign trade. It can prosper only under sound financial policies of our government; it can prosper only under improving efficiency of our industry. In fact its progress marches only with the march of all progress, whether it be education or decrease in taxes. Foreign trade thrives only in peace. But, more than that, it thrives only with maintained good will and mutual interest with other nations.

One of these mutual interests lies in the protection of American citizens and their property abroad, and the protection of foreign citizens in our borders. The world's trading operations are by necessity largely

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carried on through the agency of their own citizens who migrate to foreign countries. So that in the pursuit of foreign trade we have an exchange of citizens as well as of goods. Furthermore our citizens who go abroad to develop foreign countries, or our citizens who loan their savings to develop foreign countries, are contributing to the advancement of trade. But they do much more. They build up the standards of living and the prosperity in other countries. Unless there can be constantly evidenced amongst all nations that the lives and property of all citizens abroad shall be protected, the foreign trade and the economic life of the world will degenerate instead of thrive. This does not imply that our citizens going abroad are not subject to the laws of the country where they reside. They must be subject to such laws unless these laws are a violation of international obligation. This implies no imperialism. It is the simple recognition of the principle of comity and mutual interest among all nations. Confidence in this principle is a necessity to the advancement of civilization itself. Fortunately the occasions where it has been necessary to send armed forces to preserve this principle are diminishing. Aside from the Great War the Democratic administration found it necessary to take such action on nine occasions, while during this administration only four such incidents have arisen. Every American must hope that they will not again arise.

Government cooperation in promoting foreign trade is even more important for the future than it has been for the past. It is more important to New England than it has ever been before. With the assurance of peace for many years to come, the world is upon the threshold of great commercial expansion. The other great nations of the world have been slowly recovering from the war. They have attained a very large degree of economic stability. They are developing increased efficiency in production and distribution and promotion of trade. Almost every month brings some deputation from abroad to study our methods and processes, which they soon translate into their own use. We do not begrudge them all of our technical and other information. We search with equal diligence to translate their methods of progress to our own use. We have the intelligent self-interest to realize that it is in the prosperity and progress of the world as a whole that we must seek expansion

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in our foreign trade. Nevertheless, as the stability of foreign nations becomes greater and their methods improve, their competition for neutral markets will become sharper. To receive our due share of prosperity in these markets we must continue an increasing vigorous cooperation from our government.

One of the most important economic issues of this campaign is the protective tariff. The Republican Party has for 70 years supported a tariff designed to give adequate protection to American labor, American industry, and the American farm against foreign competition.

Our opponents, after 70 years of continuous opposition to this Republican doctrine, now seek to convince the American people that they have nothing to fear from tariff revision at their hands. The Democratic platform states that they will revise the duties to a basis of "effective competition." They did this once before. When the Underwood Tariff Bill was introduced to Congress in 1913 the Democratic Ways and Means Committee of the House presented it to the country as a "competitive tariff." That measure was surely not a protective tariff. It greatly reduced the tariffs on American manufactures and it removed almost the whole protection of the agricultural industry. The competition which it provided was competition with foreign wages and standards of living. The Democratic tariff was subjected to test for only a few months prior to the outbreak of the war. Those few months showed the beginnings of disaster in both industry and agriculture. The production of goods abroad competing with our goods ceased during the war and tariff rates became relatively unimportant. It was not until peace was restored that its ill effects were completely disclosed to the American people. It would seem fair to assume from the declarations of the authors of the measure at the time the Underwood Bill was passed that it was the ideal of an "effective competitive" tariff. Be this as it may, competition, to be effective, must mean that foreign goods will have opportunity of successfully invading our home markets. The effect of the formula there set forth means a reduction of the tariff and a depression in American wages and American farm prices to meet foreign competition. It means a flood of foreign goods, of foreign farm produce, with the consequent reduction of wages and income

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of not only workers and farmers but the whole of those who labor, whether in the field, at the bench, or at the desk.

The Republican Party stands for protection, and on coming into power in 1922 it enacted again a protective tariff to both agriculture and industry.

Every argument urged by our opponents against the increased duties in the Republican Tariff Act has been refuted by actual experience. It was contended that our costs of production would increase. Their prophecy was wrong, for our costs have decreased. They urged that the duties which we proposed would increase the price of manufactured goods—yet prices have steadily decreased. It was urged that, by removing the pressure of competition of foreign goods, our industry would fall in efficiency. The answer to that is found in our vastly increased production per man in every branch of industry, which, indeed, is the envy of our competitors. They asserted that the enactment of the tariff would reduce the volume of our imports. Yet, during the last 7 years, our total imports, particularly of goods which we do not ourselves produce, have greatly increased. They predicted that with decreasing imports it would follow that our sales of goods abroad would likewise decrease. Again they were wrong. Our exports have increased to unprecedented totals. In fact every single argument put forth by our opponents against us at that time has proved to be fallacious.

The tariff written by the Republican Party in 1922 has been accompanied by everything which our opponents predicted that the tariff would prevent. It has been accompanied by employment and prosperity.

The Tariff Commission is a most valuable arm of the Government. It can be strengthened and made more useful in several ways. But the American people will never consent to delegating authority over the tariff to any commission, whether nonpartisan or bipartisan. Our people have a right to express themselves at the ballot upon so vital a question as this. There is only one commission to which delegation of that authority can be made. That is the great commission of their own choosing, the Congress of the United States and the President. It is the only commission which can be held responsible to the electorate. Those who believe in the protective tariff will, I am sure, wish to leave

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its revision in the hands of that party which has been devoted to establishment and maintenance of that principle for 70 years.

No tariff act is perfect. With the shifting of economic tides some items may be higher than necessary, but undoubtedly some are too low. This is particularly true so far as New England is concerned. New England has many protected industries. One important branch of them, the cotton and wool industries, have not for the past few years been in a satisfactory condition. They comprise about 26 percent of New England's industrial life. Their depressed condition has not been peculiar to New England. The same situation has prevailed throughout the world and is due largely to the same factors—style changes, production in new areas, and decided changes in the trends of consumption. There has been less hardship in the United States than abroad, and that fact has been due to the partial protection afforded in the tariff against inundations of foreign goods.

Any change in the present policy of protection would, without question, result in a flood of foreign textile products which would mean no less than ruin to New England industry, both manufacturers and workmen.

That our American textile industry and its workers need solid protection is clearly demonstrated by a comparison of wages, and it must be remembered that our most severe competition from abroad always comes in those types of cloths in which the element of labor represents the chief item of cost. A woolen and worsted weaver in the United States earns an average of 65 cents an hour, in Great Britain 30 cents, in Germany 20 cents, in France 13 cents, and in Italy 8 cents. The American cotton weaver earns an average of 40 cents an hour, the German 17 cents, the Frenchman less than 11 cents, and the Italian 7 cents an hour. And New England wages are higher than these averages for the whole country. The American protective tariff is the only insurance to our 600,000 families who earn their livelihood in the cotton and wool manufacturing industries against the wages prevalent abroad and the conditions and standards of living which necessarily result from them.

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The prospects for the textile industry are today much more favorable than for some time past. Both the world situation and the domestic situation are improving. I believe these industries have turned the corner. And there are omens of much broader significance which sustain me in my beliefs. As never before in the industry there is demonstrated a will to pool its best brain resources in the solution of present and future problems in order that there shall be mutuality of benefit to manufacturer, worker, and consumer. Elimination of waste in production and distribution are in progress. Security and steady employment are more assured than for a long time past.

During this campaign some of our opponents have asserted that it is inconsistent to support the protective tariff and at the same time expect a greater expansion of our foreign trade. Their presentation of this theory at least indicates that some of them have not departed from their long-held free trade theories.

Their theory is that if by a tariff wall against competitive goods we reduce the sales of goods to us from foreign countries, we thereby diminish the resources of those foreign countries with which to buy goods from us and thus in turn our sales abroad are decreased. It is still further asserted that if we by the tariff reduce the shipment of goods into our markets, then we diminish the ability of foreign countries to pay principal and interest on the debts which they owe us. This theory was sound enough in the old days of direct barter of goods between nations. The trouble with it is that it has lost most of its practical application in a modern world and especially as applied to the American situation. Economic theories and hypotheses must stand the test of fact or experience or show application to new circumstances. Responsible men cannot dally with critical policies which affect the well-being of peoples on the sole basis of a theory. The birth of modern science was the realization by the scientists that every theory and every hypothesis must be placed upon the scales where the weights were in quantities, not arguments.

One primary fault of this economic theory is that foreign trade is no longer a direct barter between one single nation and another. World trade has become more of the nature of a common pool into which all

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nations pour goods or credit and from which they retake goods and credit. Let me give you an example: We ship more goods to Great Britain than we receive from her. But we buy vast quantities of tropical goods and she in turn supplies the tropical countries with her manufactures. In this way the settlement of international balances and obligations is lifted entirely out of the category of direct barter.

The first answer, however, to this theory is that 65 percent of our \$4,185 million of annual imports are admitted free of duties because they are raw materials, tropical products, and other articles which we do not ourselves produce. Of the remainder, from 6 percent to 7 percent are luxuries upon which duties are levied for revenue and which are bought by our people irrespective of price. The purchasing power of foreign countries is certainly undiminished to the extent of this 70 percent.

A further answer is that 30 percent, or \$1,250 million, of imports came in over the tariff wall and paid duties to the useful revenue of the Government of about \$470 million. The purchasing power for our goods was undiminished by this amount.

A still further answer to this theory opposed to the protective tariff is the enormous increase of what are usually called the "invisibles" of foreign trade, that is, the expenditures for freights, for insurance, by tourists, by immigrant remittances, for interest, and a hundred other items. Some years ago, believing that these transactions were of vastly more importance in the determination of our national policies than had been credited to them, I instituted an annual determination of the facts. These determinations show that foreign nations now receive from us about \$2 billions per annum for services, including such items as \$770 million paid out in foreign countries by our tourists and \$240 million remitted by immigrants in our country to relatives abroad. This sum of 2 billions can be applied by foreigners to the purchase of goods or to payments on debts or for services in the United States just the same as the money which they receive from the sale of goods to us. If we add this 2 billion to the \$4,185 million of goods they sell us, it makes their purchasing power over 6 billions. So that the proportion of the foreigners'

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buying power which is affected by the protective tariff diminishes to even a smaller ratio.

Still another answer is that the volume of imports is in fact determined by the degree of prosperity of nations. Our domestic prosperity has been greatly increased by the building up of wages and standards of living, to which the protective tariff has greatly contributed. By the very result of the tariff we have been able vastly to increase our imports of luxuries, raw materials, and things we do not produce. With our domestic prosperity we require more raw materials, and by that same prosperity we have the resources with which to buy them. By our prosperity we have been able to go abroad as tourists and also to remit to our relatives in Europe. This I believe finally extinguishes the already depleted importance of this theory that our tariff seriously damages the buying power of foreign countries and thus diminishes our export trade.

But if any more answers are needed to this theory there is that of actual practical experience. I have already observed that we have increased our imports during the last 7½ years under the present tariff act by over \$1,675 million annually, or to an amount at least 80 percent above prewar average after allowing for the higher prices. The exports of five leading manufacturing nations of Europe to the United States have increased 75 percent since 1913, whereas the sales of these same nations to the rest of the world have only increased 27 percent. Certainly that does not indicate any great destruction of their ability to sell us something despite our tariff. In short, there is no practical force in the contention that we cannot have a protective tariff and a growing foreign trade. We have both today.

I spoke a few minutes ago of loans which our citizens make to foreign countries. It is an essential part of the sound expansion of our foreign trade that we should interest ourselves in the development of backward or crippled countries by means of loans from our surplus capital. They bring blessings both to the lender and to the borrower. When we make a loan abroad the amount of that loan is not ordinarily exported in gold but in goods or services either directly or indirectly. Most of them find their way out of our country in the form of farm products, of machinery, plant equipment, and supplies purchased of us. We receive

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the first benefit in markets for our farmers and for the making of these goods, and that gives additional employment to our people. The borrower receives the second benefit because the installation of American machinery and equipment, whether it be railways, power plants, harvesting machinery, or typewriters, brings greater productivity to the receiving country. Its prosperity is thus increased and the whole world trade benefits. Some of this new industrialization abroad may result in occasional competition with items here and there in our export trade; but the broad, general results of world betterment are as I have stated them. If foreign loans are applied to constructive development in foreign lands and if they are provided from capital beyond that which we require for our own needs, then they are necessarily beneficial.

Two assertions have been made in connection with our war debts and foreign trade that merit a word. The first is the one I referred to before, that tariff prevents the import of goods necessary to repay interest and capital upon these loans; and the second is that these payments must ultimately be made in goods and these goods will some day replace the output of our factories and reduce the employment of our workmen. This latter argument has been vigorously put forward as a reason for canceling our war debts. I deny its practical validity.

The whole of the weights which I have applied to the fallacy that the protective tariff ruins our export trade applies equally to this matter. As I have said, the tariff can affect but a small percentage of the buying power of foreign countries. In the end it probably increases imports because by increasing our domestic prosperity it enables us to buy far more goods of the raw material, tropical, and luxury type. All the facts I have stated showing the increased buying power of foreign countries apply equally to their ability to pay loans and interest. The \$320 million annually due us upon war debt settlements represents today less than 5 percent of the present total annual buying power of foreign countries for our goods and other purposes. Of this 5 percent four-fifths would be paid through "invisibles" as duty-free goods, and only 1 percent, at the largest computation, in competitive goods. A hard, practical fact enters here also, which is that their buying power from us is constantly increasing. The fact is, the increase in our tourist expenditure alone in

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Europe since the war would enable them to take care of the entire amount of their annual payments on these debts. The increase in our imported goods alone since 1922 would pay the whole amount three times over. And the polyangular course of trade which I have mentioned does not require that these transactions be direct with any nation.

While I am on this subject of our war debt I should like to call attention to another current misrepresentation. That is the statement that we made a profit from the Great War and that these debts were wrung from the blood of other countries. This is absolutely untrue. While certain individuals may have profited, as a whole this country was a great loser by the war. We emerged from it with the loss of life of our sons, with the depleted health of others, with a huge debt, increased taxes, inflated currency, inflated agriculture, useless factories, with a shortage of housing and other facilities for the very basis of living, with suspended public works and inadequate communications, demoralized railways, and countless other national losses which will continue for a generation.

The increase in wealth and prosperity in the United States has come since the war—not during that time. It is due to the hard-working character and increasing efficiency of our people and to sound government policies. And in the largest measure the adoption and application of these policies were due to that great son of New England, Calvin Coolidge.

This great prosperity, this great increase in wealth, has been one of the greatest blessings that has ever come to the world. It has enabled us from our reservoir of wealth to contribute the force of our capital to the reconstruction of the war-torn countries. But for our aid South America and many other parts of the world would have been compelled to suspend their development and expansion for lack of capital. Had it not been for the industry and genius of the American people in the last 7 years, recovery of the world would have been delayed a quarter of a century.

A merchant marine under the American flag is an essential to our foreign trade. It is essential to our defense. There is only one protection of our commerce from discrimination and combinations in rates which would impose onerous charges upon us in the transportation of our

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goods to foreign markets—that is, a merchant marine under the control of our citizens. We have had need to revise our vision of overseas transportation during the past few years. It no longer comprises large numbers of tramp steamers going hither and yon. From the point of view of our commerce it consists of about 25 important sea routes which are the extensions to foreign destinations of our inland trade routes, upon which we need regular, ferry-like service of large cargo liner ships. This development of large units and repetitive operation fits with the character of our industrial development and opens wider hope for our return to the sea.

We have endeavored for two generations to find methods for restoration of that prestige on the ocean which New England at one time gave to us. During late years we have tried government ownership and operation. No one can now claim that government operation gives promise of either efficiency or permanence. But by government operation we have maintained our independence and our defense in the meantime. By it we have been able to pioneer the trade routes and to build up substantial flow of goods. Thus far it has been successful, but at heavy cost. As these routes have gained in strength many of them have been disposed of to successful operation by private enterprise. With the legislation passed by the last Congress through which a number of indirect aids are given to the merchant marine, there is real hope that the Government will ultimately be able to retire from competition with its own citizens in the shipping business, but it cannot retire until we are sure that private enterprise can carry the burden and grow in strength. It is a certainty that government operation will always be unsatisfactory. The Government cannot operate cheaply; it cannot rid itself of pernicious bureaucracy and policies; it cannot avoid the interminable difficulties and wastes which come from this kind of organization and direct or indirect political pressures. The hope of a substantial merchant marine lies ultimately in the new character of overseas shipping, in the energy and initiative of our citizens with assistance and cooperation of the Government. That assistance and cooperation is now being given and must be continued.

Now let me sum up the thought I should like to leave with you. I

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have talked to you about the tariff, about international trade, the merchant marine, and other economic forces which may, at first glance, seem far removed from our daily lives. I have tried to make the point that these subjects are no longer remote from any one of you. The time may have been, as someone once said, when the tariff was a local issue or foreign trade and shipping concerned only the local seaports. It is so no longer. Touch the tariff on textiles, and North Carolina feels the blighting influence as quickly as Massachusetts. Nor does it stop there. The farmer finds a diminished market in the lessened demand caused by lower wages. Unsettle the credit structure, and it is not Wall Street that suffers most; it is the little bank, the little factory, the little farm, the modest home. A shortage of shipping to the gulf ports at once decreases prices to the farmer in Kansas, for he must take more expensive routes to foreign markets. The old local decisive issues are largely gone. The present issue is the well-being and comfort and security of the American family and the American home. On that issue my party presents, as proof of its capacity, the record of growing comfort and security of the past 7 years.

I could not as a Californian conclude without a tribute to the large part which New England men have played in the advancement of my State. They pioneered its first commerce. A Boston man, Thomas O. Larkin, was one of the first American consuls in Mexican California, and in large part to his ability and courage was due the peaceful annexation of my State. It was Daniel Webster who moved California's admission to the Union. It was New England men who established our school system and our universities. Today the sons of New England are among the leaders in our public affairs.

Here in New England, American business began, and because the prosperity of industry and commerce affects the life of every man and woman, every boy and girl, I have dealt with it in this address. But there are other things more important. Because I talk of business it does not mean that I place material things above spiritual things. On the contrary, I see prosperity merely as the rich soil from which spiritual virtues as well as education and art and satisfactions in life can grow.

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Your founders came to these shores not through lure of gold; not with the ambition to establish great mercantile enterprises; not with the thirst for adventure. Their first objectives were far different and more lofty.

When the necessities of life and of the spirit had been attended to, their first great desire was to advance learning and perpetuate it for posterity. Out of that lofty ambition came the creation of a score of institutions of higher learning. Later the same spirit inspired the establishment of other colleges in order that women might share equally with men in the opportunities of higher education. And from these institutions went forth the men and women who dotted our western country with colleges and universities which have now become great, and who carried a love of learning that has led our Central and Western States to endow their public schools and universities not with millions of dollars but literally with hundreds of millions.

New England taught us the ways of business. But you gave us something far finer and more precious. You sent us men and women on fire with the passion for truth and service. You set us the first example in patriotism. The early New Englanders cast their lot for liberty in words that can never die, when the people of Roxbury declared: "Our pious fathers died with the pleasing hope that we, their children, should live free. Let none, as they will answer it another day, disturb the ashes of those heroes by selling their birthright." These words did not spring from any consideration of material advantage. Those of our New England citizens who came in later times have caught the spirit and have carried it forward. It has spread its influence to all our country. As a westerner, I make grateful acknowledgement of our everlasting debt. Your example set the pattern for America's development.

New York City.

October 22, 1928

THIS CAMPAIGN now draws near a close. The platforms of the two parties defining principles and offering solutions of various national

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problems have been presented and are being earnestly considered by our people.

After 4 months' debate it is not the Republican Party which finds reason for abandonment of any of the principles it has laid down, or of the views it has expressed for solution of the problems before the country. The principles to which it adheres are rooted deeply in the foundations of our national life. The solutions which it proposes are based on experience with government and on a consciousness that it may have the responsibility for placing those solutions in action.

