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City Controller, 1936



DR. ROBERT C. WHITE

CITY COUNCIL
PHILADELPHIA

COMMITTEE ON LIGHTING
CLARENCE E. BLACKBURN, CHAIRMAN
ROOM 403, CITY HALL

May 29th, 1936

A. C. Chadwick, Jr.—
Editor, The Suburban Press
6100 Ridge Avenue
Philadelphia, Penna.

Dear Mr. Chadwick:

I thank you for directing attention to the lighting situation on Midvale Avenue, because, as I have pointed out in your hearing and presence more than once, I feel that your newspaper is a very well conducted local paper, and you are particularly desirous that everything affecting our particular district shall receive prompt and efficient attention, for which you are entitled to full credit.

You may perhaps have noticed that a traffic light has been installed at the intersection of Warden Drive, Midvale Avenue and Conrad Street. This anticipates the opening of the school, when it will be a much need^{ed} protection for the children, and eliminates the danger of quick left turns into Warden Drive, which, in the past, have been the cause of several accidents.

The situation below the railroad bridge is a special one on account of the curving roadway, and it left a dark pocket at the driveway on the south side of Midvale Avenue just west of the Reading Bridge, and which driveway leads up to the station. It was here that a fatal accident occurred on account of the poor visibility. I succeeded in getting both Chief Lysle, of the Bureau of Lighting and Gas, and Chief Gault, of the Electrical Bureau, to inspect this location personally, and they have agreed to eliminate two gas lights between the driveway and the bridge on either side of Midvale Avenue, and will install an electric light which will brilliantly illuminate this particular point.

I think that we shall then have Midvale Avenue, between the bridge and Ridge Avenue, very well illuminated, because I had a gas lamp installed for the benefit of the Church which runs from Indian Queen Lane to Midvale Avenue sometime ago upon complaint that the rear entrance to the Church was somewhat dark.

-2-

It is always a pleasure to hear from you editorially or otherwise, and if, in your opinion, the situation has not been adequately covered, I shall be pleased to hear from you further.

Yours truly,

Clarence E. Blackburn
Clarence E. Blackburn

CEB:MK

*your letter regarding ...
...
... Page 4 ...*

CITY COUNCIL
PHILADELPHIA

COMMITTEE ON LIGHTING
CLARENCE E. BLACKBURN, CHAIRMAN
ROOM 403, CITY HALL

June 15th, 1936

Editor of the Suburban Press
6100 Ridge Avenue
Roxborough, Phila.

Dear Sir:

In your Issue of June 11th, a correspondent addressed an open letter to me drawing my attention to the necessity for a Traffic Light at the intersection of Henry Avenue and Walnut Lane. I am compelled to agree that this is probably one of the locations which should be controlled by a light, on account of the rather heavy travel in both directions, and a disinclination on the part of the drivers to yield the right of way.

I must make it clear to you that the placing of these lights is an execution function, of which the Assistant Director of Public Safety, T. Elmer Transeau, is at present in charge. When I make an application to him, he institutes an investigation, but does not feel bound to install a light unless, in his expert opinion, it is necessary. Since this matter has been directed to my attention, I shall be pleased to at once start the necessary machinery to secure this light, if at all possible.

Yours truly,

Clarence E. Blackburn

GEB:MK

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CITY COUNCIL
PHILADELPHIA

COMMITTEE ON LIGHTING
CLARENCE E. BLACKBURN, CHAIRMAN
ROOM 403, CITY HALL

June 15th, 1936

Editor of the Suburban Press
6100 Ridge Avenue
Roxborough, Phila.

Dear Sir:

I think it very important to direct to your attention, and to the voters in our Sixth District especially, irrespective of Ward lines, the fact that due to a favorable decision by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, it now appears that the City will shortly be in funds to undertake capital improvements, which it has been impossible to do for some years past, by reason of the lack of money.

The Mayor recently advised a body of businessmen to present the needs of their section of the City that a proper allotment of these funds might be made. As the senior Councilman in point of service in the District, I bespeak your good offices in having the people in general direct to my attention their outstanding needs, whether it be for paving, sewerage, grading, improved lighting, traffic lights, or any of the numerous things which may now be accomplished if we are prompt to act. It is likely that Council will shortly adjourn for the summer, but I invite all individuals and organizations to present to me at once all requirements of this character, and I shall take pleasure in at once introducing the necessary ordinances into City Council, and securing the co-operation of Messrs. Kelley and Simons, my fellow Councilmen of the District, to push these matters through to successful completion wherever possible.

if

I cannot too strongly urge that advantage is not taken of the present opportunity, it may be many years before a similar opportunity offers. Will you, therefore, give this due publicity in your journal, and I assure you that I shall very much appreciate your kind co-operation.

Yours truly,

Clarence E. Blackburn

CEB:MK

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DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING

WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

June 18, 1936

Mr. A. C. Chadwick, Jr.,
3624 Fisk Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Chadwick:

Your letter dealing with the political situation has been received and I am glad to have your views.

Every index of business activity tells of continued and increasing improvement but critics of President Roosevelt refuse to admit the nation is better off.

Your loyalty to the President and your active interest in the success of the Administration is more than appreciated. At the first opportunity I shall be glad to bring your ideas to Chairman Farley's attention.

With all best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



W. Forbes Morgan.

7
June 22nd 1936.

James A. Farley, Chairman,
Democratic National Committee,
Bellevue Stratford Hotel,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Farley,

Enclosed find \$1 for which please list me as a
Roosevelt Nominator.

If it were at all possible I would send \$1,000,000 for such a cause. For the man himself, as well as a memorial of the intense sufferings of American people due to the Do-Nothing policies of his opponents at a time when banks failed by the thousands, robbing them of life-savings; when Big Business was moaning "Help Us!"; when the suicide death rate exceeded all bounds; when the Nation needed a leader who would and could take the responsibility of leading.

Franklin D. Roosevelt is greatly needed for another four years. The first four were all too short to undo the damage caused by Hoover's term; the "Don't Sell Your Country Short" era of the Coolidge administration; and the oil-greased regime of the Hardingites.

I can understand Big Business and politicians being Republican---their inspiration is self-preservation. But I cannot understand why ordinary men and women want to support the G. O. P. It seems like pure ignorance.

Very truly yours,

A. C. Chadwick, Jr.

3624 Fiske avenue,
East Falls,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Farley Refuses to Concede A Single State to Landon

National Chairman Predicts Convention Will Abrogate Two-Thirds Nominating Rule; Awaits Platform Report From Wagner.

By THOMAS P. O'NEIL

"Big Jim" Farley breezed back into town yesterday with bad news for the Republicans.

"How many States will Roosevelt carry in November?" the national chairman was asked.

"We don't concede a single State," was his reply.

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Evening Bulletin
June 22, 1936

Inquirer
June 21st 1936

KNOX SEES HARM DONE ROOSEVELT

Declares Smith Bolt and Lemke Candidacy Lessen President's Chances

ON HIS WAY TO N. H.

Landon Has No Comment on Al Smith Statement

Topeka, Kan., June 22—(AP)—Governor Alf M. Landon told reporters today: "I am not commenting on the (Alfred E. Smith anti-Roosevelt) statement, but the line of demarcation between fealty to party and loyalty to country is something for each citizen to determine for himself."

The Republican Presidential nominee was asked at a press conference if he had any comment.

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LADELPHIA INQUIRER, S

LAWRENCE PRAISES ROOSEVELT, EARLE

Predicts State Will Go Democratic Because of Party's Record

Secretary of the Commonwealth David L. Lawrence, chairman of the Democratic State Committee, last night declared his party will carry Pennsylvania at the November election because of the records made by President Roosevelt and Governor Earle.

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Inquirer
June 21st 1936

LANDON AND KNOX MAKE STRONG APPEAL

Special to The Inquirer.
YORK, June 20.—York county Republicans, with united front, enter the Presidential campaign with

G. O. P. CHAIRMAN INVITES AL SMITH INTO LANDON'S FOLD

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Hamilton Says Ex-Governor Chose Between Party and Country.

By Associated Press
NEW YORK, June 22.—The

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Evening Bulletin
June 22nd 1936

WILL SATISFY ALL FARLEY DECLARES

Chairman Addresses National Committee—Seating of Contesting Delegates Indicated

TALMADGE STILL ABSENT

The Democratic National Committee may seat all contesting delegates.

This was indicated today while subcommittees heard claims of rival delegations from Minnesota, Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone.

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At The Democratic National
Convention, held at Philadelphia, Pa
in 1936, President Franklin D.
Roosevelt was unanimously re-nominated
for a second term.