In my acceptance speech I endeavored to outline the spirit and ideals by which I would be guided in carrying that platform into administration. Tonight, I will not deal with the multitude of issues which have been already well canvassed. I intend rather to discuss some of those more fundamental principles and ideals upon which I believe the Government of the United States should be conducted.

The Republican Party has ever been a party of progress. I do not need to review its 70 years of constructive history. It has always reflected the spirit of the American people. Never has it done more for the advancement of fundamental progress than during the past 7½ years since we took over the Government amidst the ruin left by war.

It detracts nothing from the character and energy of the American people, it minimizes in no degree the quality of their accomplishments to say that the policies of the Republican Party have played a large part in recuperation from the war and the building of the magnificent progress which shows upon every hand today. I say with emphasis that without the wise policies which the Republican Party has brought into action during this period, no such progress would have been possible.

The first responsibility of the Republican administration was to renew the march of progress from its collapse by the war. That task involved the restoration of confidence in the future and the liberation and stimulation of the constructive energies of our people. It discharged that task. There is not a person within the sound of my voice that does not know the profound progress which our country has made in this period. Every man and woman knows that American comfort, hope,

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and confidence for the future are immeasurably higher this day than they were 7½ years ago.

It is not my purpose to enter upon a detailed recital of the great constructive measures of the past 7½ years by which this has been brought about. It is sufficient to remind you of the restoration of employment to the millions who walked your streets in idleness; to remind you of the creation of the budget system; the reduction of 6 billions of national debt which gave the powerful impulse of that vast sum returned to industry and commerce; the four sequent reductions of taxes and thereby the lift to the living of every family; the enactment of adequate protective tariff and immigration laws which have safeguarded our workers and farmers from floods of goods and labor from foreign countries; the creation of credit facilities and many other aids to agriculture; the building up of foreign trade; the care of veterans; the development of aviation, of radio, of our inland waterways, of our highways; the expansion of scientific research, of welfare activities; the making of safer highways, safer mines, better homes; the spread of outdoor recreation; the improvement in public health and the care of children; and a score of other progressive actions.

Nor do I need to remind you that government today deals with an economic and social system vastly more intricate and delicately adjusted than ever before. That system now must be kept in perfect tune if we would maintain uninterrupted employment and the high standards of living of our people. The Government has come to touch this delicate web at a thousand points. Yearly the relations of government to national prosperity become more and more intimate. Only through keen vision and helpful cooperation by the Government has stability in business and stability in employment been maintained during this past 7½ years. There always are some localities, some industries, and some individuals who do not share the prevailing prosperity. The task of government is to lessen these inequalities.

Never has there been a period when the Federal Government has given such aid and impulse to the progress of our people, not alone to economic progress but to the development of those agencies which make for moral and spiritual progress.

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But in addition to this great record of contributions of the Republican Party to progress, there has been a further fundamental contribution—a contribution underlying and sustaining all the others—and that is the resistance of the Republican Party to every attempt to inject the Government into business in competition with its citizens.

After the war, when the Republican Party assumed administration of the country, we were faced with the problem of determination of the very nature of our national life. During 150 years we have builded up a form of self-government and a social system which is peculiarly our own. It differs essentially from all others in the world. It is the American system. It is just as definite and positive a political and social system as has ever been developed on earth. It is founded upon a particular conception of self-government in which decentralized local responsibility is the very base. Further than this, it is founded upon the conception that only through ordered liberty, freedom, and equal opportunity to the individual will his initiative and enterprise spur on the march of progress. And in our insistence upon equality of opportunity has our system advanced beyond all the world.

During the war we necessarily turned to the Government to solve every difficult economic problem. The Government having absorbed every energy of our people for war, there was no other solution. For the preservation of the state the Federal Government became a centralized despotism which undertook unprecedented responsibilities, assumed autocratic powers, and took over the business of citizens. To a large degree we regimented our whole people temporarily into a socialistic state. However justified in time of war, if continued in peacetime it would destroy not only our American system but with it our progress and freedom as well.

When the war closed, the most vital of all issues both in our own country and throughout the world was whether governments should continue their wartime ownership and operation of many instrumentalities of production and distribution. We were challenged with a peacetime choice between the American system of rugged individualism and a European philosophy of diametrically opposed doctrines—doctrines of paternalism and state socialism. The acceptance of these

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ideas would have meant the destruction of self-government through centralization of government. It would have meant the undermining of the individual initiative and enterprise through which our people have grown to unparalleled greatness.

The Republican Party from the beginning resolutely turned its face away from these ideas and these war practices. A Republican Congress cooperated with the Democratic administration to demobilize many of our war activities. At that time the two parties were in accord upon that point. When the Republican Party came into full power it went at once resolutely back to our fundamental conception of the state and the rights and responsibilities of the individual. Thereby, it restored confidence and hope in the American people, it freed and stimulated enterprise, it restored the Government to its position as an umpire instead of a player in the economic game. For these reasons the American people have gone forward in progress while the rest of the world has halted, and some countries have even gone backward. If anyone will study the causes of retarded recuperation in Europe, he will find much of it due to stifling of private initiative on one hand, and overloading of the government with business on the other.

There has been revived in this campaign, however, a series of proposals which, if adopted, would be a long step toward the abandonment of our American system and a surrender to the destructive operation of governmental conduct of commercial business. Because the country is faced with difficulty and doubt over certain national problems—that is, prohibition, farm relief, and electrical power—our opponents propose that we must thrust government a long way into the businesses which give rise to these problems. In effect, they abandon the tenets of their own party and turn to state socialism as a solution for the difficulties presented by all three. It is proposed that we shall change from prohibition to the state purchase and sale of liquor. If their agricultural relief program means anything, it means that the Government shall directly or indirectly buy and sell and fix prices of agricultural products. And we are to go into the hydroelectric power business. In other words, we are confronted with a huge program of government in business.

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There is, therefore, submitted to the American people a question of fundamental principle. That is: Shall we depart from the principles of our American political and economic system, upon which we have advanced beyond all the rest of the world, in order to adopt methods based on principles destructive of its very foundations? And I wish to emphasize the seriousness of these proposals. I wish to make my position clear; for this goes to the very roots of American life and progress.

I should like to state to you the effect that this projection of government in business would have upon our system of self-government and our economic system. That effect would reach to the daily life of every man and woman. It would impair the very basis of liberty and freedom not only for those left outside the fold of expanded bureaucracy but for those embraced within it.

Let us first see the effect upon self-government. When the Federal Government undertakes to go into commercial business it must at once set up the organization and administration of that business, and it immediately finds itself in a labyrinth, every alley of which leads to the destruction of self-government.

Commercial business requires a concentration of responsibility. Self-government requires decentralization and many checks and balances to safeguard liberty. Our government to succeed in business would need become in effect a despotism. There at once begins the destruction of self-government.

The first problem of the Government about to adventure in commercial business is to determine a method of administration. It must secure leadership and direction. Shall this leadership be chosen by political agencies or shall we make it elective? The hard practical fact is that leadership in business must come through the sheer rise in ability and character. That rise can only take place in the free atmosphere of competition. Competition is closed by bureaucracy. Political agencies are feeble channels through which to select able leaders to conduct commercial business.

Government, in order to avoid the possible incompetence, corruption, and tyranny of too great authority in individuals entrusted with commercial business, inevitably turns to boards and commissions. To make

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sure that there are checks and balances, each member of such boards and commissions must have equal authority. Each has his separate responsibility to the public, and at once we have the conflict of ideas and the lack of decision which would ruin any commercial business. It has contributed greatly to the demoralization of our shipping business. Moreover, these commissions must be representative of different sections and different political parties, so that at once we have an entire blight upon coordinated action within their ranks which destroys any possibility of effective administration.

Moreover, our legislative bodies cannot in fact delegate their full authority to commissions or to individuals for the conduct of matters vital to the American people; for if we would preserve government by the people, we must preserve the authority of our legislators in the activities of our government.

Thus every time the Federal Government goes into a commercial business, 539 Senators and Congressmen become the actual board of directors of that business. Every time a State government goes into business one or two hundred State senators and legislators become the actual directors of that business. Even if they were supermen and if there were no politics in the United States, no body of such numbers could competently direct commercial activities; for that requires initiative, instant decision, and action. It took Congress 6 years of constant discussion to even decide what the method of administration of Muscle Shoals should be.

When the Federal Government undertakes to go into business, the State governments are at once deprived of control and taxation of that business; when a State government undertakes to go into business, it at once deprives the municipalities of taxation and control of that business. Municipalities, being local and close to the people, can, at times, succeed in business where Federal and State Governments must fail.

We have trouble enough with logrolling in legislative bodies today. It originates naturally from desires of citizens to advance their particular section or to secure some necessary service. It would be multiplied

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a thousand fold were the Federal and State Governments in these businesses.

The effect upon our economic progress would be even worse. Business progressiveness is dependent on competition. New methods and new ideas are the outgrowth of the spirit of adventure, of individual initiative, and of individual enterprise. Without adventure there is no progress. No government administration can rightly take chances with taxpayers' money.

There is no better example of the practical incompetence of government to conduct business than the history of our railways. During the war the Government found it necessary to operate the railways. That operation continued until after the war. In the year before being freed from government operation they were not able to meet the demands for transportation. Eight years later we find them under private enterprise transporting 15 percent more goods and meeting every demand for service. Rates have been reduced by 15 percent and net earnings increased from less than 1 percent on their valuation to about 5 percent. Wages of employees have improved by 13 percent. The wages of railway employees are today 121 percent above prewar, while the wages of government employees are today only 65 percent above prewar. That should be a sufficient commentary upon the efficiency of government operation.

Let us now examine this question from the point of view of the person who may get a government job and is admitted into the new bureaucracy. Upon that subject let me quote from a speech of that great leader of labor, Samuel Gompers, delivered in Montreal in 1920, a few years before his death. He said:

"I believe there is no man to whom I would take second position in my loyalty to the Republic of the United States, and yet I would not give it more power over the individual citizenship of our country. . . .

"It is a question of whether it shall be Government ownership or private ownership under control. . . . If I were in the minority of one in this convention, I would want to cast my vote so that the men of labor shall not willingly enslave themselves to Government authority in their industrial effort for freedom. . . .

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"Let the future tell the story of who is right or who is wrong; who has stood for freedom and who has been willing to submit their fate industrially to the Government."

I would amplify Mr. Gomper's statement. The great body of government employees which would be created by the proposals of our opponents would either comprise a political machine at the disposal of the party in power, or alternatively, to prevent this, the Government by stringent civil service rules must debar its employees from their full political rights as free men. It must limit them in the liberty to bargain for their own wages, for no government employee can strike against his government and thus against the whole people. It makes a legislative body with all its political currents their final employer and master. Their bargaining does not rest upon economic need or economic strength but on political potence.

But what of those who are outside the bureaucracy? What is the effect upon their lives?

The area of enterprise and opportunity for them to strive and rise is at once limited.

The Government in commercial business does not tolerate amongst its customers the freedom of competitive reprisals to which private business is subject. Bureaucracy does not tolerate the spirit of independence; it spreads the spirit of submission into our daily life and penetrates the temper of our people not with the habit of powerful resistance to wrong but with the habit of timid acceptance of irresistible might.

Bureaucracy is ever desirous of spreading its influence and its power. You cannot extend the mastery of the Government over the daily working life of a people without at the same time making it the master of the people's souls and thoughts. Every expansion of government in business means that government in order to protect itself from the political consequences of its errors and wrongs is driven irresistibly without peace to greater and greater control of the Nation's press and platform. Free speech does not live many hours after free industry and free commerce die.

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It is a false liberalism that interprets itself into the Government operation of commercial business. Every step of bureaucratizing of the business of our country poisons the very roots of liberalism—that is, political equality, free speech, free assembly, free press, and equality of opportunity. It is the road not to more liberty, but to less liberty. Liberalism should be found not striving to spread bureaucracy but striving to set bounds to it. True liberalism seeks all legitimate freedom first in the confident belief that without such freedom the pursuit of all other blessings and benefits is vain. That belief is the foundation of all American progress, political as well as economic.

Liberalism is a force truly of the spirit, a force proceeding from the deep realization that economic freedom cannot be sacrificed if political freedom is to be preserved. Even if governmental conduct of business could give us more efficiency instead of less efficiency, the fundamental objection to it would remain unaltered and unabated. It would destroy political equality. It would increase rather than decrease abuse and corruption. It would stifle initiative and invention. It would undermine the development of leadership. It would cramp and cripple the mental and spiritual energies of our people. It would extinguish equality and opportunity. It would dry up the spirit of liberty and progress. For these reasons primarily it must be resisted. For 150 years liberalism has found its true spirit in the American system, not in the European systems.

I do not wish to be misunderstood in this statement. I am defining a general policy. It does not mean that our government is to part with one iota of its national resources without complete protection to the public interest. I have already stated that where the Government is engaged in public works for purposes of flood control, of navigation, of irrigation, of scientific research or national defense, or in pioneering a new art, it will at times necessarily produce power or commodities as a byproduct. But they must be a byproduct of the major purpose, not the major purpose itself.

Nor do I wish to be misinterpreted as believing that the United States is free-for-all and devil-take-the-hind-most. The very essence of equality of opportunity and of American individualism is that there shall be no domination by any group or combination in this Republic, whether it

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be business or political. On the contrary, it demands economic justice as well as political and social justice. It is no system of laissez faire.

I feel deeply on this subject because during the war I had some practical experience with governmental operation and control. I have witnessed not only at home but abroad the many failures of government in business. I have seen its tyrannies, its injustices, its destructions of self-government, its undermining of the very instincts which carry our people forward to progress. I have witnessed the lack of advance, the lowered standards of living, and the depressed spirits of people working under such a system. My objection is based not upon theory or upon a failure to recognize wrong or abuse, but I know the adoption of such methods would strike at the very roots of American life and would destroy the very basis of American progress.

Our people have the right to know whether we can continue to solve our great problems without abandonment of our American system. I know we can. We have demonstrated that our system is responsive enough to meet any new and intricate development in our economic and business life. We have demonstrated that we can meet any economic problem and still maintain our democracy as master in its own house, and that we can at the same time preserve equality of opportunity and individual freedom.

In the last 50 years we have discovered that mass production will produce articles for us at half the cost they required previously. We have seen the resultant growth of large units of production and distribution. This is big business. Many businesses must be bigger, for our tools are bigger, our country is bigger. We now build a single dynamo of 100,000 horsepower. Even 15 years ago that would have been a big business all by itself. Yet today advance in production requires that we set 10 of these units together in a row.

The American people from bitter experience have a rightful fear that great business units might be used to dominate our industrial life and by illegal and unethical practices destroy equality of opportunity.

Years ago the Republican administration established the principle that such evils could be corrected by regulation. It developed methods by which abuses could be prevented while the full value of industrial

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progress could be retained for the public. It insisted upon the principle that when great public utilities were clothed with the security of partial monopoly, whether it be railways, power plants, telephones, or what not, then there must be the fullest and most complete control of rates, services, and finances by government or local agencies. It declared that these businesses must be conducted with glass pockets.

As to our great manufacturing and distributing industries, the Republican Party insisted upon the enactment of laws that not only would maintain competition but would destroy conspiracies to destroy the smaller units or dominate and limit the equality of opportunity amongst our people.

One of the great problems of government is to determine to what extent the government shall regulate and control commerce and industry and how much it shall leave it alone. No system is perfect. We have had many abuses in the private conduct of business. That every good citizen resents. It is just as important that business keep out of government as that government keep out of business.

Nor am I setting up the contention that our institutions are perfect. No human ideal is ever perfectly attained, since humanity itself is not perfect.

The wisdom of our forefathers in their conception that progress can only be attained as the sum of the accomplishment of free individuals has been reinforced by all of the great leaders of the country since that day. Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, Wilson, and Coolidge have stood unalterably for these principles.

And what have been the results of our American system? Our country has become the land of opportunity to those born without inheritance, not merely because of the wealth of its resources and industry but because of this freedom of initiative and enterprise. Russia has natural resources equal to ours. Her people are equally industrious, but she has not had the blessings of 150 years of our form of government and of our social system.

By adherence to the principles of decentralized self-government, ordered liberty, equal opportunity, and freedom to the individual, our American experiment in human welfare has yielded a degree of well

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being unparalleled in all the world. It has come nearer to the abolition of poverty, to the abolition of fear of want, than humanity has ever reached before. Progress of the past 7 years is the proof of it. This alone furnishes the answer to our opponents, who ask us to introduce destructive elements into the system by which this has been accomplished.

Let us see what this system has done for us in our recent years of difficult and trying reconstruction and then solemnly ask ourselves if we now wish to abandon it.

As a nation we came out of the war with great losses. We made no profits from it. The apparent increases in wages were at that time fictitious. We were poorer as a nation when we emerged from the war. Yet during these last 8 years we have recovered from these losses and increased our national income by over one-third, even if we discount the inflation of the dollar. That there has been a wide diffusion of our gain in wealth and income is marked by a hundred proofs. I know of no better test of the improved conditions of the average family than the combined increase in assets of life and industrial insurance, building and loan associations, and savings deposits. These are the savings banks of the average man. These agencies alone have in 7 years increased by nearly 100 percent to the gigantic sum of over \$50 billions, or nearly one-sixth of our whole national wealth. We have increased in home ownership, we have expanded the investments of the average man.

In addition to these evidences of larger savings, our people are steadily increasing their spending for higher standards of living. Today there are almost 9 automobiles for each 10 families, where 7½ years ago only enough automobiles were running to average less than 4 for each 10 families. The slogan of progress is changing from the full dinner pail to the full garage. Our people have more to eat, better things to wear, and better homes. We have even gained in elbow room, for the increase of residential floor space is over 25 percent, with less than 10 percent increase in our number of people. Wages have increased, the cost of living has decreased. The job of every man and woman has been made more secure. We have in this short period decreased the fear of poverty, the fear of unemployment, the fear of old age; and these are fears that are the greatest calamities of humankind.

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All this progress means far more than greater creature comforts. It finds a thousand interpretations into a greater and fuller life. A score of new helps save the drudgery of the home. In 7 years we have added 70 percent to the electric power at the elbow of our workers and further promoted them from carriers of burdens to directors of machines. We have steadily reduced the sweat in human labor. Our hours of labor are lessened; our leisure has increased. We have expanded our parks and playgrounds. We have nearly doubled our attendance at games. We pour into outdoor recreation in every direction. The visitors at our national parks have trebled and we have so increased the number of sportsmen fishing in our streams and lakes that the longer time between bites is becoming a political issue. In these 71/2 years the radio has brought music and laughter, education and political discussion to almost every fireside.

Springing from our prosperity with its greater freedom, its vast endowment of scientific research, and the greater resources with which to care for public health, we have, according to our insurance actuaries, during this short period since the war lengthened the average span of life by nearly 8 years. We have reduced infant mortality, we have vastly decreased the days of illness and suffering in the life of every man and woman. We have improved the facilities for the care of the crippled and helpless and deranged.

From our increasing resources we have expanded our educational system in 8 years from an outlay of \$1,200 millions to \$2,700 millions. The education of our youth has become almost our largest and certainly our most important activity. From our greater income and thus our ability to free youth from toil we have increased the attendance in our grade schools by 14 percent, in our high schools by 80 percent, and in our institutions of higher learning by 95 percent. Today we have more youth in these institutions of higher learning twice over than all the rest of the world put together. We have made notable progress in literature, in art, and in public taste.

We have made progress in the leadership of every branch of American life. Never in our history was the leadership of our economic life more distinguished in its abilities than today, and it has grown greatly in

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its consciousness of public responsibility. Leadership in our professions and in moral and spiritual affairs of our country was never of a higher order. And our magnificent educational system is bringing forward a host of recruits for the succession to this leadership.

I do not need to recite more figures and more evidence. I cannot believe that the American people wish to abandon or in any way to weaken the principles of economic freedom and self-government which have been maintained by the Republican Party and which have produced results so amazing and so stimulating to the spiritual as well as to the material advance of the Nation.

Your city has been an outstanding beneficiary of this great progress and of these safeguarded principles. With its suburbs it has, during the last 7½ years, grown by over 1½ million of people until it has become the largest metropolitan district of all the world. Here you have made abundant opportunity not only for the youth of the land but for the immigrant from foreign shores. This city is the commercial center of the United States. It is the commercial agent of the American people. It is a great organism of specialized skill and leadership in finance, industry, and commerce which reaches every spot in our country. Its progress and its beauty are the pride of the whole American people. It leads our nation in its benevolences to charity, to education, and to scientific research. It is the center of art, music, literature, and drama. It has come to have a more potent voice than any other city in the United States.

But when all is said and done, the very life, progress, and prosperity of this city is wholly dependent on the prosperity of the 115 million people who dwell in our mountains and valleys across the 3,000 miles to the Pacific Ocean. Every activity of this city is sensitive to every evil and every favorable tide that sweeps this great nation of ours. Be there a slackening of industry in any place, it affects New York far more than any other part of the country. In a time of depression one-quarter of all the unemployed in the United States can be numbered in this city. In a time of prosperity the citizens of the great interior of our country pour into your city for business and entertainment at the rate of 150,000 a day. In fact, so much is this city the reflex of the varied interests of our country that the concern of every one of your citizens for national

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stability, for national prosperity, for national progress, for preservation of our American system is far greater than that of any other single part of our country.

We still have great problems if we would achieve the full economic advancement of our country. In these past few years some groups in our country have lagged behind others in the march of progress. I refer more particularly to those engaged in the textile, coal, and agricultural industries. We can assist in solving these problems by cooperation of our government. To the agricultural industry we shall need to advance initial capital to assist them to stabilize their industry. But this proposal implies that they shall conduct it themselves, and not the Government. It is in the interest of our cities that we shall bring agriculture and all industries into full stability and prosperity. I know you will gladly cooperate in the faith that in the common prosperity of our country lies its future.

In bringing this address to a conclusion I should like to restate to you some of the fundamental things I have endeavored to bring out.

The foundations of progress and prosperity are dependent as never before upon the wise policies of government, for government now touches at a thousand points the intricate web of economic and social life.

Under administration by the Republican Party in the last 7 1/2 years our country as a whole has made unparalleled progress and this has been in generous part reflected to this great city. Prosperity is no idle expression. It is a job for every worker; it is the safety and the safeguard of every business and every home. A continuation of the policies of the Republican Party is fundamentally necessary to the further advancement of this progress and to the further building up of this prosperity.

I have dwelt at some length on the principles of relationship between the Government and business. I make no apologies for dealing with this subject. The first necessity of any nation is the smooth functioning of the vast business machinery for employment, feeding, clothing, housing, and providing luxuries and comforts to a people. Unless these basic elements are properly organized and function, there can be no

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progress in business, in education, literature, music, or art. There can be no advance in the fundamental ideals of a people. A people cannot make progress in poverty.

I have endeavored to present to you that the greatness of America has grown out of a political and social system and a method of control of economic forces distinctly its own—our American system— which has carried this great experiment in human welfare farther than ever before in all history. We are nearer today to the ideal of the abolition of poverty and fear from the lives of men and women than ever before in any land. And I again repeat that the departure from our American system by injecting principles destructive to it which our opponents propose will jeopardize the very liberty and freedom of our people, will destroy equality of opportunity not alone to ourselves but to our children.

To me the foundation of American life rests upon the home and the family. I read into these great economic forces, these intricate and delicate relations of the Government with business and with our political and social life, but one supreme end—that we reinforce the ties that bind together the millions of our families, that we strengthen the security, the happiness, and the independence of every home.

My conception of America is a land where men and women may walk in ordered freedom in the independent conduct of their occupations; where they may enjoy the advantages of wealth, not concentrated in the hands of the few but spread through the lives of all; where they build and safeguard their homes, and give to their children the fullest advantages and opportunities of American life; where every man shall be respected in the faith that his conscience and his heart direct him to follow; where a contented and happy people, secure in their liberties, free from poverty and fear, shall have the leisure and impulse to seek a fuller life.

Some may ask where all this may lead beyond mere material progress. It leads to a release of the energies of men and women from the dull drudgery of life to a wider vision and a higher hope. It leads to the opportunity for greater and greater service, not alone from man to man in our own land, but from our country to the whole world. It

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leads to an America, healthy in body, healthy in spirit, unfettered, youthful, eager—with a vision searching beyond the farthest horizons, with an open mind, sympathetic and generous. It is to these higher ideals and for these purposes that I pledge myself and the Republican Party.

St. Louis, Missouri.

November 2, 1928

I PROPOSE tonight to discuss the constructive side of government. I propose to outline something of the principles which must underlie the relation of government to the constructive tasks which confront us. A few nights ago in New York I had occasion to discuss these principles in application to matters which the Government should not undertake. Tonight I discuss them in connection with matters which the Government should and must undertake. Government is only in part a negative function. Its purpose is not merely to stand as a watchman over what is forbidden; government must be a constructive force.

Our country has a political, social, and economic system that is peculiarly our own. It is the American system. It grew out of our revolt from European systems and has ripened with our experience and our ideals. We have seldom tried to express it or define it. It has been the moving force of our progress. It has brought us into the leadership of the world.

The founders of our Republic under Divine inspiration set up not alone a great political system of self-government, but they set up also a revolutionary social system in relation of men towards men.

Our political system is unique in the world. It is unique because of its decentralization of self-government and its checks and balances which safeguard ordered liberty and freedom to each individual. Our social system is unique in the world. It is unique because it is founded not only upon the ideal that all men are created equal and are equal before the law, but also upon the ideal that there shall be equal opportunity among men. We have no frozen classes or stratification of caste

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in our country. We allow nothing to prevent the rise of every boy and girl to the position to which their initiative and talents will carry them. We have no titles except the descriptions of our jobs.

From our unique political and social ideals we are evolving a unique economic system. We have discarded the original European theory that there is a class struggle between the capital of the few and the labor of the many. Under that theory it was held that labor was a commodity and the laborer in general could never rise far above bare existence, for if he did so the supply of labor would increase and thus constantly pull him back into the cesspool of inevitable poverty.

We Americans have proved this conception wrong. By what amounts to a revolution in ideas and methods, we have developed a new economic system. The dominating idea of that system is that labor on the one hand and capital, which in America means the savings of the people, on the other hand, by joint effort can steadily increase the efficiency of production and distribution. In other words, we find that by joint effort we can steadily increase the production of goods by each individual and we can at the same time decrease the cost of goods. As we increase the volume of goods, we have more to divide, and we thereby steadily lift the standard of living of the whole people. We have proved this to be true and by this proof we have laid away the old theory of inevitable poverty alongside the theory of human slavery.

These three revolutionary American ideas, political, social, and economic, are inter-locked and inter-meshed. They are dominated and cemented by the ideal and practice of equal opportunity. They constitute one great system protecting our individualism and stimulating initiative and enterprise in our people. This is the American system. One part of it cannot be destroyed without undermining the whole. For us to adopt other social conceptions, such as Federal or State Government entry into commercial business in competition with its citizens, would undermine initiative and enterprise and destroy the very foundations of freedom and progress upon which the American system is builded.

By adhering to these principles the Republican Party has played a large part in creating the magnificent progress which shows on every hand today. I do not need to recite the evidences of that progress. I have

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said before that it in no way minimizes the accomplishments of the American people to point out that without the wise policies which the Republican Party has made effective during the past 7 1/2 years the great prosperity we now enjoy would not have been possible. The Republican Party has ever been a party of true progressivism—true progressivism does not include policies which would destroy progress.

By adhering to these principles we have raised humanity to greater heights of well-being than ever before in history. They are the very essence of progressive government and of self-government. We must apply them to the constructive side of government.

There are three potential fields in which the principles and impulses of our American system require that government take constructive action. They comprise those activities which no local community can itself assume and which the individual initiative and enterprise of our people cannot wholly compass. They comprise leadership of the Government to solve many difficult problems.

The first of these fields includes the great undertakings in public works such as inland waterways, flood control, reclamation, highways, and public buildings.

The second of these is the necessary interest and activity of the Federal Government in fostering education, public health, scientific research, public parks, conservation of national resources, agriculture, industry, and foreign commerce.

The third great field lies in broadening the assistance of the Government to the growing efforts of our people to cooperation among themselves to useful social and economic ends.

The first of the particular tasks to which I believe this constructive side of government should be directed is public works.

More than any other section of our country the Midwest is at this time vitally concerned with the advancement of these undertakings. I have stated on other occasions that, due to the shift of economic currents from the war, the Midwest has not had equal opportunity with the rest of our country. The natural increase in freight rates due to the war, the building of the Panama Canal, coincident with the fact that the cost of ocean transportation has remained practically stationary,

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have contributed to thrust the Midwest into an economic setting greatly to her disadvantage.

Almost exactly 3 years ago at Kansas City I said that this shifting of economic currents demanded a new vision of interior waterway development. I then urged that it was time to reject the old view of inland waterways as a series of isolated projects, and that instead we should consolidate our interior waterways into a great integrated system which I called the Mississippi System.

We have an opportunity to create three great trunk lines of water transportation—one north and south 1,500 miles from New Orleans through St. Louis to Chicago, and thus by the lakes to the northern boundaries of our country. Another east and west 1,600 miles from Pittsburgh through St. Louis to Kansas City. And the third a ship-way through the St. Lawrence connecting Duluth and all the lake ports with the sea. Vital to this system is the improvement of the laterals such as the upper Mississippi connecting Minneapolis and St. Paul, the upper Missouri connecting Sioux City and beyond, as well as the Cumberland, the Tennessee, the Arkansas, and the Red rivers, and lesser streams. When completed, including the St. Lawrence waterway, this entire system will comprise 12,000 miles of most essential transportation connecting 20 States with the gulf on one hand and with the North Atlantic on the other.

Under the direction of Midwest Senators and Congressmen and supported by great civic associations of the Midwest, and with the help given by the Departments of War and Commerce, that conception of our waterway system has now been finally accepted by the country as a great program for national development. Congress has authorized the completion of the system—except the St. Lawrence, concerning which negotiation with Canada is still pending. We have already expended nearly \$100 million upon the new program. It is money well spent.

This comprehensive system will not reach full usefulness until it is complete and interconnected. And it is for that reason that I believe it should be completed at the earliest possible moment. When finished it will be a powerful stimulus to the industry of this great section. It

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means cheaper raw materials, it means cheaper access to the world market for the Midwest; it means the building of industry in the midst of agriculture; it means the improvement of our whole national economy by bringing the consumer and the producer closer together; and it means a vital contribution to the stability of both industry and agriculture. In a measure it will restore the field of our Midwest merchants, who suffer today by competition through the Panama Canal. By cheapening transportation it will increase the price the farmer receives for his products. This increase constitutes a most important element of his profits. He would obtain this increase not alone upon the actual products that may be transported by these waterways but upon his whole crop. The reason is that the price the farmer receives for certain of his products is the world market price less the cost of transportation; and when parts of his crops can be exported at reduced cost, it compels buyers to enhance the price paid to him for his entire production even though most of it be for domestic consumption.

Nor will this impair our magnificent railway system. The growth of traffic in our country will far outstrip the volume which our waterways will carry.

Any engineer, presented with the conclusive advantage of construction of a great work and having the resources with which it can be constructed, has only one conception of it—its earliest possible completion in order that the returns of the works may be quickly brought into being.

No one could have occupied the position and responsibilities which were assigned to me during the great Mississippi flood of 18 months ago and not have become an advocate of adequate flood control. I rejoice at the enactment by Congress of authority to construct these works. The safety of over 1 1/2 million of our people depends upon them. We have already witnessed the temporary shock that came to the prosperity of the whole Nation through that great disaster. Here again is a necessity for all of the energy which can be applied without waste in order that we shall open its wealth of production to the future and that we shall at the earliest moment remove fear from the hearts of all

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of those who dwell in the great Lower Valley. I am for its completion at the earliest moment.

This administration has recognized the public necessity of Federal Government contribution to the creation of a definitive system of modern interstate highways. This program is far from completion, and I stand for its continuance. Congress has lately authorized a large program of much-needed public buildings. And there are other important public works of less immediate interest to the Midwest to which I have referred upon other occasions. The whole comprises the largest engineering construction ever undertaken by any government. It means an expenditure of nearly \$1 billion in the next 4 years or nearly four times the outlay on the Panama Canal. As I have said before, these undertakings are justified by the growth, the need, and the wealth of our country. The organization and administration of this construction is a responsibility of the first order. For it we must secure the utmost economy, honesty, and skill. These works, which will provide jobs for an army of men, should, so far as practicable, be adjusted to take up the slack of unemployment if it should occur.

There has never been a national campaign into which so large a discussion of the agricultural problem has entered as in this campaign. That is as it should be. It is the most urgent economic problem in our nation today. It must be solved if we are to bring equality of opportunity and assurance of complete stability of prosperity to all of our people.

I have discussed elsewhere the causes which have led to distress in agriculture. Even before the war it was not on a satisfactory basis, and all discussion which deals with putting it back on a prewar basis takes us nowhere. There was then a fundamental difficulty which still exists—the undue effect of seasonal and periodic surpluses upon the price. The catastrophic deflation of 1920 was added to by the fact that the Underwood Tariff had removed protection on practically all farm products. In the year of deflation—that is, the year before the Republican Party came into power and was able to give remedy—agricultural products to the amount of \$3 billion poured into the country from abroad and helped break prices already under strain from deflation.

There are many other causes—increased freight rates, increased production

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abroad, and changes in our production methods at home. There has been a most amazing growth in efficiency of the farmers themselves, who have within 8 years increased our production of all farm products about 20 percent with fewer people employed in the industry and with about the same acreage. This is the answer to any claim that our farmers are not doing their part in the industrial advance. But this increased efficiency has not brought them the same rewards as have come to other professions and callings. The others have marched far ahead of their prewar basis in standards of living and in comfort, while some branches of agriculture still base their hopes on a restoration of prewar conditions.

There are, therefore, ample causes for complaint. The Republican Party has throughout the whole of the last 7½ years been alive to this situation. It has undertaken a long series of measures of assistance. The tariff protection, the revival of the War Finance Corporation, the expansion of Federal farm banks, the establishment of intermediate credit banks, the cooperative marketing legislation, the regulation of grain exchanges and stockyards, together with a score of other constructive legislative and administrative efforts, evidence the interest in the farmers' difficulties. Certain branches of the agricultural industry have made substantial progress. Important branches still lag behind, and the problem is as yet unsolved as a whole.

There have been many reasons for the difficulty of finding a complete solution. Let me offer two or three suggestions. The first is, there has been a tendency to look for solution of the whole agricultural problem with a single formula. The result has been that the leaders of those branches of agriculture to which that formula would not apply or to which it did damage have immediately fallen into opposition. Therefore, on any special plan of relief we have always had sharp disagreement within the industry itself.

The depression in different branches of farming comes from widely different sources and has a wide variety of causes. The industry is not a single industry but is a dozen specialized industries absolutely different in their whole economic relationships. If we would have sound and permanent relief, it can be only through complete determination of the causes which bring about the difficulties of each part. By thus going

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to the root of the trouble we will find that the methods of solution are not through one line of action but through many lines of action.

And the problem is not wholly an economic problem. It is partly a social problem because the farm is more than a place of business—it is a place of living and a home. So that in addition to finding the solution to the particular difficulty in that particular branch of the business, we must have regard for important social problems involved. The whole foundation and hope of our nation is the maintained individualism of our people. Farming is, and must continue to be, an individualistic business of small units and independent ownership. The farmer is the outstanding example of the economically free individual. He is one of our solid materials of national character. No solution that makes for consolidation into large farms and mechanized production can fit into our national hopes and ideals.

Many factors enter into a solution of this whole problem. One is by the tariff to reserve to the farmer the American market, to safeguard him from the competition of imports of farm products from countries of lower standards of living. Another part of the solution is to provide cheaper transportation to market. Another is to secure to the farmer a larger proportion of the price which the ultimate consumer pays through the elimination of a vast number of wastes that lie in our method of distribution. Another part of the solution must be to secure greater stability in prices which are now unduly affected both by the seasonal surplus and by the periodical surplus over one year to another. Another part of the solution is to maintain stability and high purchasing power for our consumers. Any depression or ill wind which affects the consumer's buying power is immediately reflected to the farmer. Finally, every different agricultural product is affected by different forces, and we must produce a plan of action which will give aid to each as is required.

Adequate tariff is essential if we would assure relief to the farm. The first and most complete necessity is that the American farmer have the American market. That can be assured to him solely through the protective tariff. The tariff is effective today on many farm crops, including wool, flax, sugar, fruit, cattle, dairy products, vegetable oils, and a score

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of other products. It maintains the premium upon our hard wheat against Canadian imports. The duties are not high enough on some products, but nevertheless the tariff is effective over a considerable portion of our whole agricultural production. And it can be made more effective, for we are still importing something like \$800 million per annum of products which could be produced on our soil. One difficulty in our present corn market is the imports of corn to our seaboard points. The tariff wall we erect creates also a profitable pressure to diversify the crop and thereby decrease the surplus problem. The increase in dairying and flax raising, for example, has displaced what would otherwise have been larger and even more unmanageable surpluses of other products.

And beyond this the tariff, in protecting the wage level of the American worker, increases his buying power for the products of the farmer. Our manufacturing industries of the Midwest require protection from lower wages of foreign countries just as much as those on the seaboard. The standards of living amongst our workers, our city populations, is the only standard in the world which permits them to purchase all the food they can eat. The butter consumption in our country has increased by 50 percent in 8 years, although the population has increased by only 10 percent. The tariff holds butter prices today 12 cents per pound over the prices which prevail in Europe.

And while I am on the tariff and before we turn to other phases of the farm problem, let me say that the party which, by the Underwood Bill, removed practically all agricultural products from tariff protection, which withheld that protection for 2 years after the war, which opposed the Republican tariff on agricultural products, and which as late as 9 months ago provided only two votes in the Senate and seven votes in the House to defeat a resolution providing for instant tariff reduction— that party is not the party for the American farmer and the American workman to entrust with revision of the tariff. If you want the protective principle preserved, and if you want it strengthened on farm products, it should be entrusted to the party that has fought for and defended it for 70 years.

I may also add upon the subject of protection that the limitation of immigration is a fundamental part of our protective system because it

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prevents a flood of labor from abroad which can only break down our wage levels. I stand against any increase of the present quotas and for the principle of the 1890 census, with only such changes as prevent separation of families but would not increase in total numbers.

But to return to the farm question.

In addition to the tariff and cheaper waterway transportation in assistance to agriculture, the Republican Party proposes to go farther. It proposes to set up an institution which will be one of the most important institutions in our government, designed to meet not only the varied problems which confront us today, but those which may arise in the future. We propose to create a Federal Farm Board composed of men of understanding and sympathy for the problems of agriculture; we propose that this board should have power to determine the facts, the causes, the remedies which should be applied to each and every one of the multitude of problems which we mass under the general term "the agricultural problem."

This program further provides that the board shall have a broad authority to act and be authorized to assist in the further development of cooperative marketing; that it shall assist in the development of clearinghouses for agricultural products, in the development of adequate warehousing facilities, in the elimination of wastes in distribution, and in the solution of other problems as they arise. But in particular the board is to build up, with initial advances of capital from the Government, farmer-owned and farmer-controlled stabilization corporations which will protect the farmer from depressions and the demoralization of summer and periodic surpluses.

It is proposed that this board should have placed at its disposal such resources as are necessary to make its action effective.

Thus we give to the Federal Farm Board every arm with which to deal with the multitude of problems. This is an entirely different method of approach to solution from that of a general formula; it is flexible and adaptable. No such far-reaching and specific proposal has ever been made by a political party on behalf of any industry in our history. It is a direct business proposition. It marks our desire for establishment

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of the farmers' stability and at the same time maintains his independence and individuality.

This plan is consonant with our American ideals to avoid the Government operation of commercial business; for it places the operation upon the farmer himself, not upon a bureaucracy. It puts the Government in its real relation to the citizen—that of cooperation. Its object is to give equality of opportunity to the farmer. I would consider it the greatest honor I could have if it should become my privilege to aid in finally solving this, the most difficult of economic problems presented to our people, and the one in which by inheritance and through long contact I have my deepest interest.