Phila. Inquirer: June 21st 1936

3D PARTY IRKS ASSEMBLING DEMOCRATS

Farley and Other Leaders Wave Away Concern, But Lemke Movement May Cut Heavily Into Party's Votes; Abrogation of Two-thirds Rule Is Scheduled

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Phila. Record, June 18th 1936

Farley Predicts F. D. R. Vote Will Surpass That of 1932

Postmaster Shows Confidence as He Inspects Convention Site, Confers With Democratic Chiefs—Two-Thirds Rule Battle Forecast.

By THOMAS F. O'NEIL

The nation will give the Roosevelt New Deal a vote of confidence in November.

Postmaster General James A. Farley made that prediction yesterday.

"I am entirely satisfied with conditions throughout the country," said the chairman of the Democratic National Committee and chief party strategist. "I am confident that the electorate will approve the Administration by re-electing President Roosevelt by a more substantial majority than they gave him in 1932."

Visits Convention Scene.

Stopping off here to make a first-hand inspection of arrangements for the Democratic National Convention, which opens in Convention Hall next Tuesday at noon, Farley found everything in fine order.

"Philadelphia has done a great job in preparing for the convention," he said. "I do not see how it could be improved upon. Everything is in splendid shape for the convention and we are satisfied it will be one of the most successful and interesting in the party's history."

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EVENING LEDGER

Farley Picked F. R. And Louis to Win; Is G. O. P. Elated!

Republicans today saw a good omen in Democratic Chairman Farley's failure to pick the winner of the Louis-Schmeling fight last night.

When he arrived here yesterday, Mr. Farley picked Louis to win. What cheered the Republicans was that he has also picked President Roosevelt to be re-elected by a landslide. Mr. Farley formerly was head of the New York Boxing Commission.

HAMILTON SEES 42 STATES FOR G. O. P.

'West on Fire,' Chairman Says
—Claims East, Mountain and Two Coast States

YIELDS ON ONLY SIX

New York, June 18—(AP)—The Republican party's campaign strategy in the crucial Eastern States was mapped today as John D. M. Hamilton, national chairman, conferred with State leaders.

"We're going to carry the East," Hamilton predicted. "I think Roosevelt ought to carry six of the 48 States. I'll be rather generous about that."

The Republican chairman, arriving last night by plane, indicated he would give special attention to swinging New York's 47 electoral votes into the Republican column.

Details of organization were first on his program as he prepared to inspect the offices tentatively chosen as Republican State and national headquarters in New York.

He was expected also to discuss campaign finances with party leaders.

Hamilton said the party's outlook in the West had brightened since the Cleveland convention.

"The country out there is on fire," he said. "You haven't seen anything like the Middle West."

"We're going to carry the Mountain States and two at least on the Coast, if not all three."

He said there was "no question" about Republican success in New York and New Jersey.

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Evening Bulletin, June 22, 1936

SMITH DEMANDS 'DROP ROOSEVELT;' THREATENS BOLT

Joins Colby, Ely, 'Jim' Reed and Cohalan in Calling on Convention to Repudiate President and New Deal

LETTER BRINGS DISMAY TO GATHERING DEMOCRATS

But Farley Says It's No Surprise—Others Lash 'Happy Warrior'

CITY WIDE OPEN; READY FOR THE CONVENTION

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION
CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

MARDI GRAS

ART MUSEUM

26TH & PARKWAY

RESERVED STAND PASS,

SECTION

A

Mrs Wilson

JUNE 24, 1936, 8.00 P. M.

MAYOR

NOT GOOD WITHOUT COUPON

X **Democratic**
NATIONAL CONVENTION
PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 1936

FRANKLIN FIELD CEREMONIES
JUNE 1936
SPECIAL APPOINTEE

James Farley *H. Todd Morgan*

NOT GOOD UNLESS ATTACHED TO TICKET

THIS COUPON ADMITS BEARER
FRANKLIN FIELD
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

GATE **NW** SECTION ROW SEAT

QUAYLE & SON CORP. NEW YORK, U.S.A.

President Roosevelt

Promises to Continue Battle to Save People's Freedom From Inroads of the 'Economic Royalists'

"This generation o

Following is the text of President Roosevelt's address at Franklin Field, June 27, 1936, accepting the Democratic Presidential nomination before a throng of 110,000, the largest ever to attend such an event:

Senator Robinson, members of the Democratic Convention, my friends:

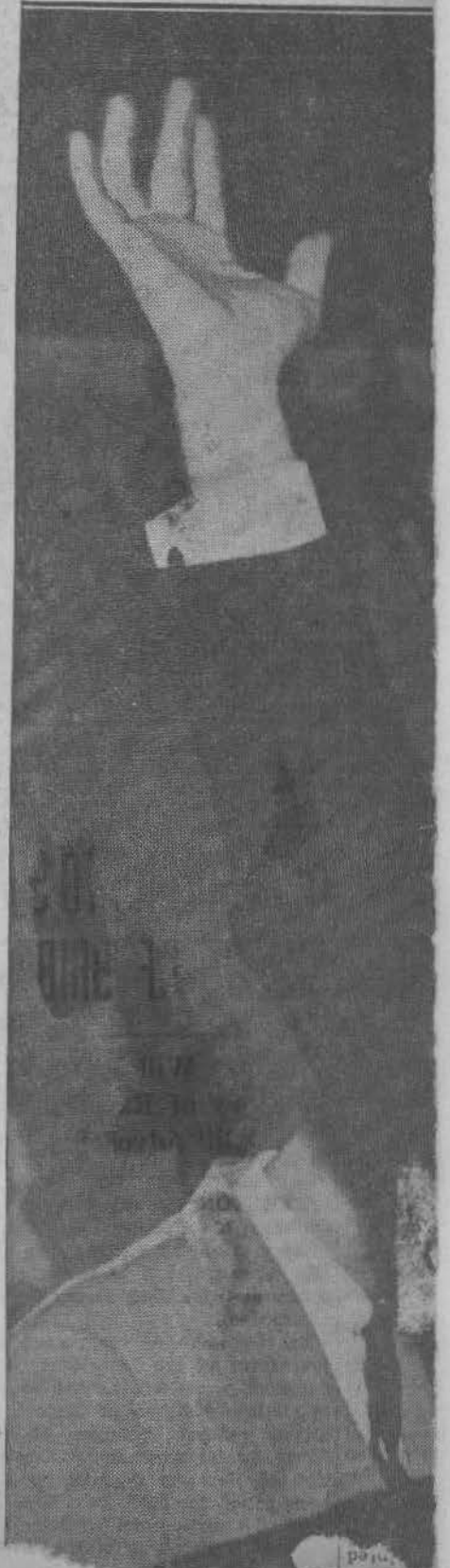
We meet at a time of great moment to the future of the nation. It is an occasion to be dedicated to the simple and sincere expression of an attitude toward problems, the determination of which will profoundly affect America.

I come not only as the leader of a party, not only as a candidate for high office, but as one upon whom many critical hours have imposed and still impose a grave responsibility.

For the sympathy, help and confidence with which Americans have sustained me in my task, I am grateful. For their loyalty, I salute the members of our great party, in and out of official life in every part of the Union. I salute those of other parties, especially those in the Congress who on so many occasions put partisanship aside.