I am hopeful that in the December session of Congress it will be possible to reach that solution. However, as I have already said, if this is not possible I would call a special session in order that we might speedily arrive at a determination of the question before the next harvest.

I have said that there is a third great group of activities in the promotion of the public welfare where the Government, without abandoning the American system, may develop a new principle of relation with its citizens.

We have in the past quarter of a century evolved a higher sense of organized cooperation than has ever been known before. We have 10,000 examples of this conscious cooperative development in the enormous growth of associational activities. Civic associations, chambers of commerce, trade associations, professional associations, labor unions, trade councils, farm organizations, farm cooperatives, welfare associations—these are so all-embracing that there is scarcely an individual in our country who does not now belong to one or more of them. They represent every phase of our national life both on the economic and on the welfare side. They constitute a vast ferment toward conscious cooperation. They have become a part of the very fabric of American life. While some of them engage in highly objectionable attempts to wrongly influence public opinion and the action of government, the majority of them recognize a responsibility to the public as well as to themselves; and a large part of them are founded solely on public interest.

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Wherever these associations undertake high public purposes I wish to see active cooperation by the Government with them. Without intrusion the Government can serve to bring together discordant elements and to secure cooperation between different industries and groups. It gives great hope of a new basis of solution for many of our problems and progressive action in our people. It should be the response of government to our new economic conceptions. It is consonant with the American system. It is a method that reinforces our individualism by reducing, and not increasing, government interference in business and the life of our citizens.

Such cooperation strengthens the whole foundations of self-government and serves to maintain equality of opportunity and constructive leadership.

This cooperation can take two distinct directions. It can assist in the promotion of constructive projects of public interest on one hand, and it can assist in the cure of abuses by the voluntary establishment of a higher code of ethics and a stricter standard in the conduct of business.

These are not theoretical proposals. Seven and one-half years ago I introduced this relationship between the Department of Commerce and industrial, commercial, and civic organizations of our country for the promotion of matters that were of public importance. We cooperated with these associational groups in promotion of foreign trade, in the elimination of waste, in furtherance of economic and scientific research, in improvement of homes, and in scores of other activities. During this period hundreds of committees have been in active cooperation with the Department of Commerce, not under compulsion and not even under solicitation from the Department, but merely because the Government was willing and ready to assist in bringing together the elements of any movement that would promote public welfare. I perhaps may make my proposals more clear by giving you some illustrations.

First, I may review a case of assistance to labor and business. In 1923, under my chairmanship, there was organized a series of committees representing the manufacturers, contractors, engineers, real estate men, and labor in the building trades. Its purpose was to reduce the loss of

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time due to the seasonal character of these industries. As a result of the organization set up, the average winter unemployment in these trades has been reduced from about 100 days to about half that number. There has been no decrease in daily wages. The annual income of the workers in these trades has been substantially increased by the decrease in idle days, and the business given greater stability.

Another instance of action of fundamental importance to the farmer, the businessman, and the worker consists of the measures taken in cooperation between the Government and business agencies to mitigate the violence of the so-called business cycle. Booms and slumps have occurred periodically for 100 years. No one suffers more from these periodic hard times, with their hideous unemployment, decrease in wages, and bankruptcy in business, than both labor and the farmers. Time forbids a discussion of the intricate problems involved and the remedies which have been inaugurated. The proof of their effectiveness lies in the fact that we have had a far longer period of stability in industry and commerce, far greater security in employment, and larger buying power for farm products than ever before in our history. The solution of this question was just as intricate as those which we face in agriculture.

Still another instance of these activities and one in which I have felt great concern has been the effort to build up safeguards for the independent businessman. The preservation of his independence and individuality is just as important as maintaining the individuality of our farmers. Through various cooperative measures we have made a start to give to the independent businessman many of the services of bigger business aggregations.

An illustration of another direction of these activities has been in eliminating abuses in a particular industry without resort to legislation and regulation. For a great many years legislation had been debated in Congress providing for the regulation of the lumber industry somewhat on the lines of the pure food laws, in order to protect the honest manufacturers and dealers and the public. In 1923, however, we created a series of committees amongst associations in the lumber industry at their request. In the course of a gradual extension over 5 years we finally

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perfected a system for the grading of lumber and for the guaranteeing of these grades to the public, which is now carried out wholly within and by the lumber industry itself. Consequently during these last few years there has been no suggestion of such legislation from Congress. The savings to the public in the elimination of waste and fraud have been estimated by the industry as upwards of \$250 million a year. This is a clear case where by cooperative methods we have avoided the necessity of regulation with the bureaucracy and interference that flow from it. It is also a clear case of building up of self-government.

I could describe a great number of such cooperative actions carried through to success. They involve such things as the Better Homes movement, with its 5,000 committees covering every city and village in the United States, engaged in promoting home ownership and betterment of home construction. They involve the American Child Health Association, which has been built up to bring about cooperation between national, State, and institutional health authorities for the promotion of better health surroundings for our children. I could relate to you at great length the vast cooperative machinery we have erected for the promotion of foreign trade, through which the growth of our trade has outstripped that of any country in the world.

In this broad field of cooperation by government lie potentialities which have been barely touched. The Government can give leadership and cooperation. It can furnish scientific research. It can give prestige and influence. All of these call for but trivial expenditures. They require no increased bureaucracy. They are of first importance to every branch of American life.

It is by this means of cooperation by the Government that we contribute mightily toward business stability and greater productivity in industry. And it is stability that every businessman needs that he may thus work out for himself his own destiny without those ill tides over which he has no control.

It is by means of this sort of cooperation from the Government that we may contribute greatly to the very foundations of economic progress, that is, to provide continuous and full employment. General employment comes not only with sound policies of government but

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equally from vigorous cooperation by the Government to promote economic welfare. It is by these means that we can build such organization of our economic system as to provide a job for all who have the will to work.

I believe we can apply to agriculture the principles and activities in this direction which we have applied to commerce and industry during the last 7½ years. I believe we can solve a very large number of the problems of agricultural distribution and marketing through such methods. To that end I wish to have an effort made to secure the coordinated action of all of those interested in the distribution of farm products. I look forward to the day when our farm organizations will be as cooperatively and as advantageously linked to governmental encouragement and service as many of our industrial organizations are now.

It is from this cooperation of government with the great agencies of public welfare that we may inspire and build up the contributions to stronger family life, better homes, more recreation, and general well-being.

Before I conclude I should like to review to you some thoughts on the broader issues which we have before us.

For several years we were engaged in war. Since its close we have devoted ourselves largely to reconstruction of the losses from it. We have now entered upon the period of constructive action.

Government has the definite and manifest obligation of giving constructive leadership to the people. In doing so it must not lessen their initiative and enterprise upon which we must rely for the progress of the race and of the Nation. Our system has been built upon the ideal of equality of opportunity. For perhaps a 100 years after the foundation of the Republic, the opportunities of a moving frontier preserved that equality of opportunity. Now with the settlement of the country and with the astonishing speed and intricate complexity of industrial life, the preservation of equality of opportunity becomes yearly and yearly more difficult, and for that very reason is of higher and higher importance. If we would maintain America as the land of opportunity, where every boy and girl may have the chance to climb

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to that position to which his ability and character entitle him, we shall need to be on increasing guard. If I could drive the full meaning and importance of maintained equality of opportunity into the very consciousness of the American people, I would feel I had made some contribution to American life. It is the most precious of our possessions that the windows of every home shall look out upon unlimited hope. Equality of opportunity is the right of every American, rich or poor, foreign or native born, without respect to race or religion. By its maintenance alone can we hold open the door of full achievement to every new generation and to every boy and girl. Only from confidence that this right will be upheld can flow that unbounded courage and hope which stimulates each individual man and woman to endeavor and to accomplishment. By this principle we should test every act of government, every proposal, whether it be economic or political. I insist upon the most strict regulation of public utilities, because otherwise they would destroy equality of opportunity. I object to the Government going into business in competition with its citizens because that would destroy equality of opportunity. And equality of opportunity is the flux with which alone we can melt out full and able leadership to the Nation.

The first step to maintained equality of opportunity amongst our people is, as I have said before, that there should be no child in America who has not been born, and who does not live, under sound conditions of health; who does not have full opportunity for education from the kindergarten to the university; who is not free from injurious labor; who does not have stimulation to ambition to the fullest of his or her capacities. It is a matter of concern to our government that we should strengthen the safeguards to health. These activities of helpfulness and of cooperation stretch before us in every direction. A single generation of Americans of such a production would prevent more of crime and of illness, and give more of spirit and of progress than all of the repressive laws and police we can ever invent—and it would cost less.

I have said often before in this campaign that we need always to interpret our discussions of economic and material proposals by how they affect the peace, the happiness, and the security and prosperity of

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every American home. I have tried to interpret to my fellow countrymen what government means to that home. I stand for a prosperous country because I want good homes. You cannot divide those things that are seen from those that are unseen. The things that we call material are the foundation stones upon which we build the temple of those things that we call spiritual. Prosperity, security, happiness, and peace rest on sound economic life. Many of the subjects with which we have had to deal are intricate and complex. We must support the maintenance of peace amongst nations, economy in government, the protective tariff, the restriction of immigration, the encouragement of foreign trade, the relief of agriculture, the building of waterways, and a score of other great governmental policies which affect every home in our land. Solution of these questions is not always easy. Only the inexperienced can be positive in offering solutions of great problems. The first necessity in the handling of such problems is the assembling of the facts in their proper perspective. The truth must be forged from the metal of facts.

Let me in closing repeat a part of my message to the Kansas City convention in reply to the telegram from its chairman. I said:

"You convey too great a compliment when you say that I have earned the right to the Presidential nomination. No man can establish such an obligation upon any part of the American people. My country owes me no debt. It gave me, as it gives every boy and girl, a chance. It gave me schooling, independence of action, opportunity for service and honor. In no other land could a boy from a country village, without inheritance or influential friends, look forward with unbounded hope.

"My whole life has taught me what America means. I am indebted to my country beyond any human power to repay. It conferred upon me the mission to administer America's response to the appeal of afflicted nations during the war. It has called me into the Cabinets of two Presidents. By these experiences I have observed the burdens and responsibilities of the greatest office in the world. That office touches the happiness of every home. It deals with the peace of nations. No man could think of it except in terms of solemn consecration.

"A new era and new forces have come into our economic life and our

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setting among nations of the world. These forces demand of us constant study and effort if prosperity, peace, and contentment shall be maintained.

"You have manifested a deep concern in the problems of agriculture. You have pledged the party to support specific and constructive relief upon a nationwide scale backed by the resources of the Federal Government. We must and will find a sound solution that will bring security and contentment to this great section of our people.

"But the problems of the next 4 years are more than economic. In a profound sense they are moral and spiritual.

"Shall the world have peace? Shall prosperity in this Nation be more thoroughly distributed? Shall we build steadily toward the ideal of equal opportunity to all our people? Shall there be secured that obedience to law which is the essential assurance of the life of our institutions? Shall honesty and righteousness in government and in business confirm the confidence of the people in their institutions and in their laws?

"Government must contribute to leadership in answer to these questions. The Government is more than administration; it is power for leadership and cooperation with the forces of business and cultural life in city, town, and countryside. The Presidency is more than executive responsibility. It is the inspiring symbol of all that is highest in America's purposes and ideals."

In that spirit I began this campaign. In that spirit I end it.

Radio Address to the Nation,
Palo Alto, California.
November 5, 1928

I HAVE BEEN asked to speak this last night before election directly to the vast radio audience of the United States. I shall not discuss partisan questions, nor shall I speak for more than a few moments on this occasion. I have endeavored to make clear during this campaign the principles, views, and ideals which are advocated by my party and myself.

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I wish to emphasize that great function of American citizenship which every one of us should perform tomorrow. The ballot is the most sacred individual act in that great system of self-government which we have inherited and which it is our duty to carry forward. It is the direct opportunity for every man and woman to assert a direct personal influence upon the kind of national Government and the policies which he wishes pursued during the next 4 years.

It is estimated that over 42 million men and women have registered in preparation for casting their ballots. This registration exceeds by 12 or 15 million any previous registration in the history of our country. This is to a great extent due to our women, who are alive to the fact that the issues in national elections more seriously than ever before affect every home in our country. Women have achieved their rights at the ballot; they have now accepted their responsibilities.

In my public statements I have earnestly urged that there rested upon government many responsibilities which affect the moral and spiritual welfare of our people. The participation of women in elections has produced a keener realization of the importance of these questions and has contributed to higher national ideals. Moreover, it is through them that our national ideals are ingrained in our children.

Never before in the history of the world have 40 millions of people of any commonwealth prepared to express their convictions and determination as to the character of government of their country and the future policies which they desire to see adopted and carried out. It is the greatest spectacle and the greatest inspiration in self-government that has ever been witnessed in the whole history of the world. It should hearten the confidence of every believer in government by the people.

This enormously enlarged interest is evidence of the great depth of conviction and even anxiety of our people over this momentous decision. And whatever that decision is, it will be right. I believe in the will of the majority. It represents the common will and conscience of our people.

Our two great political parties have laid before you their principles and policies. And I am a believer in party government. It is only through

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party organization that our people can give coherent expression to their views on great issues which affect the welfare and future of the Republic. There is no other way. Furthermore, it is only through party organization that we may fix the responsibility for the assured execution of these promises. Our national campaigns are a period of renewed consideration of the fundamentals which make for progress and for prosperity, that make for moral and spiritual advancement. We are a nation of progressives; we differ as to what is the road to progress.

I differ widely with many of the principles and views advocated by our opponents and the proposals which they have put forward. But it is not my purpose to review these questions. We are, or should be, a nation of individuals, and should make independent determination of our conclusions. Democracy cannot survive if the ballot is to be cast upon somebody's order or direction. Democracy in such a state would become the destroyer of liberty, and not its guarantee.

It is contrary to our national ideals that any party should represent any section of our country, and this election, more than any that has gone before, gives hope for the breaking down of sectional lines. There ought no longer to be any North, South, East, or West in our national thought. Our ideals as Americans have been molded and welded under leadership of men and women from every section of our country. The greatest progress can come in advancement of our institutions, our ideas, and our ideals by the common contribution of every section.

We shall have with us this year millions of first voters. I wish to express welcome to them. We welcome them to the common task of building a better and better social order and the welding of idealism of youth into political life.

This election is of more momentous order than for many years because we have entered into a new era of economic and moral action, not only in our own country but in the world at large. Our national task is to meet our many new problems, and in meeting them to courageously preserve our rugged individualism, together with the principles of ordered liberty and freedom, equality of opportunity, with that idealism to which our nation has been consecrated and which has brought us to the leadership of the world.

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The American voting booth is the place where every ballot should be lodged upon the conviction of each individual as to the principles and issues of the party which will best serve the future of America. It is only by this consecrated independence of judgment that we may truly give expression to the will of a great people. Therefore, I urge upon each citizen to vote, and vote early, and to vote seriously and earnestly as conscience and mind direct.

And before I close, I wish to express my gratitude to the millions of men and women who have given to our cause their support and labor during these months. Any American may be proud to have been chosen their leader.

Good night, my friends.

Supplement III

Statement Upon Election

Message to the American People,

Issued at Palo Alto, California.

November 7, 1928

I CAN make no adequate expression of gratitude for the overwhelming confidence of our people, who, without regard to section or interest, have selected me for President of the whole United States.

There has been a vindication of great issues and a determination of the true road of progress. The Republican Party has again been assessed with a great responsibility.

In this hour there can be for me no feeling of victory or exultation. Rather it imposes a sense of solemn responsibility of the future and of complete dependence upon Divine guidance for the task which the greatest office in the world imposes.

That task is to give the best within me to interpret the common sense and the ideals of the American people.

I can only succeed in my part by the cooperation and unity of all leaders of opinion and of action for the common service of our country.

Supplement IV

Addresses During a Trip
to Central and South America

Honduras.

November 26, 1928

Excellency:

I come to pay a call of friendship. In a sense I represent on this occasion the people of the United States extending a friendly greeting to our fellow democracies on the American Continent. I would wish to symbolize the friendly visit of one good neighbor to another. In our daily life, good neighbors call upon each other as the evidence of solicitude for the common welfare and to learn of the circumstances and point of view of each, so that there may come both understanding and respect which are the cementing forces of all enduring society. This should be equally true amongst nations. We have a desire to maintain not only the cordial relations of governments with each other but the relations of good neighbors. Through greater understanding that comes with more contact we may build up that common respect and service which is the only enduring basis of international friendship. It is also my desire to learn more of our common problems in the Western Hemisphere that I may be better fitted for the task which lies before me. And we are, all of us in the west, interested in one great common task. That task is the advancement of the welfare of the people of our respective countries. We are, each of us, pledged through the blood of our forefathers to national independence, to self-government, to the development of the individual through ordered liberty as the only sound foundation of human society. We know it is the only true road to human progress and we know that the nations and the institutions we have

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created can flourish only in peace and mutual prosperity. In turn, we know that these institutions and these ideals themselves form the greatest security of peace.

We of the Western Hemisphere, all of us, believe in these principles with a devotion which has arisen from the proofs of our century of common experience. We of this hemisphere have not been free from the misfortune of war, but the record of a century shows we have been vastly more free from it than any other part of the world. Each of our nations has developed in its own traditions, its own pride of country under these great doctrines. Each of our democracies has become a laboratory of human welfare, the daily experience of which is a common contribution to the advancement of all of our nations. We in the United States have gained much from the experience of our Latin American neighbors. And we in turn take pride in our contributions to the common pool of human advancement in these 150 years.

Therefore, I have felt that the larger personal acquaintance both with our neighboring countries and with their points of view and, above all, with the men who have been elected to responsibility in their governments would be valuable in the task which lies before me. It would perhaps enable me to better cooperate with you. Those who know the United States know also that we have only one desire and that is to cooperate to a constantly improving understanding, to common progress, and to common attainment.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke at the Custom House of Amapala in response to remarks of welcome by Augusto Coello, Foreign Minister of Honduras. Later in the day he was greeted at Casa Rossner in Amapala by President-elect Vicente Mejia Colindres.

A translation of the remarks by Minister Coello and President-elect Colindres, follows:

FOREIGN MINISTER COELLO

Excellency:

We are bearers of a cordial message from the President of the Republic extending, in harmony with the sentiments of the people and the government of Honduras, his most fervent welcome on your arrival to these, our shores, and expressing his wishes for the success of your noble country and the personal welfare of yourself as well as that of your distinguished companions.

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The legitimate representative of the great people who have just honored you by electing you to their Presidency, thereby rendering homage to your enlightened virtues, none is better qualified than you to interpret the ideals and aspirations which animate your people in their relations with the other countries of the earth. This also explains the inspiration which has caused you to undertake the tour you now inaugurate by paying a visit to a country, disturbed at times by misfortune, but in which the desires for peace, liberty, and redemption have been maintained in all their integrity.

You will feel, at close range, the heartbeats of these peoples scattered throughout the length of the continent; and if in their heartbeats can be noted the anxiety which comes from perennial agitation, the expert eye such as yours will divine in that agitation the secret but abiding impulse of conquering the future and establishing their lives in new and more enduring spiritual forms.

You will also be able to appreciate how, in our slow march towards the future, we shall need the cooperation of our brothers in Pan Americanism, all united in the ideal of a common destiny. We shall need especially the moral cooperation of your great country in order to strengthen our purpose to reach economic and political stability, and to permanently guarantee to our institutions that peace and liberty which are the glory of the American people.

Such are the heartfelt impressions produced by your presence in these countries and your imminent ascendancy to the Presidency of the United States of America—from which exalted position you will be able to accomplish a generous and fruitful labor which will unite, in liberty and justice, the fond expectations of the peoples of America and the noble ideals by which the great democracy of your country is inspired.

In bringing you this message of welcome we also bring you the sincere congratulations of the President of Honduras for your well-deserved election and his best wishes for the most brilliant success in your future work. To these we join our personal wishes, as well as our respectful homage to your very distinguished wife, and our cordial greetings to all those who, with you, are today guests not only of our country but in our affection.

PRESIDENT-ELECT COLINDRES

Most Excellent Mr. President-elect:

Welcome to Honduran soil—a soil which in the generous sense of continental solidarity is as much yours as it is ours.

Your visit to Honduras has for us the highest significance; it is the herald of an even better time than the present, a time when the friendship of your Government and our Government, of your people and our people, will be more cordial, will be more fruitful and better understood. Your visit, moreover, constitutes a

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great step forward in the noble work of Pan Americanism, whose aspirations in this way become living, palpitating flesh and blood.

In the name of the Honduran people, who have elected me President of the Republic for the coming term, I have the high honor of congratulating in your most worthy person the people of the United States of America who, today, as in the past, have had the wisdom to elect to the office of Chief Magistrate of the nation the foremost of its citizens.

Your Excellency, when you are again in your own great country—great in its magnificent economic potentialities, great in its stupendous progress, and superlatively great in that its people have achieved that best of rights in the life of a democracy, the right of being free—when you, I repeat, are once more in your own country, pause a moment, sir, in your labors as statesman, to recall that you are being remembered in Honduras with admiration and affection.

I beg, Most Excellent Mr. Hoover, to express my most fervent good wishes for the prosperity of your great nation, for God's guidance in your administration of the Government which you will within a short time assume, and for your personal happiness.

El Salvador.

November 26, 1928

Excellency:

I have already stated today that my purpose is to pay a call of friendship on behalf of the people of the United States. The relations between neighbors require that nothing should be omitted to upbuild those contacts and that sentiment which create understanding. Out of such understanding comes that mutual respect which is the foundation of all sound international relations. We perhaps hear more of economic and trade relations between countries than any other one subject in the field of international life. This may be easily explained, for out of our economic life do we build up the foundations upon which other progress rests. And our international economic relations can have but one real foundation. They can grow only out of the prosperity of each of us. They cannot flourish in the poverty or degeneration of any of us. Our economic progress is mutual. It is not competitive. We each of us have the responsibility to carry forward such policies within our own countries which, in the long view, will contribute to our individual prosperity. The long

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view of our prosperity must, however, embrace the recognition of the mutuality of prosperity among the whole of us.

But economic development does not and should not be the sole basis of exchange between nations but rather the incident of it. We have the mutual problems of strengthening the foundations of peace, building up confidence and friendship, and the institutions and ideals of each of our nations. The exchange of our social and political accomplishments, of our advances in education, of scientific thought, all of those things which contribute to the higher aspects of life, is perhaps of first importance. Each and every one of us has made some of these great contributions to human advancement. The larger exchange and the larger understanding of these contributions becomes the enduring basis of mutual respect.

The most precious possession of each of us is our love of country, of race, our traditions, and our institutions. We have in this hemisphere a parallel of struggle for independence, in conflict with nature, in the creation of institutions of freedom and liberty which in themselves are an imperishable bond.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke at Cutuco in response to remarks of welcome by Francisco Martinez Suarez, Minister of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador. A translation of Minister Suarez' remarks follows:

Excellency, Mr. President-elect of the United States of America:

The President, Dr. Romero Bosque, has given me the honorable duty of extending to you, in his name and in that of the people and Government of this Republic, the most affectionate greetings and the most cordial welcome, together with his fervent wishes that you may have a happy and successful tour through the countries of this hemisphere, which is destined to be a sanctuary of justice and liberty and the center of human progress.

You are the bearer of good will and you bring sentiments of cordial friendship for the free nations of America, and good wishes for active cooperation in the fruitful tasks of labor. El Salvador, therefore, receives with joy the visit which you have been good enough to pay it, and the Salvadoreans, an honest people, proud and industrious, are justly proud of your presence in their country.

The cordial relations between the United States and El Salvador are of long standing, and commerce between the two countries is daily growing greater. And it is necessary that this mutual cooperation be practical and positive, in

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order that the fraternity of the peoples of the new world may be as truly effective as the development of the prodigious civilization of the continent demands.

The President, Dr. Romero Bosque, has at the same time instructed me to tender you this modest dinner, which is graced by the presence of that very distinguished lady, Mrs. Hoover, as a token of friendship and gratitude for your visit, which has so greatly pleased us.

The voyage which you have undertaken is a happy augury that your administration, inspired by noble desires, will strengthen the foundations of the prosperity of the American nations, contributing thereto to the end that the high ideals of culture which they so ardently pursue may be realized.

Gentlemen, I propose a toast to the great country of Washington and Lincoln!

Nicaragua.

November 27, 1928

Excellency:

I feel greatly honored that I should have on this occasion been welcomed not only by the President of Nicaragua but by the President-elect and the former President. Representing the political parties of Nicaragua who have been lately at conflict, this occasion becomes one of much more than ordinary interest. It represents the consolidation of the forces of domestic peace. It represents the growing unity of the Nicaraguan people. It demonstrates that the difficult natural crisis into which my own country has been drawn has now reached a basis of solution which merits the deepest thankfulness of all our peoples and for which I wish to congratulate the leaders of the Nicaraguan Nation.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke on board the U.S.S. Maryland, at Corinto, in response to remarks of welcome by President Adolfo Diaz of Nicaragua. A translation of President Diaz' remarks follows:

Mr. President-elect Hoover:

It has been highly gratifying to me to have been called upon, towards the close of my administration, to greet the great President-elect of the great American people who in the near future will guide the destinies of the most powerful Republic in the world. In you, Mr. Hoover, I greet the man who, upon being elected to so exalted a position, has taken this notable step, a step which will stimulate the sentiments of cordiality of all the nations, great and small, towards the United States.

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The people of Nicaragua which, because of special circumstances of history and geography finds itself linked to the people of the United States, also takes pleasure in greeting you through me. And, today, as you tread these shores, we assure you of our cordial disposition to cooperate with you toward a great continental harmony, the supreme aspiration of peace and concord to which your journey leads the way.

I also extend to you my own personal wishes that fair winds may continue to follow this ship, to the happiness and well being of its distinguished travelers.

Costa Rica.

November 28, 1928

Excellency:

Words are always a poor vehicle for expression of the response of our hearts for such courtesy and welcome as my colleagues and I have received this day. No citizen of the United States could have listened to your eloquent statement without a quickening of pride in his own country that it has deserved so great a tribute from the record of its relations with Costa Rica during all the years of our common national life. Your Excellency, good will between nations is not a policy—it is a deduction arising from a series of actions. It is not a diplomatic formula; it is an aspiration which flows from the ideals of a people. So generous a recognition by you that the spirit of the people of the United States has ever been steadfast in resolution to act not only with justice to its neighbors, but that they do aspire to cooperate with them for the making of good will, will find a deep response from the very hearts of my countrymen.

You have paid a glowing tribute to the accomplishments of my country under the stimulus of our common democracy. But nowhere do I know of a greater and more proved example of the beneficence to mankind of our common institutions than that which has been accomplished through the hands of the people of Costa Rica. Their advancement of human welfare is well known in my own country. As a student of social and cultural advancement, I have long wished to confirm with my own eyes the progress which you have made. You

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have given a leadership in the solution of important social questions for the distribution of land, and home ownership is such that, mathematically, almost every family owns a farm or a home. The spread of universal free education from primary school to university; the development of art and drama as symbolized by this great institution; and your contributions to literature have not only enriched the lives but have stimulated the thought of your people and have added to the world's pool of culture. To have accomplished all these things and at the same time to have maintained national integrity and national dignity with a military establishment less in number of soldiers than one-fourth the number of your schoolteachers is a national attainment which speaks not only of the beneficences of fundamental institutions of democracy but for the character of the people and the leadership of Costa Rica.

You are an example of the advantage of having many separate units of government. There are over 20 nations on our Western Continent, in which each can be a laboratory working out separate successes in government, in culture, and in art under varying conditions, successes from which all the others can profit.

You have thought to give emphasis to your welcome through the schoolchildren of your capital city. I know of no method by which the kindness and courtesy of a nation could be so evidenced as by these masses of children who have welcomed us this day. That is the voice of aspiring democracy.

I have come on a visit as a neighbor. I have thought that perhaps I might symbolize the good will which I know my country holds toward your own. My hope and my purpose and my aspiration is that better acquaintance, larger knowledge of our sister republics of Latin America, and the personal contact of government, may enable me to better execute the task which lies before me. And a large part of that task is the cooperation with other nations for the common upbuilding of prosperity and of progress throughout the world.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke at the National Theatre in San Jose in response to remarks of welcome by President Cleto Gonzalez Viquez. A translation of those remarks follows:

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Excellency:

The people and the Government of Costa Rica extend to you, through me, as well as to your distinguished wife and to the members of your party, respectful and warm greetings. Welcome, Your Excellency, to this friendly land which this day delights in and feels extremely honored by the visit of the illustrious statesman, of the world-famed organizer who within a brief period will preside over the destinies of one of the most powerful, most prosperous, and most independent nations of the globe; of an exemplary nation in which democracy is a tangible reality and over which, for that reason and with a popular unanimity never before surpassed, a man was called to govern, a man who, elevated by his own efforts, has been chosen by his fellow citizens to fill the highest post in reward of the eminent services rendered by him to his country and to humanity, and in recognition of his singular merits and lofty virtues.

Yours was a happy inspiration when, as a means of resting from the fatigue incident to an active electoral campaign, you decided upon a trip to the nations of Latin America. This voyage which you have begun, half study and half recreation, will have, as we all hope, the greatest, most fruitful, and most positive results for the political and economic relations between the United States and the other peoples of our continent; because, even though rapid, it will permit one of your superior culture and adequate preparation to learn accurately the conditions and aspirations of the Latin American countries, their special mentality, their resources available to the prodigious commerce and industry of the United States, and their needs which may be supplied through the same means; how these countries may contribute to the progress of the world and how, finally, for the benefit of all, a foundation may be laid on the basis of mutual confidence, a more perfect comprehension and a more frank and solid friendship between these people and your country, known and esteemed above all for its invariable spirit of justice.

Costa Rica, Your Excellency, not only professes a deep admiration for the American people and for its public and private institutions; not only does she contemplate and applaud the enormous progress which has raised your country to the category of a colossus; but it maintains for the United States and for its statesmen an immense gratitude. The names of President Cleveland and of Chief Justices White and Taft will always live in our memory, because it was they who rendered decisions in our favor and recognized our rights in the most delicate disputes sustained by Costa Rica in the international field.

In addition to this, which in itself would be sufficient to establish a grateful friendship with the people of the United States, your government has always favored us with just treatment and has rendered us aid of every description in our difficulties. What, then, could be more logical than the sentiment of sympathy which unites us with the people over which you are so soon to govern! What could be

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more natural than the desire of my government to maintain and strengthen the good relations which fortunately link our two peoples! The task will be an easy one if the North American Government continues the favorable attitude of the past—an attitude already traditional—and if it continues to entrust its diplomatic representation, as now, to the expert and discreet hands of a citizen of spotless character, of serene judgment and of friendly disposition.

Excellency, permit me to express on this occasion my best and most fervent wishes for your felicity and for the complete success of your administration. May your name be mentioned with those of the great Presidents of the American Union, with those of Washington and Lincoln, Cleveland and Wilson. May your voyage be a most happy one, and may we and the United States, as well as all the countries of our Latin America, derive the greatest benefit from it.

Ecuador.

December 1, 1928

Mr. President, gentlemen:

I thank you for the reception you have given my colleagues and myself and I thank you for the high terms in which you have spoken of my country. I feel gratified that you should think so well of the country which we love. We are proud of many sturdy virtues of our people but we know full well our own weaknesses. The progress in the building of government for the people and by the people is a long process of trial and error. We in the United States have made progress and we have attained a great degree of prosperity, but we have made failures. Yet if we survey the experiences of the whole Western Hemisphere both in failure and in success I believe we can say that we should be of good faith and confident in the future.

I have known of the great economic difficulties which have devastated Ecuador since the Great War. The whole world has suffered from its unspeakable losses. No one profited by it, whether combatant or neutral. The apparent gains at the time were illusions. The mutuality of economic life in the world is such that only losses can come from the destruction of war. But 10 years is but a minute span in the history of nations. Our adversities are the refining fires of experience from which comes the pure metal of progress. The world as a whole is now recovering

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rapidly from the destruction of the war and the great tide of prosperity which I believe now lies before us cannot fail to bear its blessings to this Republic.

I would that I could find the appropriate words to express the esteem and the good will toward all our sister republics which I know lie in the hearts of the people of the United States. Democracy is more than a form of political organization; it is a human faith. True democracy is not and cannot be imperialistic. The brotherhood of this faith is the guarantee of good will. It is the guarantee of respect which comes only from equals in a common struggle to upbuild human welfare. I have been deeply touched by the welcome of your schoolchildren and their teachers.

I trust that our relations, of so friendly a character over all these years since the birth of our republics, may continue to strengthen mutual esteem and respect.

I come as the symbolic visit of one neighbor to another that I may learn more of your country, your problems, and your men, so that I may be well prepared for the task that lies before me.

To you, Mr. President, I wish to express my special respects. In our country we know of the great work of reorganization which you have brought about. Not only have you lifted the credit of your country, but you have enhanced its reputation, and, more precious than all, you have aroused the spirit of progress and hope in the people of Ecuador. That is leadership to which the whole world gives real homage.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke at the Metropolitan Club in Guayaquil, in response to remarks of welcome by President Isidro Ayora. A translation of President Ayora's remarks follows:

Excellency:

The sovereign will of the people of the United States of America has elected you to guide the destinies of the great Republic, as being the most worthy, at this time, to hold the exalted office honored by the patriotic virtues of Washington, the austere civic virtues of Lincoln, and the idealistic, ardent fervor of Wilson.

Upon your election by popular suffrage you have hastened to place yourself in direct contact with the other states of the New World, undertaking a momentous trip for peace, understanding, and concord.

The Republic of Ecuador, Mr. President-elect, fully appreciates, as do her other American sisters, your noble decision, because this trip affords abundant evidence

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that you have an exalted concept of the relations of friendship and cooperation which must bind the Americas for the continent's advancement and to the end that its work of culture and civilization may leave a deep impression on the life of mankind.

The inevitable reality of facts demands effective, mutual, and reciprocal interdependence among all the peoples of the universe. These ties become closer and firmer among the countries that have particular cause for sincere and cordial relations.

And in order that this international solidarity may be effective and real, in order that its action may have creative vitality, it must be founded upon scrupulous respect for the rights of all the states, in the express recognition of absolute juridical equality for all the states, in the effective proclamation of the unrestricted rule of justice and right.

Because we know that these essential principles which govern international life are those which will guide your foreign policy, because we know that you are eminently responsive to the mandates of justice, to the commands of law, to the norms of equity, and the dictates of intelligent understanding, we, the peoples you have honored with your visit, receive you with brotherly rejoicing and friendly enthusiasm, because you represent a great democracy, a model of organization, legality and strength, and also, because you personally symbolize in its various public and private activities the complete and complex, rich and resplendent, life of the United States of America.

In the name of the Ecuadorian people, like yours a patriotic and free people, in the name of my Government, which follows with admiration the development of the administrative life of your country, and in my own name, I express fervent and sincere wishes for the ever growing prosperity of the United States of America, for the personal happiness of its illustrious President-elect, and that you may retain a pleasant memory of the short time you have spent with us.

To your health!

Peru.

December 5, 1928

Excellency:

I regret that I cannot respond in the language of the great race who pioneered the Western World. That language so beautifully lends itself to expressions of the friendship which I know lies deep in the hearts of my countrymen toward the people of Peru.

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I thank you both for myself and in behalf of my country for your generous hospitality and for your renewed evidence of friendship to my country. I share your desire and I know it is the ardent desire of all the people of the United States, in common with the people and the Government of Peru, to sustain indissoluble and helpful friendship. I treasure your reference to the idealism of my countrymen and the rectitude of our Government. I know it will meet a graceful response from my country. It but marks the consistent friendship that your Excellency has shown to the United States.

You, Mr. President, did my country the honor to visit us some years ago and I would be indeed happy if my visit could leave so memorable an impression of good will as that which you conveyed to the people of the United States.

It is an especial delight for me to visit this historic city—a city which was not alone one of the first settlements in the Western Hemisphere but which has been for more than four centuries a great center of civilization and of radiating culture. This needs no further proof than the continued beneficence of the dean of American institutions of learning—the University of San Marcos, which is the elder by a century of any university in my country.

But as you state, Mr. President, I have come for other purposes than recreation or to receive personal satisfactions of travel. I have had the hope and the aspiration that I could serve in some way to further reinforce the structure of peace and friendship, the unity of ideals which have remained unbroken since the birth of our republics. I have thought that I could better prepare myself for the task by a widened knowledge of the men and problems of our sister republics.

Your Excellency's letter of welcome, transmitted to Guayaquil by the initial flight of the new Peruvian airmail service, carries a larger significance than even its own generous terms of welcome. Its manner of transmission signifies the possibility of one of the most potential steps in progress of our relations. The amazing development of practical commercial aviation in our different countries in the past 12 months removes all doubt of its practicability as a routine service of transportation. In the days of early settlement of the Western World it would

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have required 3 months for the journey from Washington to your great capital. Had I come direct, it would have required perhaps 12 days. By air we should be able to traverse this distance in less than 2 days.

Mr. President, it is impossible to estimate the important consequences of this revolution in communication and transportation between our peoples. It is a benevolent paradox that to destroy the distance between peoples is to construct friendship between them.

Every expansion in transmission of intelligence and in daily contacts of our peoples adds to that precious growth of understanding and mutual respect which makes for mutual interest and good will. I should be proud indeed if I might contribute to the furtherance of so great a development.

Therefore, I should like to take this occasion to suggest that the time has come when by mutual cooperation of each of our Governments it is feasible to secure at once this further important link between our peoples. I am convinced that by a few practical steps in the organization of airways and at no great public outlay we can secure the establishment of this service through the enterprise of the citizens and aviators of each of our countries. It is not impossible that were the representatives of each of the governments en route to sit around the council table we could quickly devise those mutual undertakings by which we would realize such a service within another 12 months.

This new tool in world progress is significant of our times. It, with many others, brings to us new problems in government, but the great purpose of government in free peoples remains the same. That is to maintain that justice, that ordered liberty which gives security to life, security to the home, and security to individual accomplishments. From these foundations government may foster and stimulate the beneficent processes of commerce and industry, may upbuild the cultural, the moral, and the spiritual fiber of our people which are the forces which make for human happiness. It is not the mere assertion of idealists that the world grows better and that it makes progress. I know of no better proof than the steady and majestic progress of South America in the past century in political stability, in freedom and liberty, in peace, in increasing material wealth, in increasing human comfort and happiness. A

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century is but a short span in history. We who are public servants can do but little in our time. Our minute part of a few years is soon forgotten. But if we can contribute to diminish destructive forces, if we can strengthen the forces of material and spiritual progress, if we can upbuild the institutions of government which assure liberty and freedom we shall have served our part. These are the ideals of Peru equally with my own country. And I wish to express to your Excellency my confident belief in the great and glorious future of this nation to whose progress your Excellency has so greatly contributed.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke at the Government Palace in Lima in response to remarks of welcome by President Augusto B. Leguia. A translation of President Leguia's remarks follows:

Mr. President-elect of the United States of America, gentlemen:

Nature's volcanic forces which caused the American continent to emerge from the bottom of the ocean; the fanatical struggle for the cause of liberty under the victorious flags of Washington and Bolivar; and the inherent horror of all conquest which inspired Monroe's challenge to the enslaving powers of the world: these, gentlemen, are the chief causes of the American Union.

The intrigues of international feudalism were powerless to destroy this Union. Neither the distrust of those who condemn the healthy vigor and exuberant energy of youth, nor the clamorous outcry of those who dispute with the Colossus of the North his role of leader, were able to prevail against this Union, not even under the cloak of a transformed Monroe Doctrine in favor of intervention, when, in reality, this doctrine has been and continues to be a bulwark of our liberty and a guarantee of our capacity to develop the characteristics of our culture.