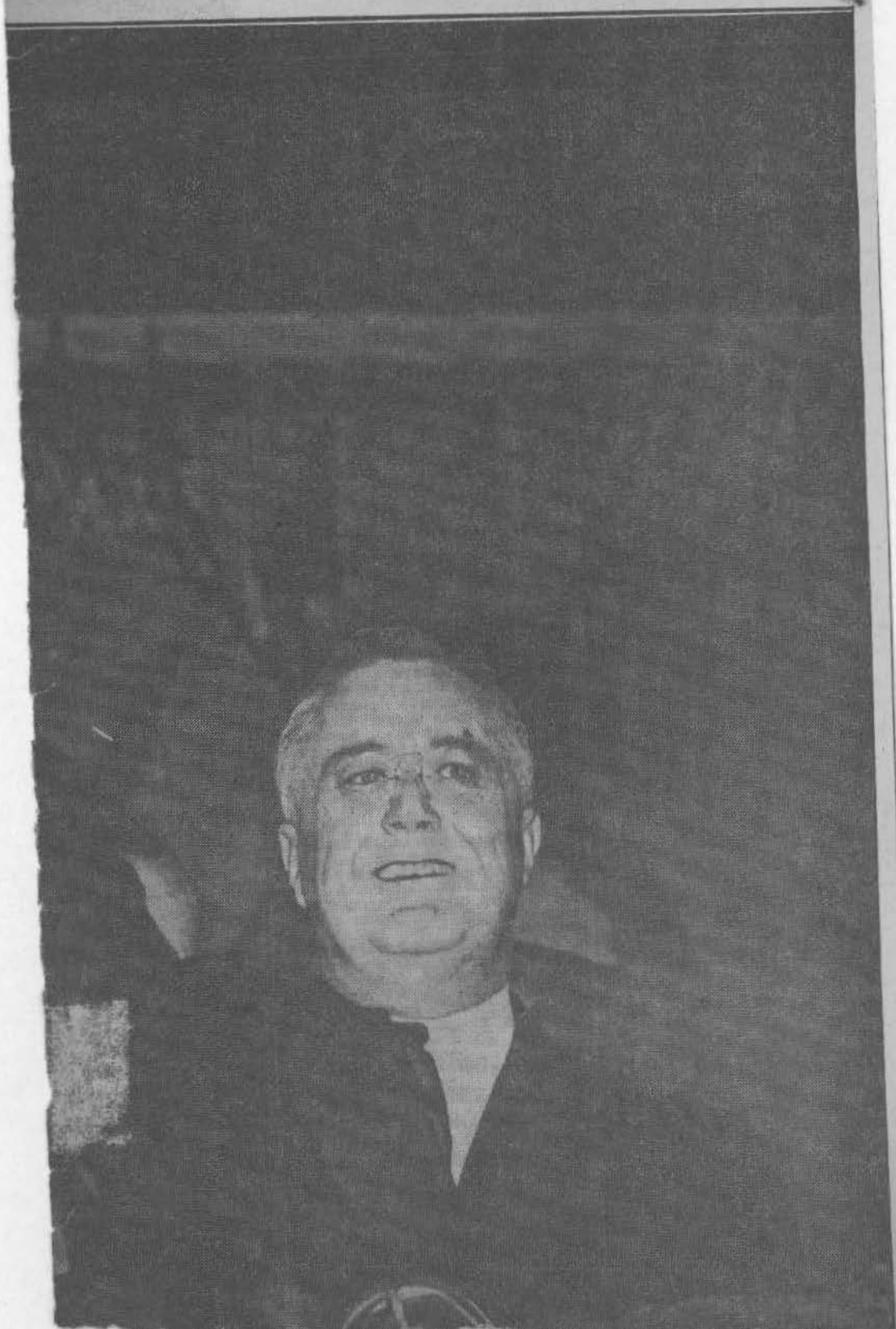
I thank the Governors of the several States, their Legislatures, their State and local officials who participated unselfishly and regardless of party, in our efforts to achieve recovery and destroy abuses. Above all, I thank the millions of Americans who have borne disaster bravely and have dared to smile through the storm. America will not forget these recent years—will not forget that the rescue was not a mere party task—it was the concern of all of us. In our strength, we rose together, rallied our energies together, applied the old rules of common sense, and together survived.

In those days we feared fear. That was why we fought fear. And today, my friends, won against the most dangerous of



Kennedy's Acceptan

of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny."



help. The mob was dis...

ce Speech

Denounces the Money Des- pots for Effort to Hide Their Plots Behind Flag and Constitution

forget what the flag and the Constitution stand for.

Now, as always, the flag and the Constitution stand for democracy, not tyranny; for freedom, not subjection; and against a dictatorship by mob rule and the overprivileged alike.

The brave and clear platform adopted by this convention, to which I heartily subscribe, sets forth that government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens, among which are protection of the family and the home, the establishment of a democracy of opportunity, and aid to those overtaken by disaster.

But the resolute enemy within our gates is ever ready to beat down our words unless in greater courage we will fight for them.

For more than three years we have fought for them. This convention, in every word and deed, has pledged that that fight will go on.

Moral Principle Sole Guide to Safety

The defeats and victories of these years have given us, as a people, a new understanding of our Government and of ourselves. Never since the early days of the New England town meetings have the affairs of government been so widely discussed and so clearly appreciated. It has been brought home to us that the only effective guide for the safety of this most worldly of worlds is moral principle.

We do not see faith, hope and charity as unattainable ideals, but we use them as stout supports of a nation fighting the fight for freedom in a modern civilization.

Faith—In the soundness of Democracy in the midst of dictatorship.

Hope—Renewed because we know so well the progress we have made.

we have
our foes have conquered fear.

But I cannot, with candor, tell you that all is well with the world. Clouds of suspicion, tides of ill will and intolerance gather darkly in many places. In our own land, we enjoy indeed a fullness of life greater than that of most nations.

New Problems Raised in Our Day

But the rush of modern civilization itself has raised for us new difficulties, new problems which must be solved if we are to preserve to the United States the political and economic freedom for which Washington and Jefferson planned and fought.

Philadelphia is a good city in which to write American history. This is fitting ground on which to reaffirm the faith of our fathers; to pledge ourselves to restore to the people a wider freedom—to give to 1936, as the founders gave to 1776—an American way of life.

The very word freedom, in itself and of necessity, suggests freedom from some restraining power. In 1776, we sought freedom from the tyranny of a political autocracy—from the 18th century royalists who held special privileges from the Crown.

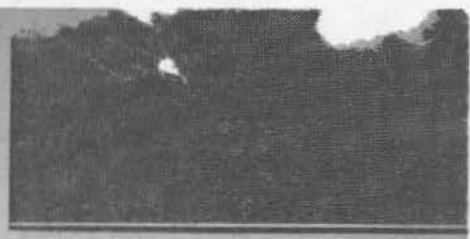
It was to perpetuate their privilege that they governed without the consent of the governed; that they denied the right of free assembly and free speech; that they restricted the worship of God; that they put the average man's property and the average man's life in pawn to the mercenaries of dynastic power—that they regimented the people.

And so it was to win freedom from the tyranny of political autocracy that the American Revolution was fought. That victory gave the business of governing into the hands of the average business man, who won the right with his neighbors to make and order his own destiny through his own Government. Political tyranny was wiped out at Philadelphia on July 4, 1776.

Since that struggle, however, man's inventive genius released new forces in our land which reordered the lives of our people. The age of machinery, of railroads, of steam and electricity; the telegraph and the radio; mass production, mass distribution—all of these combined to bring forward a new civilization and with it a new problem for those who would remain free.

All Nation Impressed Into Servitude

For out of this modern civilization economic royalists carved new dynasties. New kingdoms were built upon concentration of control over



FR.

material things. Through new inventions, banks and securities, new industry and agriculture, of lands all undreamed of by the fathers, the structure of modern life was in royal service.

There was no place among our many thousands of small merchants who sought to make the American system of initiative. They were no more free than the farmer.

Even honest and progressive men, aware of their obligations, could never know just what they had stepped into this dynastic scheme of things.

It was natural and perhaps inevitable that the privileged princes of these dynasties, thirsting for power for control over Government, created a new despotism and the robes of legal sanction.

In its service new mercenary regiment the people, their properties. And as a result man once more confronts the faced the Minute Man.

The hours men and women wages they received, the conditions—these had passed beyond the people and were imposed by the dictatorship. The savings of the the capital of the small businesses set aside for old age—other—these were tools which the royalty used to dig itself in.

Those who tilled the soil the rewards which were their measure of their gains was distant cities.

Private Enterprise Becomes

Throughout the nation limited by monopoly. It crushed in the cogs of the field open for free business restricted. Private enterprise

cutting out waste and extravagance; by putting an end to the use of public funds for political purposes; by restoring hard-working, painstaking common sense administration . . . and I am not going to take four years to do it."

(Chicago, Oct. 10th.)

"This increasing debt can be paid only by taxation if this is to remain an honest government. The Republican Party proposes to put an end to the present waste and extravagance."

(Des Moines, Sept. 22nd.)

He has said so each year. Yet the budget has never been within Three Billion Dollars (\$3,000,000,000.00) of balance.

Roosevelt has never promised to reduce the waste in his government. Only last Friday in Brooklyn, Roosevelt said of his lavish spending of the people's money "THAT was a job well done!"

Taxes

Landon said: "The government should raise the major portion of its revenue from direct taxes. If it is obtained from indirect and hidden taxes then the main burden falls upon those of small income, and the cost of government is hidden."

(Buffalo, Aug. 26th.)

Roosevelt won't promise to stop the constant increase in consumer-taxes. And his actions indicate new and heavy taxes to come. EVERY time he assures "no new taxes" we are presented with higher tax bills, most of them hidden

Foreign Trade

Landon said: "We Republicans have no quarrel with the doctrine of reciprocity, which is Republican in its origin, but we condemn the secret negotiation of reciprocal trade treaties without public hearing or legislative approval."