Even as the union of the peoples of America finds its geographical expression in continental bonds, so also is its international expression found in the Pan American formula.

Pan Americanism was the great Utopia of the statesmen who organized the countries of America. Above all, it was a fair vision which, born in the enlightened mind of Bolivar, creator of The Congress of Panama, took the shape of a constructive purpose in the spirit of Blaine, the never-to-be-forgotten Secretary of State of 1889.

Up to 1914, Pan Americanism was little more than a dream; after that date, it was no longer a Utopia, but a reality. The madness of the Great War in which millions of men met their doom, in which the accumulated wealth of long centuries was dissipated, in which women and children suffered untold sorrows and hunger—succored and relieved from time to time by superior and generous men

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such as you, Mr. Hoover, as demonstrated by the gratitude of the Belgians, the recompense of your splendid charity and that of your countrymen, and the reward of your merits—that great and criminal madness of war which dimmed the resplendent brightness of ancient cultures did, on the other hand, strengthen the Pan American Doctrine, because it heralded a world resurrection here in the heart of America, the continent united by ties of labor and peace and destined to serve as a guiding beacon through the darkness which wrought such ruin and destruction.

The palpitating and historical gift of Pan Americanism, derived from the breaking-up of ancient and obsolete artificial systems of international politics, naturally gave rise to criticism, the unreasonable and loquacious criticism of Americans themselves, as, also, to the hostile criticism of those who still harbor fantastic dreams of reconstructing the historical forms of an ancient economic and moral tutelage. Thus it happens that Pan Americanism is now undergoing a cleansing process by reason of this very criticism. But let us leave to others the blind illusion that Pan Americanism is doomed to destruction, and let us jealously guard our conviction that true Pan Americanism, without either selfish limitations or absurd and harmful enhancement, will be the creed of the future.

Your visit, Mr. President, is an act of good will which will result in incalculable consequences for the future of the Pan American Union, whatever may be the extent of its duration in these countries. A stay of 8 days, which you might make in each of them, would not suffice for the study of either our political or our economic life. But what we most value and appreciate is your decision to come here, not as the tourist in search of antiquities, nor yet as the businessman desirous of making lucrative investments, but to bring us the highest representation of the world's greatest democracy, and this in the solemn moments when, by the will of your fellow countrymen, you are about to scale the heights of a power unparalleled in the world's history.

You are a representative man of your people in that you have divined the future of the Americas, united and fraternal, the golden future of this boundless reserve of land and men destined to rejuvenate and renew the life of mankind. You are the completion of Monroe's purpose. He proclaimed the personality of America in the midst of liberty, and you, through your visit, will guarantee it in the midst of economic expansion.

Your country has always produced great men in the hour when they were needed. Washington was born for the achievement of liberty; for the emancipation of slaves, Lincoln came into being; Cleveland was inspired at the critical moment to exalt international justice; Roosevelt was used to correct the errors of geography; and for the defense of right, Wilson was created. You, Mr. Hoover, by the orientation of your life and by virtue of your public activities, are the man

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pre-ordained to weld together by friendship and justice these peoples of America, each different in origin but all united by the clear vision of an identical future.

Gentlemen, let us raise our glasses to Mr. Hoover, President-elect of the United States of America, and to the health of the gentle comrade of his life, Mrs. Hoover, with the earnest wish that his government may be fruitful in every kind of prosperity and well-being, and that America as a whole may derive benefit from his present visit. And, finally, let us drink, gentlemen, to the great people of the United States of America, who have accomplished the miracle of uniting thought with action, the ideal with the reality.

Gentlemen, your good health!

Bolivia.

December 8, 1928

Excellency:

I wish to express my deep gratitude for your tribute to my country. The friendship of Bolivia to the United States has become fixed in the traditions of our countries. They have been cemented on many occasions throughout our history and it is indeed emphasized by the great effort you have undertaken in order to give me the pleasure of your acquaintance. In this appreciation and gratitude my country will join.

I desire greatly that you should convey to President Siles my infinite regret that the inexorable limitation of time prevents my having the pleasure of the journey to La Paz and a personal call upon him. I should have deemed it a great privilege to have made his personal acquaintance and to add to my reading an actual visualization of Bolivia and its great progress. I regret that I have but a few weeks available before I shall need to take up actively the question of organization of my own administration. Short as the time is, I am grateful for this meeting as it will enable me to better understand the problems of the future. I trust you will convey to the President not only my personal respects but my gratitude for sending so important a group of representatives to meet with me.

Bolivia is especially embedded in the hearts of our people because all our schoolchildren learn to associate the name of your country with the great liberator. And I should desire no better foundation for national

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esteem than that the traditions of our country should stand equally high in the minds of your schoolchildren.

It would indeed be a high compliment to me if you would convey to the President and people of Bolivia that friendliness and good will which the people of the United States hold within their hearts.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke on board the U.S.S. Maryland, at Antofagasta, Chile, in response to remarks of welcome by Alberto Palacios, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia. A translation of Minister Palacios' remarks follows:

Mr. President-elect:

The haste of your trip did not permit you to climb the Andes as far as Bolivia, but the mountain, interpreting the Arabic legend, has come to offer you a cordial welcome on a portion of your own territory. You, Mr. Hoover, as an expert miner are no stranger in Bolivia, a mining land, and I feel certain that you have understood our country better than any unacquainted with our activities as earth borers possibly could.

Your trip marks a historic moment in the fraternal relations of both Americas, and it will provide new means for comprehension and exact understanding of the spiritual and material aspirations of our continent in accordance with American thought, which faces numerous and complex problems to be solved through simple, humane, and practical methods; the more so since, as a result of the elevated policy of your country standards have been evolved which, replacing the tragic egoism's and rancor's of the past, enable us to face the future from a constructive rather than a fictitious point of view.

This attitude originated in the optimistic philosophy of your country a creative force of spiritual and material motives which finds an echo in its vigorous literature, in its formidable economic expansion and in the cult of the physical and moral development of its children, without parallel except in classical Greece. This optimism has created a new school of thought, a new attitude in the relations of the peoples. It has discovered and adopted original formulas for the solution of the never-ending problems which continually present themselves in international relations.

Belgium, isolated from the world, its resources exhausted in the emergencies of the European conflagration, was enabled to survive, thanks to the happy initiative of a man who, judging humanity to be nobler than she herself had believed, succeeded in mobilizing her, thus preserving for the country its orienting concept of culture and civilization. That man was Hoover.

When the gigantic conflict had come to an end, Germany was reduced to economic destruction. To save her, the greatest minds of the time combined to discover the new philosopher's stone which would rebuild the economic structure

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of one of the most powerful empires of the world. And their failure was probably due to the profound pessimism in which Europe was then submerged. It was then that Dawes, the well known North American economist, formulated his famous plan, which, applied to realities, redeemed the country from chaos.

The sad experience of the war prompted the world's thinkers to seek a formula that would save humanity from new wars, but among numberless theories, no solution at once practical and humane could be found. Once more, another North American, this time Hughes, found the key to the most difficult of world problems: the limitation of naval armaments. Your present Secretary of State Kellogg, with sincerity and courage, has set forth equitable plans to settle the conflicts that may arise among nations. Seen through the crystal of prejudice and tradition such conflicts appear impossible of solution, but considered from the point of view of equality and fraternity, and with sound utilitarian understanding, they become questions of easy solution.

Your visit, Mr. Hoover, cannot fail to make flourish in Hispanic America those optimistic ideals of sound understanding and actual accomplishment which will enable us earnestly to seek international harmony among ourselves.

Chile.

December 11, 1928

Your Excellency:

I am indeed anxious that you should believe the sincere appreciation which I and my colleagues feel for the welcome and the kindness which we have received upon our visit to Chile. The compliment to my country in the courtesy and generosity of your reception will find a full response from my countrymen, and I should be proud indeed if you would accept my visit as a symbol of that friendliness.

I could not allow this occasion to pass without expression of the sympathy of the people of the United States for the misfortune that has befallen the central area by the recent earthquake. While the courage, ability, and fortitude of the people of Chile will quickly repair the physical disaster, we must all mourn the loss of life that cannot be redeemed. Cities of Chile have risen from the ashes before, through the indomitable will of the people, and they will again prove that valor which is greater than may be shown on any battlefield.

I thank you for your eloquent expressions regarding my country.

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There is abundant reason why friendship and understanding between us should be deeply rooted in the hearts of the people of both our nations. We have on both sides a history of common labor, of building in the New World a new form of government founded upon a new conception of human rights; the supreme experience of rebellion from the political and social systems of the Old World; the subjugation of the wilderness; of development of economic life through the application of the great discoveries of science; the effort to lift the moral and cultural levels of our countries.

Furthermore, we are fortunate in our relations with your country in that there is no basis, either political or economic, for rivalry. Our economic interests are reciprocal and our progress in prosperity and comfort can only be mutual. I have enjoyed with your able Ministers the privilege of exchange of experience in respect to the problems of development and economic progress in our two countries. They and you, Mr. President, are undertaking a great experiment of reform. The success which the Government of my country has attained is due to similar experiments. I do not entertain the slightest doubt that success will crown your achievements in Chile. The policy they have adopted of seeking external capital, whether by government or private enterprise, only for reproductive works is a restriction which could well be adopted by the entire world, including the municipalities and States of my own country. The import of capital for development of public works, of transportation, of communications, of power, of national resources, agricultural and natural, for the movement of goods, is a blessing both to the lender and the borrower. It creates the wealth from which the loans and investments can be repaid. It increases employment and the standards of living. Used for any other purpose, foreign capital becomes a dead weight of taxation upon the people.

Within these limits I believe the import of capital into your country will find its parallel, in the invaluable assistance in internal development, in a similar supply of capital from Europe to the United States in the years following our Civil War. Today, from the development of our natural resources in the United States, so greatly contributed to by the capital of Europe in the period I have referred to, we have discharged

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our foreign debts and are now able to produce a surplus of capital. From the great resources of South America, I am confident that this cycle will repeat itself, more particularly in this case, as capital is furnished in these days upon much less onerous terms than 40 years ago. The day will come when Chile will by her accumulation of wealth become a lender of capital.

I have likewise enjoyed discussion of your new educational program, the vigor of which is well illustrated by the recent single contract for 50 new public school buildings. And I should be derelict did I not emphasize to you and the people of Chile the admiration which I and the American people hold for the economic and cultural advancement which your nation has contributed to the Western Hemisphere. We are all struggling to a common aim; we not only learn from each other, but we receive inspiration from the heroism, leadership, and accomplishments of sister republics. A long list of distinguished Presidents and statesmen have contributed to the upbuilding of Chile and the Western Hemisphere—and you, Mr. President, occupy a large place in this category.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke at the Government Palace in Santiago in response to remarks of welcome by President Carlos Ibanez. A translation of President Ibanez' remarks follows:

Excellency:

In the name of the Government and the people of Chile I welcome you. The national institutions and the entire country have followed your tour with consuming interest, because in you we see the eminent statesman and the great American who, having been elected to guide the destinies of his country, has desired to demonstrate to the world in a practical manner his conviction that from the collective progress of all the Americans incalculable benefits may be expected, in the form of a closer spiritual and material solidarity among the peoples which make up this continent.

Both the Government and the people of my country expect that your visit will strengthen the friendly relations now existing between the United States and Chile, and moreover, that it will intensify commercial and economic intercourse between our nations.

But, apart from this, your visit has a special significance for Chile. You represent that unchanging tradition of unity of aspirations in the progress and effort of the leaders of the great North American democracy, who, regardless of their party

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ideals, have set a beautiful example from the very days in which independence and sovereignty came into existence. That honorable tradition, founded on the cult of public liberty so far as compatible with the best interests of the collectivity, has enabled your country to give in something more than 100 years a unique and astonishing example of progress which I, as an Executive, admire, the more so because Chile, a proud, industrious race and one entertaining the highest ideals of peace and well-being, is at present endeavoring to follow her, within the limited possibilities of its territory and economic structure and under the protection of its sound institutions which have been subjected to harsh trials in hours of difficulty for the Republic.

Before closing, I wish to pay homage to that eminent Executive, His Excellency President Coolidge, who still directs the destinies of the Great Republic, and to express my wishes for your personal happiness, that of your most distinguished wife, and that the administration you are about to begin may mark a new and decisive epoch of greater solidarity and better understanding among the peoples of America.

Argentina.

December 14, 1928

Excellency:

I wish to thank you for your words of welcome and to thank the people of the Argentine for the cordial reception which they have given me. I come with two simple purposes, to convey the spirit of friendship and to extend my knowledge of our sister republics.

It is indeed a privilege to have traversed this great empire and to have seen this amazing city. For it is a wonderful chapter in human endeavor to have created this beautiful capital and to have raised it to among the first in the world in practically a quarter of a century. Its splendid buildings, its institutions, its parks, the culture of its people, all demonstrate the virility and capacity of a great and growing nation.

Mr. President, I should be proud could I use this occasion to sound a convincing note of faith and hope in the future of humanity. It has been no part of mine to build castles of the future but rather to measure the experiments, the actions, and the progress of men through the cold and uninspiring microscope of fact, statistics, and performance. But from

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these, I believe not alone that the fundamental forces in the world are making for progress but that the world today and particularly the Western World stands upon the threshold of a new era of advancement. Never before has the outlook been brighter for the march of peace, for economic progress, for the growth of ordered liberty and of liberal institutions, for opportunity of achievement among men, and the growth of those things which dignify and ennoble life.

Economic prosperity is not the sole object of government or of effort. It is the foundation upon which we may build the finer edifice of life, because release from poverty is the release of spirit. And I believe, Mr. President, that we can look forward with equal optimism to the improvement of the political, social, and cultural edifice.

The liberalism which was born of the American continents has stirred all humanity with aspiration for freedom and for that ordered liberty which gives full opportunity for individual accomplishment. The hope and fate of humanity lie in its success. I am one who has full confidence in the ultimate ability of the great American experiment of peoples to govern themselves. I know it is a long, toilsome path of trial and errors, but, Mr. President, the fact that this ideal has spread steadily through the world over a century and a half should itself give us confidence. And when we survey broadly the unparalleled advance in human welfare of the Western Hemisphere over this period, we should be confident in our optimism for the future of these institutions and ideals.

And the outlook socially, as well as economically and politically, is hopeful. Education and learning, decrease in poverty, and the ideal of equal opportunity are providing the impulses of ambition in our peoples. For these reasons, I do not fear the social decay which has been traditional in the ancient nations of the past who possessed other institutions and ideals.

And from all our systems whether political, social, or economic, we shall have failed if we do not secure those satisfactions which come from the cultivation of the charms and graces of life, the advancement of moral and spiritual character of our peoples. And with the vast increase in numbers freed from the degradation of poverty who receive

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through education the touch and inspiration of science or art, and of literature, may we not rightfully expect that we shall uncover more of those rare flowers of humanity whose genius lifts all the world with their discoveries, their development of human thought, and their touch of the Divine through art and poetry.

I know, Mr. President, that the preservation of these institutions and ideals in a world of increasing complexity requires constant vigilance. It requires that there be many nations, and not a few, in order that each may receive refreshment from the experience of the other. And of those to whom the Western World looks with confidence for its contribution to the future, the Argentine Republic occupies an eminent place.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke at the Government Palace in Buenos Aires in response to remarks of welcome by President Hipolito Irigoyen. A translation of President Irigoyen's remarks follows:

Your Excellency, Mr. President-elect:

You have had the kindness to include the Argentine Republic among the countries of South America which you purposed to visit; and this country, duly appreciating your courtesy, has tendered you its warmest homage. And now its Government, faithful interpreter of the national sentiments and aspirations, offers you its most cordial greeting.

Bound to the United States of North America by friendly ties which date back to the dawn of our independence—since it was from the example of the illustrious founders of your Republic we learned the first lessons in democracy, and the wisdom of your constitutional law which determined the structure of our federal institutions—we do not doubt that your spontaneous visit will strengthen the relations established between the two peoples and harmoniously maintained over a period of time now beyond the century line.

Argentina—but why not say America and the world?—expects that your nation, now in the zenith of its greatness and at the very summit of its power and expansion, will continue to be the center of lofty spiritual and pacific ideals, such as that which—after the tragic hecatomb of our contemporaneous civilization—induced your eminent late President to convoke all the nations to the end that, at Geneva, as within the sanctuary of a solemn basilica, they might reaffirm the luminous and eternal precept enunciated by the Divine Master: Love one another.

Such are the ideals of the South American peoples, who aspire to constant advancement in the path of perfecting themselves for the mission which the designs of Providence, as recorded by history, have vouchsafed them; fulfilling themselves

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as entities ruled by such high ethical standards that their power can never be a menace to justice, nor cast even a shadow across the sovereignty of other states. Inspired by these devoted wishes, I raise my glass to wish you, sir, a most happy return to the bosom of your enlightened and great country.

Uruguay.

December 17, 1928

Excellency:

I wish to thank you for the eloquent expression you have given of your sentiment toward myself and of the friendship of the people of Uruguay toward my country. I know that these expressions, this hospitality, and this reception will meet a response in the hearts of the people of the United States.

Your Excellency, I sometimes think that relations between nations bear the humble comparison of the relations between neighbors in our busy private lives. Crowded with domestic problems, we really know but little of our neighbors; we read in the press of sensational accidents; we know the gossip of unworthy members of their families; we read descriptions of their homes. But we know little of the finer qualities of their home life, their deep affections, their sorrows, their self-denials, their courage, and their idealism's. So it is with nations. Their national accomplishments, the "flower" of thought and the great intangibles of national character and ideals, can come only with contact. From these contacts come that respect and friendship, that desire for helpfulness, which must be the true basis of international relations. I have hoped that I might by this visit symbolize the courtesy of a call from one good neighbor to another, that I might convey the respect, esteem, and desire for intellectual and spiritual cooperation.

Your Excellency has spoken of our common ideals of justice not only in our international relations, but in our system of government. Justice is not only an ideal—it is a science. In the contributions of the leaders of Uruguay to the science of jurisprudence, both in the national and international field, she has given proofs of great cultivation of mind and at the same time has demonstrated that the moral weight of

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nations is based not upon size or numbers, but upon the spirit or character of a people.

Thus Uruguay is an exemplar of the profound political truth that national greatness springs not primarily from broad areas and imperial possessions, but from the height and depth of the national soul. More and more you have been coming to the world with your hands full of spiritual and intellectual gifts.

Mr. President, we are all interested in economic exchanges—they are of the utmost importance for the preservation and betterment of life. Exchanges of ideas are even more vitally important to humanity than exchanges of commodities, which are but perishable. From a new idea we may attain revolutionary economic advance, but, of more importance, from the exchange of ideas we reinforce and strengthen the system of thought and life from which springs freedom itself. And again I pay tribute to Uruguay for her large benefactions in this world of the intellect. Nor can I fail to be impressed by the marvelous material development in your country. Its resources, its magnificent roads and public works, its beautiful capital city, the multitude of schools and cultural agencies, all bespeak a people alert, vigorous, and progressive.

Your Excellency, no citizen of a republic, no man who feels deeply the values and who glories in the triumph of democracy, could witness the profound success of this Republic and remain unmoved. Your acts and words spring, I feel, not only from the exquisite courtesy, but from the generous heart of a free people. I appreciate them on my own behalf and I accept them with gratitude on behalf of my Republic, which has been proud to call Uruguay her sister and her consistent friend.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke at the Parque Hotel in Montevideo in response to remarks of welcome by President Juan Campisteguy. A translation of President Campisteguy's remarks follows:

Mr. President:

Uruguay receives Your Excellency with the most spontaneous cordiality, esteeming your presence in its capital as the living expression of the friendship of that great people which has just consecrated you as its foremost citizen.

Your Excellency, who with exalted and happy purpose is now establishing contact with the peoples of America in preparation for the enormously responsible

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task which awaits you, will now add to the impressions already gathered in other countries, as fraternal and hospitable as ours, those which Uruguay will engrave on your mind and heart. This leads us to entertain the hope that these impressions will also serve to shape your future action, in harmony with our traditional friendship, in favor of the ready and necessary interchange of our material and moral values, and in support of the reciprocal interests of both nations, since a mutually adequate understanding of our ability and intentions is the fundamental basis of that undertaking.

It is the aspiration of my country to maintain the high opinion which it believes it has gained in the international field, thanks to the unremitting efforts exerted in the past, and equally manifest in the present. In pursuit of this objective, it will continue its unmistakable policies of the most absolute and conscientious respect in the fulfillment of those obligations which law and justice impose as fundamental principles of international relations. To this end, it will constantly strive to collaborate in everything which tends to benefit the interests of humanity, thus preserving the ideal relationship which it covets as the guarantee of its future and the ample development of its activities.

Just as in the past Uruguay and the United States of America have shared responsibilities, uncertainties, and success marked by outstanding evidences of sincere affection, so in the future, the two countries, I can assure you, will be identified by similar sentiments in the realization of every generous undertaking which tends toward human betterment and perfection, thus capable of assuring not only those material conquests which contribute to the economic well-being of the peoples, but also those more valuable conquests which foster the advancement of culture, which guarantee the full sovereignty of justice, which uphold the active defense of every right, and which will forever and eternally insure universal peace and justice.

The unusual qualities which, tested and tried in your life of incessant work, mark Your Excellency as with shining characters, warrant the assurance that your administration will be worthy of the praise not only of your own fellow citizens but of ours, because it will tend to the maintenance of the ties binding the two countries together, ties which we, on our part, will earnestly endeavor to strengthen day by day.

And it is for the realization of these happy auguries, for the personal happiness of His Excellency President Coolidge, for that of his worthy successor, our illustrious guest, and Mrs. Hoover, as well as for the future greatness of the United States of America, that I propose a toast in the name of Uruguay.

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Uruguay.
December 17, 1928

Excellency:

I am grateful for your generous reception and for the good wishes you have extended to me and my country.

I have been much interested in your part in the Government of Uruguay. You have undertaken a new experiment in the organization of democracy. Our democracies make progress by experiments not alone in those measures which directly advance human welfare, but in those which perfect the administrative functions of government. In every country, we will profit by your experience. True democracy is not dependent upon any special form of organization. The dual purposes of organization are public will and efficiency in administration, and these may be successful in many patterns.

There are much more weighty reasons for the independence of nations, but one of them is the benefits that come to all from the independent discoveries which they make in methods of human welfare.

The ideals of democracy have been exemplified in your country over these many years and have contributed greatly to keep alight the sacred flame of self-government.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke at the Palace of the National Administrative Council of Uruguay in Montevideo in response to remarks by Luis C. Caviglia, President of the Council. A translation of Mr. Caviglia's remarks follows:

Excellency:

The National Administrative Council has received with sincere pleasure the visit of the President-elect of the United States of America.

The purpose of his journey harmonizes with the sentiments of this Council in that it permits the fostering, by means of personal contact, of the moral bonds which exist between both peoples.

It is for this reason that the Council, grateful for the presence of the President-elect in its center of activities, entertains the hope that his stay in the country will enable him to appreciate the constructive character of the Uruguayan people, as, also, its fraternal spirit toward all men, especially those of America.

The maintenance of international relations belongs constitutionally, among us, to the President of the Republic, but the natural application is incumbent upon

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his Executive Body, which, while collaborating within a well defined governmental policy, does not, however, preclude the most ample intercourse in economic relations and the most frank cordiality in social contacts with the outside world.

The National Council begs the illustrious visitor to carry home to his country the expression of the most faithful sentiment of admiring friendship toward the democracy which has designated him its exalted Executive. It also begs the President to accept the good wishes of the Council members for his personal happiness and for the greatest measure of success in his administration.

Brazil.

December 22, 1928

I cherish as an honor this opportunity to meet the men selected by their various communities to enact into law the will of the people of Brazil.

We are engaged in the common task of working out effective government by the people. This great experiment in human welfare rests upon our confidence that the majority conclusions of an instructed people will, in the long run, be right and wise. We know that mistakes will be made and that failures may discourage those who look for the millennium over night. But if we survey the century of experience in the Western Hemisphere, we see that we have made more progress in human welfare than has been made in any such period of history. We can emphasize further, that methods of justice and ordered liberty have been built upon foundations more firm and more promising for the future than ever before. The road of opportunity for the individual man to rise by his own accomplishment was never clearer of obstruction than today.

The world has entered upon a great period of economic expansion. The energies of the world were stirred by the war, but of far greater importance, we are today receiving the powerful impulses from years of advancement in education and technical training; from great scientific discoveries and their application through the invention of a myriad of appliances; from an enlarged skill in workmen and leaders in organization. Transportation and communication have been quickened by the improvements in steam, by the automobile, the airplane, the radio. The

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splendid advance in the application of electrical power has lifted burdens from the backs of men and drudgery from women.

From it all, the productivity of men is increasing a thousand-fold, and with growing productivity our standards of living are rising and the surplus capital of the world for new ventures and for building up the open spaces is accumulating. But with these advances the problems of government greatly increase. It is indeed the function of each legislature to accept and encourage these discoveries and to incorporate them within the economy and culture of each country. New forms of greed and tyranny grow also from these new discoveries which must be met by wise restraints. Therefore, with the increasing complexity of our civilization, the burdens upon our legislative bodies increase. It is fortunate that we have many independent governments, for each of them becomes an experimental laboratory in dealing with these forces. By an interchange of these experiences we all profit.

I wish to thank you for your expressions of welcome and your expressions of friendship to my country. Our countries have throughout their history an unbroken record not only of peace, but a record of mutual good will and helpfulness which has become a precious tradition between us. I wish again to repeat my gratitude for the honor which you have paid to my country.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke before the Brazilian Congress in Rio de Janeiro in response to remarks of welcome by Antonio Azeredo, President of the Congress, and Rego Barros, President of the Chamber of Deputies, as follows:

PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS

Mr. President-elect, Members of the National Congress:

The National Congress has met today to receive within this august precinct, in the name of the Brazilian people which it represents, the eminent American citizen elected to the Chief Magistracy of his illustrious country. It is the first time that a President of the United States has come to Brazil and to the other Republics of our continent.

Enthusiastically received, he must realize, from the expressions of friendliness inspired by his merits and from the manifestations of the ancient friendship which binds us to the great people of the United States of America, how responsive we are to his friendly decision to come to know us. His visit makes us proud not only

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because it is a compliment, but because of our conviction that after coming to know us better—our political purposes, our respect for order, our aspirations to progress, our development in agriculture, stock raising and industry, and our great material possibilities—he may come to judge correctly what we are and what are our qualities.

An organizer gifted with a profound knowledge of human affairs, we are sure, judging by all that he has been able to observe and accomplish, that he will deal justly with the peoples to which an auspicious destiny confided this part of the American continent where, inspired by sentiments of high human endeavor and devoted to fruitful work, they keep alive on the altar of their countries the ardent flame of fraternal ideals. It is, therefore, with great pleasure that we receive the visit of President-elect Hoover who, in addition to attaining the high post which gives him world distinction, reached that distinction through his own efforts, thus enhancing those democratic institutions through which men of his ability without distinction of fortune or class may attain the highest posts, to the constant renewal of the splendid forces which progress multiplies for the service of humanity in our countries.

To further emphasize the political scope of this friendly visit, it is hardly necessary to recall to the minds of Americans and Brazilians the ties of cordiality which bind our peoples together. The life history of our nations, the unmistakable good faith of our uninterrupted understanding, the firmness of our attitudes, defy the malevolent prophecy of apprehensive and prejudiced minds.

Today, as yesterday, the sentiments which unite us are those expressed with such felicity and beauty in memorable speeches in the Palace of Itamaraty by Elihu Root and Ruy Barbosa. The loyalty of the liberators of the great people of the north to those of our fellow countrymen who first struggled for the independence of Brazil; the solicitude expressed by the American Government on the occasion of the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic—a solicitude which rivaled that of our great friend, Argentina, in the recognition of our definitive political organization; the echo which the unforgettable words of Wilson found among us when, during the Great War, he broadcast throughout the world the generous appeal of his people; are all examples of the assured friendship which grows ever stronger. And, as a new pledge of this traditional esteem, comes the visit with which President-elect Hoover now honors us.

As the political representative of the most prosperous country of our continent, we shower him with manifestations of the cordiality and respect with which his great country inspires us. As a representative of his people and of his time, we welcome him with enthusiasm, we applaud him with the utmost fervor. Brilliant embodiment of all the best tendencies of his people and of his century, Mr. Hoover is, above all, an organizer. An engineer, he chose well his profession. The knowledge

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and activities of these professions constitute the guiding light of the United States in our day.

The heroic epoch of independence also had its symbol: the soldier; that of political construction, the legislator; its present formidable, unprecedented economic activity, the engineer, who constructs railways, harnesses electricity, wrests from the subsoil its gold, iron, coal, and petroleum, who in the airplane dominates the upper air, and in the submarine penetrates the depths of the ocean.

It is to this man, who by the vote of his fellow citizens and by his high personal qualities represents at one and the same time the gigantic political organization of his wonderful country and the most eminent virtues of its citizens, that the National Congress of Brazil now renders its most sincere and fervent tribute of homage.

PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

Your Excellency, President-elect Hoover:

The Congress of the United States of Brazil meets in special session to render homage to the future President of the United States of America, thus signifying the sentiments of fraternity and admiration entertained by the Brazilians toward that great country which through the exceptional quality of its people has conquered, in a space of time as short as it is brilliant, the highest degree of civilization yet attained by any contemporary country, and has taken its place among the nations as the leader of human evolution in its multiple aspects.

This is not a mere official ceremony of purely diplomatic courtesy in which we are now participating, but the spontaneous expression of the Brazilian soul, strong, enthusiastic, frank, responsive to all noble ideals and sensitive to all greatness, sincere in its legitimate praise of a friendly nation and the solemn reaffirmation of its traditional and continuous cordiality.

The enthusiasm of this manifestation is accentuated as we consider the exceptional personality which prompts it. Intelligence, culture, energy, altruism, creative power, organizing ability, natural authority: all these constitute the substratum of this rare personality, a perfect embodiment of the best characteristics of the American people. The life of President Hoover is, fellow Congressmen, an example of human ability in the domain of positive achievement, whether expressed in the realm of material phenomena or of social relations.

Although entirely the product of his environment and time, with a mind molded by the practical modern spirit and an activity directed by utilitarian motives, Mr. Hoover exemplifies at each fruitful stage of his brilliant career the man of ideas and of perception. He is neither the idealist who loves impracticable abstractions nor the inert and introspective sentimentalist, but the great achiever of practical idealism useful to society, the altruist who, inspired by a humanitarianism

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based on actual human solidarity, labors with the noble objective of aiding and succoring his fellow men. From whatever angle we consider his influence, we see the beneficent action of a superior human being concentrated in acts of real value for universal progress.

Throughout his entire career President-elect Hoover has shown himself to be a creator, an organizer, and an achiever. As technician in Australia, he so modified the processes of gold extraction that the exploitation of mines, previously considered exhausted, became remunerative, thus gaining professional fame. Consider, also, his role in China, whether in the administration of mining industries or in resisting the Boxer Uprising; and, finally, his admirable organization of an international mining company with branches in San Francisco, New York, London, Melbourne, and Shanghai. Moreover, throughout all this period of industrial activity he proved to be a keen sociologist, in his accurate comprehension of the true relations between capital and labor, one inspired not only by sound economic judgment but, also, by the highest philanthropic sentiments.

It is, however, in the memorable campaign for supplying food and clothing to the civilian populations of the countries stricken by the European conflagration that this personality shines most dearly. Belgium was being devastated by famine as well as by the invading army. President-elect Hoover, then in London, conceiving the idea of applying the neutrality of his country to a humanitarian end, created the Commission for Relief in Belgium. And when he was found to be the only person capable of organizing and directing this humanitarian task, he did not hesitate before the sacrifice it entailed. It meant the abandonment of his industrial enterprises, the possible loss of the personal fortune acquired by long years of persistent industry.

In the struggle between his own interests and altruism, victory fell to the latter. The sentiment of human solidarity, instinctive in superior men, triumphed. In this humanitarian campaign the manifold abilities of the great American had full play, and the success he unfailingly attained was due to his intelligence, willpower, culture, and magnetic sympathy.

How well that great institution was organized and administered, how much effort and ability were displayed, and how great was the relief throughout Europe, is well known to all of us who followed the various phases of the war. Material obstacles, political resistance, difficulties of every kind were faced and overcome by the indomitable energy, the quick intelligence and the unswerving strength of a great human ideal. And this energy, this intelligence, this irresistible force were united in one man: President-elect Hoover, on whom was conferred the official title of "Honorary Citizen of Belgium and Friend of the Belgian People," whose deeds have consecrated him illustrious citizen of the universe and friend of humanity.

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His entrance into American administration and politics was a logical consequence of these glorious antecedents. The people clamored for the collaboration of this great man. As head of the Department of Commerce he gave it new life, coordinating it to his conception of government as a living organism and not an abstraction. As one writer puts it, his system consists in obliging everyone to assume both initiative and responsibility and thus make himself individually more useful, his maxim being that it is necessary to centralize ideas and decentralize their application. In accordance with these principles, Mr. Hoover, as an executive, asked for the cooperation of private enterprise in his campaign for economy in production and for harmony between manufacturers, merchants and consumers looking to the reduction of the cost of living and to the greatest commercial development. The extraordinary expansion of American commerce under his able direction is well known as is, also, the influence which he exerted over the other departments of public administration.

According to one biographer, there are three fundamental traits in his psychological makeup due to his origin, education, and profession: Quaker philanthropy, or love of service for humanity; the strong individualism of one who has raised himself by his own efforts in the struggle of competition; and an unlimited confidence in education and the belief that America is leading the world not only in quantity but also in quality.

Behold the great citizen who will shortly exercise the Chief Magistracy of the United States of America, and consider the happy augury for humanity in such a man as he becoming head of such a people!

May Your Excellency, President-elect Hoover, continue on a still greater scale the mission of progress and of human solidarity which has guided your hitherto successful career. May the great nation over whose destinies you are so soon to preside be the supreme exponent, especially in the American continent, of peace and fraternity among the nations. These wishes express the desires of the Brazilian people, desires which have been traditional in its international policy ever since its independence, and its unbroken friendship and confidence in the admirable North American federation—that federation in whose example the founders of our Republic sought inspiration in outlining the structure of our constitution.

In this unity of purpose, in the intensification of economic and intellectual interchange between the two largest American nations, will be found that assurance of political equilibrium indispensable to the evolution of the peoples of this continent. These were the objectives of our diplomacy established by Baron Rio Branco and brilliantly followed by the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, Senhor Mangabeira.

From this rapid visit with which Your Excellency has honored us, from the observation of our economic possibilities, from the personal contact with our

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citizens in which you have felt the pulse of the Brazilian heart in an atmosphere of fraternal sympathy, there will certainly result, for your country as for mine, and indeed for all America, something infinitely greater than a simple diplomatic gesture.

The Chief Magistrate of Brazil is likewise a citizen and patriot whose public life is an eloquent example of how great a part intelligence and will can play in the solution of complex problems of government, in the execution of administrative programs and in the achievement of political ideals. And the meeting of these two notable Chief Executives will be recorded in history as an event of great significance in the destinies of Pan American politics.

Your Excellency, accept the homage of the Brazilian people and the sincere expression of their noble sentiments of brotherhood.

Brazil.

December 22, 1928

I am honored in meeting the men entrusted by Brazil with the most exalted function in the gift of organized society. One great test of civilization is the ability to produce and designate men to safeguard justice itself, who, free from self-interest, above partisanship, and skilled in jurisprudence, are dedicated to truth and reason.

In our western organization of democracy, the supreme courts are not only the final tribunal in the determination of justice, but they are the guardians of our democratic organization itself. And the task of our supreme tribunals is ever increasing. You face new and more difficult problems each year with the advance of science and the growing complexity of our civilization, and you have to constantly formulate the fundamental concepts of justice to meet these new forces and agencies. That our supreme courts throughout the world have met these new problems with courage and skill is the greatest of tributes to their character and traditions. And as our international trade increases, the relations of our citizens in foreign countries constantly expand. The whole great fabric of international commerce upon which the world is today dependent for its very existence rests in the end upon the sanctity of contract honestly entered upon under the laws of each country. But

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for confidence in the courts of different nations, the whole of our international economic relations would become hazardous and weakened. And the just decisions of the courts remove the friction of our respective citizens out of the field of diplomatic relations into the field of abstract justice.

Both of our countries have attained an enviable success in this great institution. Therefore, am I most deeply sensible of the great compliment you have paid my country and myself in that your body which so truly represents these ideals and traditions should confer this great dignity upon me on this occasion.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke before the Supreme Court of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro in response to remarks by Dr. Godofredo da Cunha, Minister President of the Court. Dr. da Cunha's remarks follow:

Mr. Hoover:

Thanking Your Excellency in my own name and in that of the Court over which due to the unforgettable generosity of my illustrious colleagues I preside, for the honor of your visit, I frankly confess that I can add nothing to the many tributes which so deservedly and brilliantly have been rendered, here and in other countries, to your personality, to the high hopes we entertain from the pledge of your past, to the esteem which links us to your country, to the American spirit which has been our inspiration from our first hopes of independence and our first attempts to form a nation to our almost integral adoption of the political and judicial institutions of the United States of America.

It has been said, and the facts bear it out, that your entire life may be summed up in four words: science and altruism, work and will; these are the shining gems which adorn your brow, the solid foundations of the eminence to which the people of the United States have exalted you, in your election to rule the destinies of the richest and most powerful country in the world.

In every declaration of the founders of our independence there is found the same American spirit. This is amply demonstrated by history, as one of the most influential members of the Brazilian press pointed out a few days ago when referring to Jose Joaquim da Maia, who had the opportunity of conferring in France with Jefferson, then Minister of the North American Republic, with respect to the implantation of the republican form of government in our country. History also affirms that Tiradentes, another of those who struggled for the independence of this country, died with a copy of the Constitution of the United States in his pocket.

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The traditional international policy of Brazil, which had its beginnings in 1822, has suffered no interruption, as between your country and ours. This tradition of friendship, harmony, cordiality, and mutual confidence between the two governments and the two peoples will become even stronger, if it were necessary or possible to do so, in your coming administration, which all expect to be both brilliant and fruitful, a guarantee of peace—that condition so indispensable to continued progress and to undisturbed general prosperity.

So far as we are concerned, and particularly as guardians and supreme interpreters of the Constitution by which we are governed and which differs but slightly from your own, we can assure you that we apply it in the light of the teachings and lessons garnered from North American writers and jurists with whose works we are familiar. And as among us, at present, there are but few expounders of constitutional doctrine, and our incipient and hesitant jurisprudence can give but little help, we have found it necessary, as Lessa says, to have recourse to the commentators and judgments of the country whose political institutions served us as models—the United States of America. Moreover, I may add that our law of judicial organization stipulates that Brazilian judges shall use, as subsidiary legislation, not only the statutes of cultured peoples in general but, also, and "especially," those which govern juridic relations in the Republic of the United States of America, and the cases of "common law" and "equity."

Thanking Your Excellency once more for your courtesy, I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere desire for greater political solidarity between the two nations, for the increasing approximation of our reciprocal interests, and for the greatness and prosperity of your country.

Brazil.

December 22, 1928

Mr. President:

You have given expression to the noble and elevated friendship of Brazil to my country and you have formulated, in words, the courtesy and welcome which have overwhelmed me and my colleagues since our landing yesterday upon your shores.

It is difficult indeed to make a reply which adequately represents the response of all our hearts to the atmosphere of charming kindness and friendliness of the people of your great city. I hope my visit here will be accepted as the responsive sentiment of 110 million of my countrymen toward the people of Brazil.