(Albuquerque, Oct. 19th.)

Roosevelt won't consult American business men when drawing reciprocal trade treaties. The American business man not even given a hearing in these trade matters so essential to business and employment.

Labor

Landon said: "I myself have worked with my own hands, and I am in deep sympathy with the point of view of the working men and women, and eager to cooperate with them." (Newark, Oct. 28th.) "The right of labor to organize means to me the right to join any type union they prefer, whether it covers their plant, their craft or their industry, an employee has an equal right to join a union or to refuse to join a union. The government (is) an umpire; first, to protect the public interest, and second, to act as a mediator between conflicting groups."

(Topeka, July 23rd.)

Roosevelt won't deny that, influenced by Felix Frankfurter and other radicals he is attempting to convert legitimate American labor unions into a Sovietized political party. THEN, we become of labor's Constitutional right to bargain or to strike as upheld by Supreme Court?

Relief

Landon said: "Those in need of relief will get it. We will not take our economies out of the allotments to the unemployed. We will take them out of the hides of the political exploiters." (Topeka, July 23rd.) "All who are engaged in the administration of relief must be selected on a basis of merit and fitness."

(Cleveland, Oct. 12th.)

Roosevelt totally disregards the principles of politics in relief. He will not propose to place relief administration on a basis of merit or need. He uses relief funds as political expediency dictated

Security

Landon said: "I believe that as a nation, we can afford old age pensions. They are necessary as a matter of social justice. Our plan will be on a pay-as-you-go basis, with the result that we will know, year by year, just what our pensions are costing us."

(Milwaukee, Sept. 26th.)

Roosevelt won't give his reasons for accumulating a forty-seven billion dollar (\$47,000,000,000.00) "Social Security" reserve fund, raised by taxes on workers' wages. This money itself is not

It may be "raided" by politicians for politics instead of "security".

ROOSEVELT says of his CRITICS

might be well for them to move to some other nation in which they have more confidence." (Camden, last Thursday.) "Let them emigrate and try their lot under a foreign government in which they have more confidence." (N. Y. City, night before)

Will YOU Run or Fight?

Handwritten signatures and notes at the bottom of the page.

July 5th 1936.

George H. Earle, Governor,
Harrisburg,
Pennsylvania.

Dear Mr. Earle,

You have a difficult political fight on your hands, against the State and Nation's most unscrupulous people. In my humble way I would like to be of assistance to you. And so, send along a few ideas which may not have occurred to you.

Republican leaders are attempting strenuously to convince the voters that the Democratic Administration is extravagant and hasn't done anything toward bringing about business and economic recovery. They don't count the saving of mens' lives, souls and morale as being worthwhile.

Now, we all remember very painfully and distinctly the dire condition of the banks of the country at the end of the helplessly do-nothing days of the Hoover regime. Here's some ammunition for your guns against this charge, which you can probably verify through the Banking Department, and also obtain a fresh supply for every town in which you may make an address during the coming campaign. The same information should be available throughout the entire nation.

BANK STATEMENTS.

National Bank of Germantown and Trust Company,
Philadelphia, Pa.

| | ASSETS | DEPOSITS. |
|------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| July 1934, | \$13,336,328.81 | \$10,675,553.82 |
| July 1935, | 14,470,111.85 | 11,581,636.58 |
| July 1936, | 16,380,402.28 | 13,732,691.70 |

Germantown Trust Company,
Philadelphia, Pa.

| | ASSETS | DEPOSITS |
|------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| July 1934, | \$19,154,868.99 | \$13,943,798.37 |
| July 1936, | 23,284,465.16 | 19,067,101.60 |

The statements of both these banks show a steady increase in deposits and assets, a situation which I believe to be true everywhere. Both of the above-named banks carry State funds.

For the embarrassment of Dr. George Woodward, State Senator from the Germantown, Chestnut Hill, Roxborough, Falls of Schuylkill district, where Daniel Pastorius is venerated (and all other Republicans in general) it might be well to quote from John Greenleaf Whittier's poem concerning Pastorius, entitled "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim", as printed in a volume of the same name in the year 1872, by James R. Osgood & Company of Boston, Massachusetts, which should be in the State Library.

The fourth verse, on Page 29, starts off:

"In such a home, beside the Schuylkill's wave,
He dwelt in peace with God and man, and gave
Food to the poor and shelter to the slave.

"For all too soon the New World's scandal shamed
The righteous code by Penn and Spadney framed,
And men withheld the human rights they claimed.

"And slowly wealth and station sanction lent,
And hardened avarice, on its gains intent,
Stifled the inward whisper of dissent.

"Yet all the while the burden rested sore
On tender hearts. At last Pastorius bore
Their warning message to the Church's door.

"In God's name; the leaven of the word
Wrought ever after in the souls who heard,
And a dead conscience in its grave-clothes stirred

"To troubled life-----"

And on Page 43 we find:

"Whatever legal maze he wandered through
He kept the Sermon on the Mount in view,
And justice always into mercy grew.

"No whipping-post he needed, stocks, nor jail,
Nor ducking-stool; the orchard-thief grew pale
At his rebuke, the vixen ceased to rail.

"The usurer's grasp released the forfeit land;
The slanderer faltered at the witness-stand,
And all men took his counsel for command."

Since my first vote, in 1911, I have been a Democrat, but was always ashamed of the Pennsylvania representation of the party, because it of being simply a tail to the Republican kite, until John B. Kelly stepped in and took charge of things in Philadelphia. How proud have I been ever since! We're really going places since Roosevelt, Farley, Kelly, Guffey, and yourself have taken up the fight of the real American people.

I hold a position as editor on a small weekly newspaper, but am hampered in expression by the other members of the firm, who are all Republicans, and while they are not generally threatening me, or coercing me, they would not hesitate to squelch me if I started things a'buzzing. Having a family to think of, and debts that were incurred during the unhappy Hoover apple days to pay off, I must remain under unpleasant restraint for a little while longer. But not forever!

Anything I can do in my quiet way to help your cause---which is that of all of us---I am yours to command.

Very truly yours,

3624 Fiske Avenue,
Philadelphia, Pa.

A. C. Chadwick, Jr.,



THE GOVERNOR

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
HARRISBURG

July 6, 1936

Mr. A. C. Chadwick, Jr.,
3624 Fiske Avenue,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Chadwick:

I want to thank you for your very kind letter of July 5th. I have read with great interest your comparisons of bank statements and I agree with you that they are a sure index of reviving prosperity.

Your quotations from Whittier are, I feel, so applicable to Dr. Woodward as to be startling. I am sorry to say that they apply to a number of Pennsylvania Senators who seem to have forgotten their duty to the people.

It is a great pleasure to know that you are joining in the support of President Roosevelt this year and I certainly hope that you will forward your campaign material and suggestions to the Democratic State Committee here in Harrisburg. I know they will be very glad to have your help.

With many thanks for your courtesy and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Proyitt Earle



THIS BOOKLET IS SENT TO YOU
AT THE PERSONAL REQUEST OF

Howard A. Sukens em

*Assistant Director of Public Welfare, Phila.
1936 A Republican.*

**Compared with
Collectivism and
Dictatorship**



Chamber of Commerce of the United States
Washington • D C

The American Economic System

Compared with
Collectivism and
Dictatorship



Chamber of Commerce of the United States
Washington • D C

Sept 1936

Government and Business

“THE very essence of civilization is that there shall be placed upon the individual only that degree of restraint which shall prevent his encroachment upon the rights of others, thus releasing to the utmost individual initiative in every proper direction.

Our form of government most effectively expresses and maintains this principle. Within our basic law exists ample provision for such changes as may from time to time be necessary to safeguard our people.”

QUOTED from a resolution adopted by the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in 1919, and reaffirmed at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting in 1928.

INTRODUCTION

FOR the use of members of the National Chamber there are brought together in this booklet facts as to the principles underlying the American economic system and also those underlying communism, socialism, fascism, nazi-ism, syndicalism, and anarchism.

In recent years, as during all periods of economic stress, there has been much analysis by nations and individuals of their social and economic systems, in order to develop solutions for the problems confronting them.

By comparing the fundamentals of the various collectivist and dictator regimes with the principles of free private initiative, especially as embodied in the American system, we arrive at a clearer understanding of many of the questions involved. And we get a better conception of the objectives of alien-influenced groups in the United States, such as the communists and socialists, who would endeavor to replace our American structure by a collectivist government.

Practically all nations today base their social and economic life predominantly on the principle of private ownership and operation of business. This is particularly true of such great groups of nations as the British Empire, the nations that comprise the Western Hemisphere, and most of the European and Asiatic group. One nation, however—the Soviet Union, stretching across large areas of Europe and Asia—is operating under a system of enforced collectivism—that is, ownership and operation, by the state, of the business of the nation.

In the great majority of countries freedom of private business initiative is paralleled by political freedom under actively-functioning parliamentary governments. But in the Soviet

Union, collectivism has necessitated a dictatorship by a very small minority, as explained later in this booklet. And in two other countries—Italy and Germany—political dictatorships have brought with them autocratic control of the nations' economic forces.

The facts presented in the following pages will, we believe, show how inapplicable to American conditions are the foreign theories of state ownership of business, of dictator control of trade and industry, and of attendant limitations upon freedom of speech, press, religion, political action, and even of travel.

The system of private initiative has been the only system that has had wide practical acceptance among the nations. It has been at the base of the advances of modern civilization. It has proved adaptable to the needs and changes of succeeding generations. Its structure, its capacity for self-regulation, and its relationship to government are all matters of intimate concern to every one of us.

Material in this booklet has been confined, as far as possible, to the economic aspects of the systems discussed. When, however, collectivism and dictatorship merge business and government into a single unit, the line of demarcation between political and economic objectives becomes more and more indistinguishable.

The American Economic System

UNDER the American system of private initiative, land and natural wealth are owned mainly by private citizens, either individually or in groups. The establishment and conduct of industry, the employment of labor, the exchange of goods, and the organization and operation of various other types of business undertakings, are conducted by private enterprise under competitive conditions and under a system of free contract. The function of government is not to replace business but to create and maintain conditions in which business initiative may be successful in accordance with its own merits and may be free from predatory influences. (Monopolies which are oppressive)

Political democracy and economic private initiative supplement each other and form the basis of our existing American social order.

In contrast to the American system we find in collectivism a partial or complete displacement of private ownership by public or government ownership. Further, under collectivism the production, distribution and exchange of goods are controlled by official agencies, with compensation to individuals made through governmental channels. There is elimination of the private earning of profits. Competition between individually owned enterprises is supplanted by dictatorial government planning. Necessarily, coercion replaces economic freedom.

Enduring Character of Private Enterprise

Historically, private ownership and individual enterprise have endured from earliest times. As civilization has developed, there has been a strengthening of the principle that each individual should have the right to provide for himself and his own. Even in countries practicing collectivism such as Soviet Russia, there is partial recognition of this principle. National efforts to remold this impulse for private operation into a new system of collectivist or state operation have been accomplished so far in human history only through force, dictatorship, and oppression.

Economic Freedom

In a democracy where business operates on the principle of private enterprise there is the maximum of political and economic liberty. Each individual is free to undertake business enterprise in the hope of gain—but also at the risk of loss. Both the worker and business owner make their own decisions for themselves, whereas under collectivism both become servants of the state, required to do the state's bidding whether they wish it or not.

With no state-imposed restrictions upon his choice of occupation, the individual is much more free to select that for which he is best suited, and that to which he can apply himself most willingly, thus tending toward a high level of productivity on his part as a factor in the national economic life. Freedom of enterprise builds up a spirit of individual economic independence, heightens the sense of individual responsibility, and appeals to the willingness of men with experience and means to venture into new economic enterprises or to expand existing enterprises. All of these influences give an impetus and forward movement

to business that are, as a rule, not to be found in the routine of public administration.

Maintenance of Competition

Of cardinal importance in the scheme of private enterprise is competition. Competition operates to bring about lower prices, better products, and better services, all for the enhancement of living standards and for the promotion of the public good. It is a constant incentive to invention, to the perfection of manufacturing and distributing processes, and to the elimination of economic waste.

Competition further acts to prevent monopolistic control—a control which under collectivism resides in the state, with only political means to assure that it will not be misused for political ends.

Consumer Preference

One important control in the system of private initiative is that exercised by the consumer. Every successful enterprise must produce a product or service so satisfactory to the free-choice consumer that he will purchase it in such volume and at such a price as will compensate for the labor, materials, and management and capital service entering into it. Consumer preference constitutes one of the exacting tests of industrial and commercial efficiency, and gives to the system of private enterprise a flexible and automatic check upon its successful operation. Consumer demand, both in the free national market and in the world market, determines the character and objectives of the entire productive mechanism. Similarly, it determines not only the value of goods but also the value of factories, of distributing organizations, and of supplementary services; and, further, determines the rate of interest.

Elimination of Defects

Every system has its defects. There have been and still are weak spots in the American economic order, but they are weaknesses calling for the cure rather than for the killing of the patient. As mentioned above many of the imperfections in our economic order are automatically remedied through the operation of competitive enterprise, and through the force of consumer demand.

Defects in the system are also identified and cured through the application of industry's criticism of itself in its own self-interest, often through business men's organizations; the constant discussion in legislative halls of measures proposed for the elimination of actual or alleged defects; the administration of existing laws under democracy, for the elimination of weaknesses; and the constant contributions of scientific and economic thought to the improvement of our free economic order.

The Function of Government

Under the system of private initiative the function of government is to preserve opportunity for individual enterprise to develop, with protection against crime and predatory incursion. Where necessary, government sets up regulation to prevent actions inimical to the public interest. Governments have established many such checks and balances. Among limitations upon private enterprise might be mentioned, in this country, the anti-trust laws, laws governing shipment of commodities, child labor legislation, regulations in the interest of public health, legislation affecting the health of workers and relating to their working conditions.

Participation of Labor

Under collectivism the laborer is subordinate to the state; under the American order he is a free and independent participant in industrial and commercial life.

Under the American system the great bulk of the receipts of business, after the payment of taxes, tends to go directly or indirectly to wage and small-salary earners. The share paid to creditors, stockholders and large-salary earners is small in comparison. *(In 1936, Yes!)*

An important forward advance in the system of private initiative—and one strikingly represented in the United States—is the increasing participation of labor in the financing of free enterprise, represented either by direct investments or by indirect investment through the millions of insurance policies and savings accounts the funds of which must largely be put to work in American economic undertakings. This partnership of capital and labor is further evidenced in the practice of holding joint conferences on questions of industrial management and distribution policy, and in the equitable adjustment of questions in the field of labor relations.

Profit and Capital

Profit—often made a target by the critics of the system of private initiative—is actually the life-blood of industry's expansion. The capital thus created seeks new usefulness, creates new enterprises, expands old enterprises, and in these processes creates ever-widening circles of employment for an expanding population.

Reasonable profit has, throughout history, been the most potent incentive to economic advancement. Whether privately-owned or state-owned, capital is essential to business conduct, improvement and expansion; but the use of state-owned capi-

WHY!
Only through Compulsion
In 1936
Yes!

How about that Hoover
Administration Tariff Bill?
Smart-Heavily

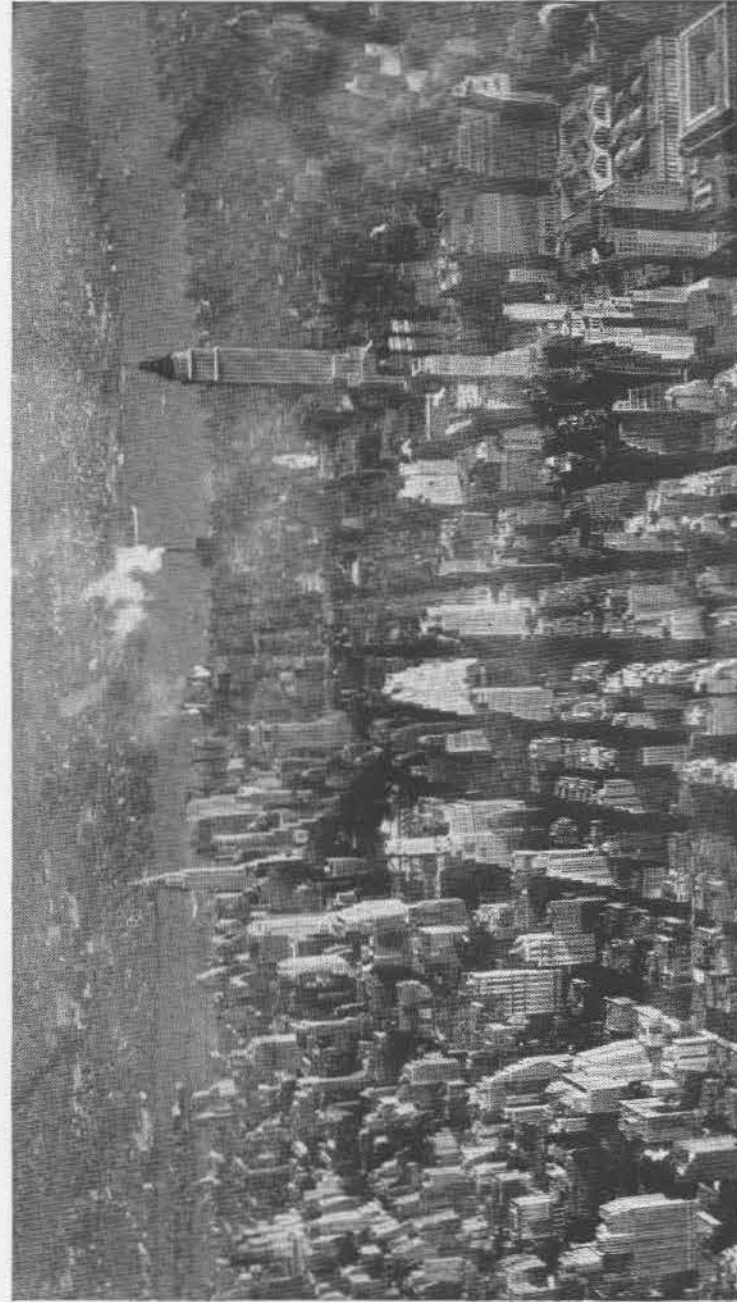
tal, particularly under dictatorships, too frequently serves a political rather than an economic end.