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I know that on these occasions it is usual to refer to that unbroken span of good will which traverses the whole history of our two countries. Nor is it trite or commonplace to give voice to these facts, for when true friends meet, the renewal of their expressions and experiences is but the glow of the responsive human heart. It has been a good will far beyond the formal relationships between nations. It has been proven by sympathy and mutual support in times of trial, and by mutual satisfaction in times of success and triumph. Never has a cloud passed even in the dry words of diplomatic communication. The public opinion between our two peoples has always been most happy.

No one could fail to be moved by these hundreds of thousands of smiling men and women and joyous children who have lined your streets in demonstration of the feeling they have toward my countrymen. No language can interpret the overwhelming waves of sentiment they have extended to us. They are in themselves proof of the complete confidence, the serene and helpful friendship between our countries. We have established between us a powerful tradition of earnest cooperation to common welfare. To maintain that tradition is not only an obligation, but a satisfaction to every leader of my country. To impair or destroy its growth would be an act of unparalleled wickedness, for in it lies the most benevolent of all human forces: that is, peace, not through fear but through affection.

Friendship between nations is far more dependent upon sympathy and understanding than upon material interests. But cultivation of the forces which lead to this end does not preclude mutual economic interest. Some persons seem to think that trade between nations is solely for money making purposes, and that it is, therefore, more often a source of friction than of good will. Yet as a matter of fact, economic interchange is a part of the whole of our mutual civilization. I know of no better instance of the economic mutuality of nations than that of Brazil and the United States. A large part of Brazil lies in the tropical zone and possesses unlimited opportunity for tropical productions. My country is wholly in the Temperate Zone. With every advance in human comfort and luxury, with every step of invention, the exchange of products of the tropical and Temperate Zones which neither can themselves

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produce becomes of more and more vital importance. A century ago, our countries could and did live a more primitive life without the exchange of products of the Temperate Zone for coffee, rubber, and a score of other articles. Today, however, but for the products which we exchange, not a single automobile would run; not a dynamo would turn; not a telephone, telegraph, or radio would operate; a thousand daily necessities and luxuries would disappear. In fact, without these exchanges of commodities, huge masses of humanity who have now become dependent upon an intensive and highly attuned civilization could not be kept alive. I could point out the same dependent relations in trade between almost every country. Therefore, let no one think that international trade is but the noisy dicker of merchants and bankers— it is the lifeblood of modern civilization.

Another form of exchange where our mutual interests rise to their highest aspects is the exchange of scientific ideas, of experience in government, of intellectual thought and of culture. In our two great continents we are still in the making of material civilization. We are still engaged, in every country, in the expansion of transportation, of our electrical power, and in the development and improvement of our agriculture. We are still pushing highways across the plains and mountains; we are still bridging streams, digging harbors and waterways; we are still combating the ravages of disease. We are about to undertake communication by airplane. The experience in the applied science and in administration which each of us gains from these undertakings is the joint fund of all of us. Science and technology know no frontiers and know all languages.

Nor is this field of intellectual ideas and exchanges confined to science and technology. The results of scientific research, the development of literature, art, music and the drama, the inspiration of lofty thoughts, of morals and ideals, are the forces which make for increasing satisfactions and nobility amongst men. I should like to see a more definitely organized effort not only between the cultural institutions—especially of students, teachers, and professional men of my country and your country—but also between all our western nations. We all have something vital to contribute to each other and it is especially from these exchanges and contacts that we gain the respect and esteem which so

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greatly strengthen the foundations of international friendship. I feel that our intellectual exchanges must be expanded beyond the daily news, the moving pictures and other incidentals. These can not give a full cross section of the national culture of any one of us. The news is concerned with the events of the day, and unfortunately wickedness is often greater news than righteousness—probably because it is the more unusual. The moving picture cannot give the full prospective of national character, for it is in the main concerned with entertainment. I am offering no criticism of these agencies, but I only hope that we may definitely organize and greatly enlarge those exchanges that make for a more lofty appreciation of and more vital force in human progress.

Mr. President, I would that I could adequately express the admiration which I have for this beautiful city which is the proof of the progress of a great nation. And again, I should like to express the appreciation and gratitude which I and my colleagues feel toward you and the people of Brazil for the reception which we have received. It demonstrates the charming courtesy and hospitality so highly developed in your people.

In conclusion, I pray that Divine Providence may continue to guide the leaders of our countries in those courses which uphold and maintain our mutual faith. And I wish to express my admiration for the leadership you have given to a great nation.

NOTE: President-elect Hoover spoke in the Cattete Palace in Rio de Janeiro in response to remarks of welcome by President Washington Luis Pereira de Sousa, as follows:

Excellency:

Deeply moved, I present to Your Excellency the sincere thanks which, through me, the entire nation offers you for the honor of this visit in your tour of South America.

Some there are who note with regret the shortness of your visit, in the wish to emphasize their appreciation of the courtesy and honor you have done us. And this is, perhaps, a reasonable sentiment from the point of view of those who, believing themselves profound judges of the practical American spirit, expect from the experienced traveler only a rapid financial and economic survey, instead of the longer period which is indispensable for a successful realization of the objectives of his visit. This would also be the judgment of those who see in this tour nothing

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more than a subtle inspection of the resources, both for aggression and defense, of the lands and peoples visited. To advantageously supplement any previous knowledge, they would argue, a lengthy stay would be necessary.

And again, the same criticism might perhaps occur to those who, past masters in the art of planning for the future, believe that visits such as this, undertaken on the spur of a sudden but clear sighted decision must end in the signing of treaties of friendship and commerce to the well-being of the contracting parties and universal peace among the peoples. Such results, however, owing to present diplomatic methods and the inevitable slow pace of our chancelleries, would require months and even years to achieve.

And those who see in this tour a mere form of vacation, a leisurely or comforting sedative after an exhausting campaign, would probably react in a similar manner. They do not know what travel really is, or they forget "how many discomforts, how many dangers, discouragement's, and fears one must experience in fatiguing travel," as Garrett so ably puts it.

To all these a lengthy stay in every country is a necessity. But it is precisely the brevity of this visit, the rapidity of this extensive tour, which removes even the possibility of such fantastic objections. Thus only is Mr. Hoover's resolution seen as the unique, beautiful, and dignified thing it really is, as he really wished it to be and as we have accepted it—that is, a delicate gesture of surpassing courtesy, an extraordinary honor which ennobles him who conceived and executed it, and which is further enhanced by the warm approval of the entire American nation.

Gentlemen, Mr. Hoover, to whom the Brazilian Nation without distinction of political parties or groups, of religious creeds or social classes, renders here and now the sincere tribute of its respect and its admiration, is indeed the great representative of his nation, for in him are combined all the essential attributes of his race, all the characteristics of the noble people to which he belongs and of which he is the supreme embodiment.

The energy, the intelligence, the ability to conceive, decide and accomplish in the shortest possible time and with the maximum efficiency, which characterize the people of the United States, are found in Mr. Hoover to a degree which sets him apart from the rest of his countrymen. The recognition of this fact, moreover, involves no great mental effort or lofty flight of imagination. Even the simple, cold, and incomplete biographical data given in the encyclopaedias abundantly demonstrate this fact. They, also, point him out—and this is worthy of praise and admiration—as a great organizer, a powerful driving force in human life in its most beautiful and admirable aspects.

Let us cite some of the outstanding events in Mr. Hoover's life from the time that his personality, passing beyond the limits of his own country, began to be a world figure, subject to the critical judgment of the world.

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In 1914, at the outbreak of the war, Mr. Hoover found himself in London, where he organized the American Relief Commission which returned to their native country about 100,000 of his compatriots.

The invasion of Belgium took him to that heroic country, where he organized and headed the Commission for Relief in Belgium, a task which was soon extended to include the north of France and which succored 10 million individuals, directed a fleet of 200 vessels, and administered more than 950 million. For this service King Albert conferred upon him the titles of "Citizen of the Belgian Nation," and "Friend of the Belgian People."

After the entrance of the United States into the World War in August 1917, President Wilson appointed him Food Administrator, in which capacity Mr. Hoover established an immensely useful organization which stimulated production, curbed speculation, and broke up monopolies. The average annual export of foodstuffs during his administration was over 6 million tons, valued at about \$20 million.

He founded the U.S. Grain Corporation and the U.S. Sugar Equalization Board which, together with the Food Administration, purchased under his direction and delivered to the Army, the Navy, and foreign countries, foodstuffs and merchandise to the value of \$11 billion. He was also Chairman of the Interallied Food Council which, at his suggestion, supplied the enemy countries after the armistice. He then became the Chairman of the Committee which later was converted into the Supreme Economic Council.

In the autumn of 1919 the various food organizations had working funds amounting to \$700 million, one of the most admirable of their achievements being the elimination of the typhus epidemic then ravaging Poland and Rumania. Six million abandoned children found comfort and protection with those organizations. In 1920 and 1921, with a special fund of over 50 million, Mr. Hoover continued to furnish the children of Central and Eastern Europe with food. In 1923, he directed the systematic distribution of foodstuffs to 12 million people in the famine areas of Russia. These formidable organizations, astounding in their size, were directed with the admirable energy and enthusiasm of those who know how to crown with victory their work in a good cause.

Since statistics on the world cataclysm beginning in 1914 deal mostly with the number of dead and maimed in battle, of cities destroyed, of fields devastated, wealth irreparably lost and finances irretrievably ruined, it is not out of place to recall these figures which deal with the providential action undertaken during the same period.

When imperious reasons, inevitable motives and complex causes, strong and fatal as was destiny to the ancients, converted the world into a field of battle and divided the peoples into two camps the primordial duty of each being to kill and

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destroy, the noblest qualities of the American Nation—which entered the war that all wars might cease—found in Mr. Hoover their greatest exponent. He ended and prevented epidemics, fed the famished, clothed the children, distributing millions of tons of foodstuffs and clothing, to the value of billions of dollars, to millions of individuals.

Instead of the common task of killing, his mission was that of keeping alive. . . . If it were still lawful to confer titles, I should choose for Mr. Hoover that of "Friend of Humanity." In his case, love for his fellow men turns from its contemplative function, beneficence loses its doctrinaire and evangelistic form, both taking on the ardent desire, the constant activity, indomitable energy, continuous initiative, prompt execution, beneficent deeds, and dynamic action which are nothing more or less than the saving renewal of our ancient and common aspiration of making humanity more happy—an ideal not yet attained but one which we all cherish.

These qualities, these aspirations, these ideals, which definitely brought Mr. Hoover's name to the fore, are the substratum, the basic element of a race which has already found itself, of a people which is already constituted, of a nation which has already been organized in North America and which has achieved and now guards a new stage in the progress of civilization.

We have traveled far since that not so remote period, 1620, when the passengers of the Mayflower brought colonizers in the name of Great Britain to the desolate region of the primitive Americans, the natives of a wild and savage country. It is not long since the Thirteen Colonies, already progressive and prosperous, were uniting themselves in the common defense of their own valuable and peculiar economic interests; nor since, after adopting in a moment of enthusiasm the liturgical phrase "God bless our native land," they replaced it, with an eye to the future, by "God bless the United States."

Their economic prosperity from the beginning was healthy and vigorous, based as it was not only on a spirit of admirable organization but on the discoveries and conquests of modern science, especially those which instruct in the defense of life; as, for example, prophylactics, hygiene and medicine, and those which make for increased comfort, as mechanics, engineering, and economics, in which American citizens are acknowledged experts.

The original and magnificent political institutions of the United States create, maintain, and develop all individual rights and public liberties, to the strengthening of republican democracy and the fulfillment of the desires and aspirations of the present time. All the fundamental ideas of Western civilization—labor, capital, property, virtuous family life, an indestructible nation, God and religion—to which we all rally, are there consecrated to the making of a great nation.

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Indeed, "Union" and "United States" are phrases still preserved in the laws, although the term American has been exalted to designate a great people.

We see today in the United States a great nation, an indivisible people, one in language and race in their home of immense geographic extension, a people of glorious traditions in the past and noble aspirations for the future, and with a complete political code created in its own likeness.

The American nation in revitalizing European civilization and by its contribution and collaboration toward the creation of a happier humanity is approaching the zenith of its power. That it may remain there forever is our most ardent desire. Therefore, gentlemen, let us lift our glasses in salutation to Mr. Hoover and the American Nation, not, however, before I request you to include in that salutation Mrs. Hoover, who has been his inseparable, untiring, and courageous comrade in all the great tasks which he has accomplished.

To the expression of my sincere wishes for the personal happiness of Mr. Hoover and the happiness of his home, I now add the most ardent hope that during his administration he may successfully execute his noble program, to the end that the United States of America may fulfill the high destiny to which it has been called.

Supplement V
Additional Statements

Statement to the South
Pledging Equal Treatment to All Sections
of the Country.

November 14, 1928

[Released November 14, 1928. Dated November 7, 1928]

Dear Mr. Edmonds:

I am profoundly appreciative of the extremely heavy vote throughout the South for Mr. Curtis and myself. I accept this vote, not as a personal tribute but as an expression of a developing sentiment throughout the South in behalf of the things for which the Republican Party has stood in this campaign; and while desiring to express to those who voted for Mr. Curtis and myself my profound appreciation of the honor thus done us, I want to make very emphatic that I give full credit to those who voted for my opponent for the sincerity and honesty of their convictions.

I am not at all unmindful of the conditions which for years brought about the political solidarity of the South. I firmly believe, however, that the time has come when in all sections men and women should vote from their convictions as to conditions at the present time and not based on things of former generations.

The safety of this country and its continued progress toward this exalted position for which Providence seems to have destined it, can in my opinion be best served by a diversity of thought and action which will cause all of the voters of this country to recognize their individual responsibility to take part in every political campaign. In every community and every State, as well as in national elections, all the people

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should recognize this duty to express their views on local, State and national affairs through the ballot box; and in such contests all bitterness of spirit should be wiped out. However strong may be convictions or issues before the public, these political contests should be waged in a spirit of friendly, active rivalry, but not in a spirit of bitter denunciation of any one party against the other.

I trust that it is needless for me to say to the people of the South that I am fully appreciative of the great potentialities of that section. With one-third of the nation's land area, with about three-fifths of its sea frontage, with vast resources in soil, climate and minerals, no limit can be set to the continued progress and ever-increasing prosperity of the whole South.

There are great water power's awaiting development and, as I have said before, every drop of water that unutilized runs its course idly to the sea is an economic loss.

There are great potentialities in the extension of the intercoastal canal system, which eventually should extend all the way from Boston to the end of Texas. And to the furtherance of the development of these waterways and the possibilities for hydroelectric power not yet utilized for the fullest upbuilding of the Mississippi River Valley country by adequate flood protection, I can promise to the South my heartiest co-operation.

I can assure the people of the South, as well as those of the entire country, that in my Administration I shall know no difference between North, South, East and West, but shall seek to deal with absolute fairness and justice to every section of our common country.

There are great economic issues and vast economic potentialities in every part of this country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes to the Gulf. It is well said that "the development of the South means the enrichment of the nation," and this is true not only in the material sense, but also in the broader sense of the development of the spirit of Americanism which will permeate the lives of the people of the entire country, rounding out to a greater extent than we have ever known before a genuine Americanism instead of a certain degree of sectionalism.

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It is right that every State and every section should seek its utmost advancement, but there should be no spirit of ill-will or rivalry, for there is enough for all and possibilities for growth and prosperity in every part of this land greater far than the world has ever yet seen.

Again would I express to the people of the South who have in such vast numbers by their votes shown their confidence in Mr. Curtis and myself, my profound appreciation. If it is within my power to prevent it, they shall never feel that they made a mistake in this particular.

Faithfully yours,
HERBERT HOOVER

[Mr. Richard H. Edmonds, Editor, Manufacturers' Record, Baltimore, Md.]

Telegram to President Coolidge on Cruiser Legislation.

January 28, 1929

MY ATTENTION has been called to a statement respecting pending cruiser legislation appearing in this morning's press. I have made no public or private statement upon this question further than appeared during the campaign. I have stated universally to various callers that it would be improper for me to express any views on current matters of the administration. I regret if this reticence should result in misapprehension. As you know, I warmly support your own views and you may so inform others if you wish to do so.

HERBERT HOOVER

[The President, The White House, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: This statement was in repudiation of an allegation by Representative Fred A. Britten, Chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs. He had implied that the President-elect favored legislation providing for the laying of keels for 15 cruisers over a period of 3 years, in contradiction to the position held by President Coolidge. A copy of Mr. Hoover's telegram was sent from the White House to Senator Frederick Hale who read it on the floor of the Senate.

Appendix A—Additional White House Releases

NOTE: This appendix lists those releases not printed as items in this volume. Proclamations and Executive orders have not been included. These documents are separately listed in Appendix B and printed in full in "Proclamations and Executive Orders, Herbert Hoover, 1929-1933."

<i>Date</i>	<i>Subject</i>
<i>March</i>	
5-9	Messages acknowledging inaugural congratulations from heads of state of Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the National Government of China, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Persia, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Turkey, and Venezuela
14	Remarks at the presentation of credentials by Minister Michael MacWhite of the Irish Free State
25	Remarks at the presentation of credentials by Minister Chao-Chu Wu of the National Government of China
26	White House memorandum on the annual Easter egg roll
<i>April</i>	
10	Remarks at the presentation of credentials by Minister Tytus Filipowicz of Poland
15	Remarks at the presentation of credentials by Minister Juan B. Sacasa of Nicaragua
16	Biography of Charles J. Rhoads
17	Endorsements for appointments of certain United States district and civil court judges and a justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia
19	Biography of Col. Earl D. Church

Appendix A

<i>Date</i>	<i>Subject</i>
<i>May</i>	
14	White House statement on the increase in rates of duty on window glass
14	White House statement on the increase in rates of duty on milk and cream
24	Biography of Joseph P. Cotton
24	Remarks at the presentation of credentials by Minister Leonid Pitamic of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes
<i>June</i>	
4	Biography of Frederic A. Tilton
6	List of endorsers of Albert L. Watson for United States district judge, Middle District of Pennsylvania
18	Announcement designating the membership of the Interoceanic Canal Board
28	Endorsements for the appointees to the Federal Farm Board
<i>July</i>	
2	List of organizations favoring inclusion of a strong businessman or a banker on the Federal Farm Board
2	Biography of Alexander Legge
8	Biography of William F. Schilling and a list of endorsers
12	Biography of Charles S. Wilson and a list of endorsers
30	Biography of Samuel R. McKclvie
<i>August</i>	
19	Biography of Gerrit J. Diekema, Minister to Holland
22	Remarks at the presentation of credentials by Minister Ernesto Arguera of Honduras
<i>September</i>	
9	Nominations sent to the Senate, and lists of endorsers for proposed judges
17	Biography of Maj. Gen. Lytle Brown

Appendix A

<i>Date</i>	<i>Subject</i>
<i>October</i>	
15	Remarks at the presentation of credentials by Minister Charles A. Davila of Rumania
17	List of endorsers of Richard J. Hopkins for United States district judge
25	Remarks at the presentation of credentials by Minister Homero Viteri Lafronte of Ecuador
25	List of endorsers of William M. Sparks for United States circuit judge
25	Biography of Walter Ewing Hope
<i>November</i>	
1	White House announcement of the commission representing the United States at the 1,000th anniversary of the Iceland Althing
1	Biography of G. Aaron Youngquist
5	Remarks at the presentation of credentials by Minister Eric Hendrik Louw of the Union of South Africa
21	List of business leaders to attend the President's conference on Thursday, November 21, at 10 a.m.
22	List of labor leaders to attend the President's conference on Thursday, November 21, at 3 p.m.
<i>December</i>	
6	List of businessmen to attend the President's conference on construction
17	Biography of Walter E. Corwin Biography of Robert Milton Jones and a list of his endorsers
17	Endorsements for Joseph B. Eastman's reappointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission

Appendix C
 Presidential Reports to the 71st Congress, 1929

Subject	Published	Sent to the Congress
Eighth International Dairy Congress	H. Doc. 6	Apr. 18
Alaska Railroad		Dec. 5
Arlington Memorial Amphitheater, commission on erection of memorials and entombment of bodies in		Dec. 5
Battlefields in the United States, study and investigation of	S. Doc. 46	Dec. 5
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