International Trade

Under the private system international trade is created by the millions of individual contacts of citizens of one nation with citizens of another. These are important elements in creating world understanding of each other's aims and customs, and are thus a contributing factor to world peace. The concentration of economic power in the hands of autocratic dictators tends to the subordination of the ordinary citizen, to the temptation to use a nation's economic strength to bolster up the dictator's political aims, and thus to align nations under centralized control, one against the other, as great antagonistic units of economic wealth and economic interest backed by military force, with consequent impairment of friendly international relations and with the danger of war becoming proportionately greater.

Automatic Coordination

At times the system of private enterprise has been described as a *laissez faire* system. This creates the impression that there is chaos and lack of planning in it. As a matter of fact, the myriad adjustments and interrelations that have grown up throughout the years and that are daily in operation among the component parts of the free economic order represent a careful system of checks and balances, based on experience, to which even the collectivist-state planners themselves have to resort as a basis for their theories. Efforts to interfere arbitrarily with the normal operation of the system—an operation developed through trial and error—lead inevitably to major disturbances of economic well-being.



Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Inc.

EVERYDAY BUSINESS ACTIVITY IN AMERICAN CITIES AND TOWNS

Within thousands of American communities, from the largest to the smallest, the day-to-day task of housing, feeding and clothing our one hundred and twenty million people is carried on efficiently under a system of private ownership and operation. To accomplish this huge task there has been established in the United States a well-coordinated economic system, based on American experience and American judgment.

In the freedom and flexibility of the private initiative system is found an automatic mechanism for such effective distribution of labor and of capital funds, and stimulation of management and inventive genius, as normally to keep the economic order at high efficiency.

Interchange of Experience

A striking characteristic of the American economic system is the liberal interchange of experience and information among business men, thus leading to industrial and commercial progress. Still further in the wide fields of social, political and religious activity, tolerance and freedom of individual expression of opinion have made possible searching inquiry into many measures for mutual advancement. Freedom of the press has assisted notably in such sharing of information and views. The American principle of determining merit and deciding policies through majority opinion has served to single out those measures having the largest promise for worthwhile achievement and to advance them to general public adoption. In a dictator regime of abridged freedom of speech and press, of predetermined economic action, and of prescribed education, these valuable springs of progressive thought and action are dammed up at the source.

Progress Under Private Initiative

Economic systems, based on the principle of private initiative, have been responsible for the great industrial and commercial advances made during the last century by the nations of Europe and America. Under conditions of free private operation, we have witnessed the great advances made in production, distribution, transportation, communication, banking, insurance, publicity, and the hundred and one other services that together have brought to the citizens of today a standard

of living and of well-being never before attained in world civilization. And obviously such advances were possible only with a coincident wide diffusion of purchasing power.

In comparison with conditions a generation ago workers generally, even at the depths of the recent depression, have had better houses, better clothing, better food, better education, better protection against disease and risk, better pay for shorter hours, greater opportunities for leisure and enjoyment, and wider facilities for building up economic security against the future.

It has been private enterprise, with the use of accumulated private savings, that has given us in the United States such facilities as railroads, steamships, automobiles, telephones, radios, electric lighting, central heating; modern homes and apartments, modern office buildings and equipment, modern theaters and moving pictures, to mention only a few of the items which the operation of private business has taken from the realm of luxuries or undreamed-of conveniences and placed within the reach of the average citizen of present-day United States. The creative genius and the untiring initiative of individual Americans, often working against the dead weight of mass tradition, have been responsible for much of our invention and our progress.

No claim is made that improvements could have occurred *only* under the existing economic system, but, in considering the needs and opportunities of our country, it must be in the light of these established merits of our American system, proven by generations of substantial accomplishment, that we examine the theoretical standards and the work to date of the collectivist and the limitations upon the ordinary citizen under a dictatorship.

Foreign Systems of Collectivism and Dictatorship

DURING periods of economic depression there are invariably those who propose replacing the American system of private initiative by some other political and economic order, usually borrowing from certain systems of foreign origin.

These particular foreign systems are based largely on collectivism and dictatorship—that is, the ordering of the economic life of the nation and of the individual by the state itself, or by its dictator. Yet even these foreign proponents of change cannot agree among themselves as to which is the preferable order. Thus we find advocates of communism, of socialism, of fascism, of nazi-ism, of syndicalism, and of anarchism.

In the following pages a definition of these foreign systems will be given by way of contrasting their formulae for the economic life of the individual and the nation with the American formula discussed heretofore.

Communism

WRITERS have drawn a distinction between voluntary communism and coercive communism.

In the United States we have had a number of voluntary communistic colonies, based on a system of social and economic life under which private property rights are abolished and goods are held and enjoyed in common. There is significance in the fact that these voluntary colonies, given opportunity to exist and develop in fair competition with our American system, have not succeeded to the point of survival.

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In contrast with voluntary communism is the coercive communism represented by the political and economic philosophy of the Communist Party, particularly in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Coercive communism is based in large part upon the theories of Marx and Engels as embodied in their Communist Manifesto of 1848. Its aim is the establishment of a social organization under which the community—that is, the government—would own and control all wealth, particularly the means of production. In theory, although not always in practice, the community would own also all consumer goods.

To accomplish their purposes the communists, admitting their inability as a minority to get what they desire by peaceful means, would use force, violence and revolution. It is their contention that the so-called capitalist system cannot be altered to communism, or their form of socialism, by the orderly means of the ballot and parliamentary procedure. Accordingly, the communists would create widespread discontent and chaos in the existing order, in the midst of which a well-organized communist minority could seize the government by force and violence, and establish a "dictatorship of the proletariat," actually meaning—as in Russia—dictatorship by a small group of the leading figures in the Communist Party.

Theoretically, this dictatorship would be a transition stage between the system represented by the overthrown government and the system of pure communism. The actual effectuation of this scheme for altering a capitalist government to a communist government has not gone beyond the transition stage and probably never will. The only example—Soviet Russia—is still a close-held dictatorship over the Russian people by the Communist Party which is apparently fearful of

relinquishing dictatorial control over human nature that has not yet been remolded along communist lines. How non-communist true Russia has been and still is is strikingly evident in the fact that the Communist Party in Russia at the time of the 1917 revolution was less than 2/100 of one per cent of the population and today, nearly two decades later, is still less than one and one-half per cent of the population. Without coercion communism in Russia could not exist.

The establishment of this type of revolutionary communism in Russia brought with it the confiscation of the private property not only of Russians but of foreigners holding property in that country; the disenfranchisement of many so-called "bourgeois" classes, including not only the owners of large properties but also hirers of labor all the way down to the small merchant; further, the elimination of all of the more well-to-do farmers owning agricultural land; and privation, banishment, or death to all holders of political beliefs contrary to the doctrines of the small ruling group of communist dictators.

Communism, as worked out in Russia, has also meant the enthronement of a philosophy of materialism, and an aggressive drive to uproot all religion from Russia. Further, it has meant uncompromising indoctrination in education, with all pressure brought upon teachers and pupils to spread exclusively Marxian doctrine among the younger generation, in the hope that the communistic social order may not be in turn overthrown by youth giving expression to its natural spirit of independence and initiative, and to its desire for objective, scientific truth.

Soviet communism, seizing substantially all of the productive enterprises in the state and holding firm control of its huge war machine, has exerted extraordinary effort to build up

economic and military strength in order that the Soviet experiment may be prepared to withstand any possible attack from within or without its borders. Its industrial and war programs have required trained men; accordingly education has been directed along the necessary technical lines.

Professing to be endeavoring to set up a classless society in the land of Czarist autocracy, the communists in Russia have only, in actuality, redealt the cards, with themselves coming out on top as the autocrats. There is still class distinction but with its basis now a political one—membership in the Communist Party.

It is apparent that Soviet communism has created a state in which actually the great body of the citizenry has no control over the policies by which it is governed. Instead a small group in the Communist Party directs the economic and political future of the nation, determining what is good for the workers and peasants and then forcing them to acceptance of and obedience to the principles and policies laid down by the dictatorship. The autocracy, bureaucratic control, and dearth of democratic practices that obtained under the Czars built a society amenable to the subsequent dictatorship of the communists.

While basically adhering to Marxian doctrine, the Soviet government has shown an opportunist's willingness to alter the "general line" of the party when occasion seemed to demand it. Among the principal modifications of policy has been the eventual adoption of a wage system recognizing differences in skill, responsibility, and rate of output—a system at variance with purely socialistic doctrine. Under the communist system, while unions of workers exist, were they to call a strike against the

policies of the government, they would receive short shrift as counter-revolutionaries.

Under such a system the liberty of the individual worker becomes so constricted that he frequently has no choice as to where geographically he shall work, or as to what trade he shall follow. The conditions under which he shall earn his livelihood and the wages he shall receive are a matter of political or administrative decision with practically no opportunity left to him individually, or collectively, to bargain as to his hours of labor or as to his just compensation. He is an economic soldier of the state, forced to unquestioning obedience. Improvement in his economic status depends much more upon his political orthodoxy than upon private initiative, individual capability, or economic worth; one who is out of party favor is a doomed man.

The communists claim that national planning under one directive control promises maximum production. They point to their successive five-year plans as proof of their ability to increase productivity by central control. Opposed to these views is the contention that workers, feeling themselves slaves to a national economic machine, without individual opportunity for personal advancement through merit, tend to neglect their jobs, thus restricting production unless under the constant pressure of the central dictatorship and its subordinate officials. This tendency has gone to such lengths that a movement to "step up" the rate of output, through the use of communist "leaders of production," has been instituted.

Soviet communism has aimed further to break down the importance of the family as a social and economic unit. This sacrifice to the desire for greater socialization of the state has reduced the individual's responsibility and in turn weakened his

willingness to work diligently in the fulfillment of that responsibility.

In contrast to the American's fundamental right, under the Constitution, to freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly, are the Soviet ownership and control of all agencies for the dissemination of news and information, the use of such agencies for propagandizing Marxian doctrine, and the maintenance of a widespread system of espionage over individuals, upon whom may be visited in arbitrary fashion the most severe penalties for utterances reflecting on the then-prevailing Soviet system.

Communism professes to be a leading advocate of peace and an unfaltering opponent of war—but with the significant reservation that it will always support armed force for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system or for defense of the communist system.

Soviet communism claims these advantages: the establishment of greater economic security for the individual; prevention of unemployment; protection in sickness and old age; and assurance of a livelihood to all who are willing to work. But, to date in Soviet Russia, the actual standard of living (as contrasted to the theoretical standard) accomplished for the average worker is far beneath the standard of the poorer workers in capitalist countries, and particularly the United States.

Communism claims that the workers of the country are owners of the country's economic and industrial resources; this claim is refuted by the fact that the individual worker has practically no control over the economic resources of the country due to exclusive Communist Party domination. In capitalist countries worker-participation in ownership, through the holding of stocks and through savings accounts and life insurance,

is a real worker-ownership beyond anything ever contemplated in the Soviet Union.

Communism claims widespread free public education. An examination of the curricula of the Soviet schools and universities reveals the acknowledged highly propagandist character of all instruction, supplemented by a strong materialistic trend wholly inconsistent with the spirit of education in the United States.

Some of the professed social objectives of the Soviet government are to be found in varying forms in the programs of many capitalist nations. But the Soviet method of accomplishing those ends—through revolution, violence, coercion and false propaganda—runs counter to the political, social and religious history of human advancement.

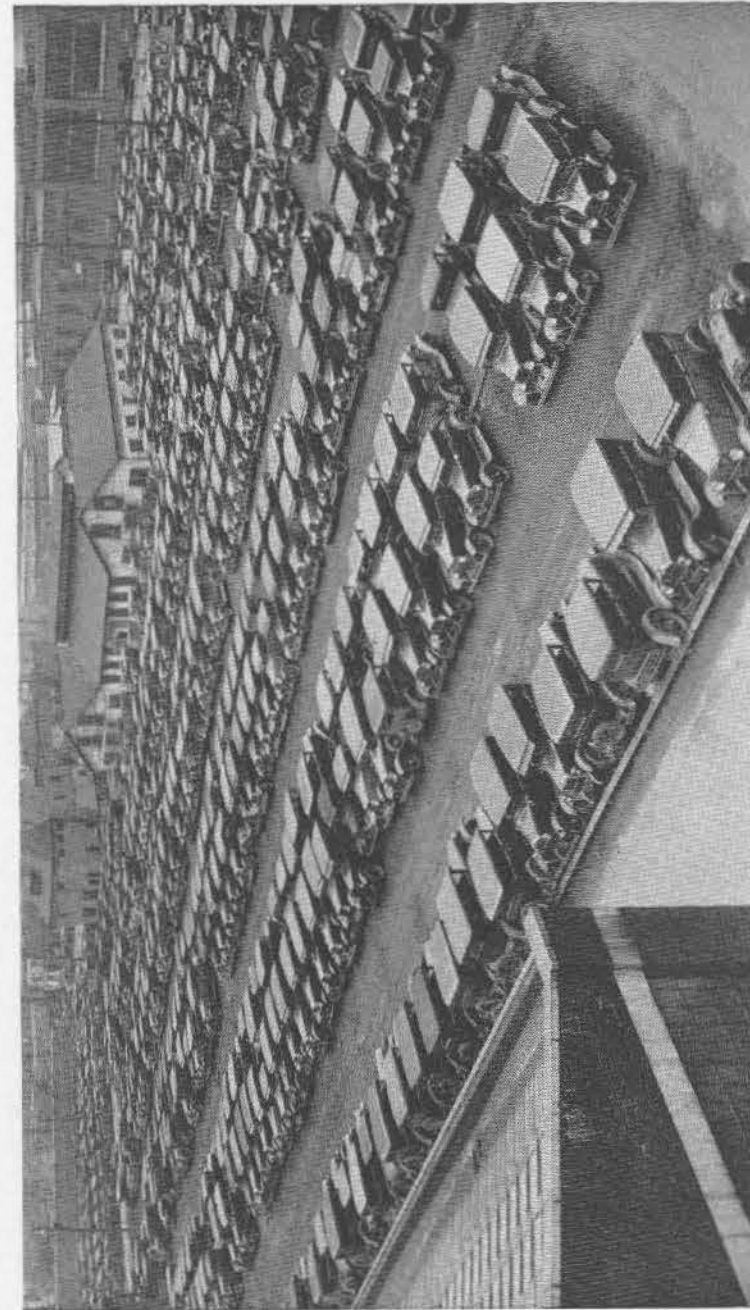
Socialism

BASICALLY, communism and socialism are alike in their final objective—the substitution of government ownership and control for private ownership and individual initiative—communism merely going farther.

The socialists would accomplish this change through education and through parliamentary procedure. The communists, as mentioned above, would accomplish the change through force, violent overthrow of the government, and dictatorship.

The socialists would thus, through ballot, get control of existing governmental organization—both administrative and legislative—and use these as instruments for bringing basic industries, transportation services and other enterprises into public ownership and operation.

Socialists vary as to the extent to which they would establish such public ownership. In early days the objective was mainly



EMPLOYEES' AUTOMOBILES OUTSIDE AN AMERICAN FACTORY

Under the American system of free private initiative, a standard of living has been attained under which many articles, such as automobiles, radios, telephones, etc., which in most foreign countries are luxuries, have been brought within the reach of a large percentage of American citizens.

Safe enough now—in 1936! But a sign that wages can be decreased by employers!

the transference of large-scale industry from private to governmental ownership. In more recent years the socialists have gone a step beyond this type of state socialism and have established as their objective, not only state ownership of the larger enterprises but also state control of industries on a very inclusive scale.

Thus socialism would provide for the public ownership and operation, for example, of land, forests, mines, manufacturing plants, banks, railroads, steamship lines, gas and electric light plants, telegraph and telephone lines, etc.

While most socialists aim at national ownership of the agencies of production, distribution and finance, there are other sections of socialist persuasion that think in terms of ownership by cities, by other regional groups, by workers' groups in terms of trade, or by citizens in common.

The operation of business units under the socialist scheme would be according to the frequently-pronounced socialist doctrine of "production for use, not for profit." In other words, the profits and losses of business under the system of individual initiative would be absorbed by government itself, and the present acid test of a product's merit—"Can it win and maintain a place in the open market?"—would be replaced by governmental bureaucratic determination of what we shall eat, wear, and how and where we shall live.

Capital, now created by profits and saving, would under the socialist scheme be provided by government and accumulated through governmental exactions. Political factors would thus tend to dominate in any such system for providing the sinews of industrial and commercial progress.

As relating to the United States this program of the socialists was embodied in the 1932 platform of the Socialist Party and

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called for: public ownership and control of mines, forests, oil and power resources, public utilities dealing with light and power, transportation and communication, and of all other basic industries, with operation of these publicly-owned industries by boards of administration on which the wage-worker, the consumer and the technician would be represented. Further, the platform called for a socialist credit and currency system, establishment of a unified banking system, complete governmental acquisition of the federal reserve banks, and extension of postal savings banks to cover all banking functions, under the operation of a government-owned banking corporation. Further, cooperative societies and governmental agencies would acquire grain elevators, stockyards, packing houses and warehouses, conducting these on a non-profit basis.

Politically, the socialists favor a socialistic democracy. Their political as well as social objectives, however, are strictly materialistic, emphasizing the economic content of life.

Socialism, as worked out in Soviet Russia, is actually communist dictatorship. In no modern nation has socialism in its theoretical form received the support necessary to its adoption as a national structure. The National Socialist program of Germany is discussed subsequently.

Fascism

FASCISM has been termed the "counter-revolution of the middle and upper classes" against the radical elements in Italy, although it has numbered in its ranks not a few who themselves have previously advocated radical doctrines.

It is a dictatorship, a "government by decree," based upon subordination of the individual and of all industry and trade and of all labor to the interests of the state, the state being "an

organism comprising the unlimited series of generations of which individuals are merely transient elements."

To accomplish its ends, fascism, as contrasted to democracy, has abolished freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly, whenever these activities may be in opposition to or in unfavorable criticism of fascism.

Similarly, fascism, like Soviet communism, has resorted to indoctrination in education, particularly of youth, in order to assure permanence for fascist philosophy and organization.

In support of the state ideal, fascism demands of each individual subordination of his private rights to the transcendent interests of the state, his duty to which may mean any sacrifice. In other words, individual rights are recognized only insofar as they are conceded by the state and the exercise of these rights and of individual freedom must be in the interest of society as a whole.

Thus, whether it is within the sphere of activity of the individual or of employers as a class, or of labor as a class, economic and social justice is meted out by the state and where differences arise between groups in the body politic state discipline will be asserted, by violence if necessary, to accomplish the objective of the state. Advances made by labor-unionism apparently have been lost.

In the enhancement of the ideal of the state as an enduring and determining organism, the fascists have utilized national tradition, resulting in a certain worship of the state as such, which fascist writers have designated as a "religion of the spirit." Similarly, there has been aggrandizement and adulation of the chief personality of the state, as in ancient Rome—this in keeping with the magnification of national tradition.

Political parties, other than the Fascist Party, have been

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eliminated and the Chamber of Deputies has been superseded by the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations—a further step toward the establishment of a corporate state under which the various economic and allied groups in the citizenry would be expected to exert governing influence. The Grand Council of the Fascist Party and the dictator himself, however, exercise such control over the subordinate agencies of the state as to be in effect the real governing power.

Reminiscent of the guild system of the Middle Ages, fascism has regimented its economic system into industries and trades under twenty-two different categories, these appointing delegates to the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations.

While fascism recognizes the principle that it is only through individual enterprise that maximum economic benefit can come to the community—a principle opposed to communism and socialism—nevertheless fascism insists that the interests of the state transcend those of the individual. Industry and trade remain predominantly under private ownership yet subject to strict governmental control. However, notice has recently been given that the great industries that work directly or indirectly for national defense, and other large key industries that present "problems of a social as well as of an economic nature," will be brought under state ownership or control, some to be run by the state directly, some indirectly, and others subject to state direction.

Fascism emphasizes the importance and necessity of direct action: in consequence, through a fascist dictatorship, it practices arbitrary utilization of political and economic power in the interest of the state, to an extent and in a form not permitted under the more loose-knit but more representative organization of democracy. Previous to fascism there had not

been, of course, any general spread of effective democratic principles and practices in Italy.

Whereas Marx and the communists contend that history is a record of predestined class struggle, fascism brands this contention as purely materialistic and false, regarding history as something of greater flexibility, subject to the influence of great world factors, not only of economics but also of national tradition, national culture, and religion.

Critics of fascism have pointed out that while enforced cooperation between labor and capital under state supervision may have brought Italy's economic organization under unified direction, this has been accomplished only through excessive governmental control over freedom of speech, press and assembly, at the cost of individual initiative in business and of local autonomy in government, and with a resultant concentration of power in the hands of the central government to such an extent in both the economic and political fields as to leave the fate of a nation almost literally in the hands of a single individual. In all dictatorships such dependence upon a single individual raises the important query: "After the dictator, what?"

As contrasted with the free cooperation of economic groups under a democracy, fascism has had to resort to excessive bureaucracy with exclusion of minority views in the determination of business policies and with a tendency to "freeze" the existing conditions of industrial operation, worker status, and general economic level. In rebuttal the fascists claim that by supplanting political parties by a corporate state, in which industry, labor and other economic interests are, theoretically, at least, to govern, the corruptions inherent in party systems have been eliminated.

Nazi-ism

THE dictatorship of nazi-Germany has many points of similarity with the dictatorship of fascist-Italy. Both derived much of their impetus from national sentiment and disturbed conditions growing out of the World War.

In Italy, fascism has developed the corporate state coincident with the abolition of all political parties but the Fascist Party; in Germany, nazi-ism has suppressed all political parties except the National Socialist Party.

Through an Enabling Act, authority was given in Germany to the National Cabinet to enact laws provided they did not affect the position of the German legislature, but later even this restriction was removed. The effect of this Act was practically to concentrate all power in the hands of the National Cabinet, leaving the legislature in a "rubber stamp" position, with no adequate check upon the actions of the Executive. Thus, in Germany, we see an all-powerful Executive and a practically powerless legislature, and in Italy a similarly dominating Executive with a nominal corporate state. Both are governments by decree.

Nazi-ism, like other dictatorships, has established rigid controls over the economic and social life and over the agencies of publicity in the country. Through control of foreign exchange the international trade of Germany is strictly regimented. Under a Minister of Enlightenment and Propaganda there is political and governmental control of such agencies as the press, the radio, journalists and writers, the theater, the motion picture and music and the arts. There is also a Minister for Science, Education and Popular Culture, through whom all schools and universities are coordinated and controlled by the state. Thus,

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industrialization of Nazi principles has been effected, and special emphasis given to the abolition of class barriers, the importance of labor, the importance of military training, and the Nazi respect for racial "science," with its racial oppressions.

As in fascist-Italy, in Nazi-Germany there is appeal to national tradition, with emphasis upon racial superiority and the "manifest destiny" for the race and for the nation. There is likewise a magnification of the office of the Executive; there is strict regulation of citizenship and emphasis upon the objective of a greater nation uniting all Germans in a "Great Germany." Even the state-approved principles of religion are molded in a form that would promote Nazi objectives and magnify national tradition; and the church is subject to attempted state domination.

With enlarged state participation in the daily life of its citizens—a distinctly socialist trend—the Nazi government demands in return some type of productive labor from all who can work. Such required activity has as one of its purposes an increase in the power of the state, economically and politically, in order that the policies established by its dictators may be carried out.

Along with greater government entrance into the field of business enterprise there has been also greater government direction of the activities of labor, particularly through government-appointed labor trustees and labor courts through whom labor questions are "regulated" in the interest of maintaining peace in the industrial field.

In the political life of Germany the interest of the state is held to surpass and dominate that of the individual. So also in the economic sphere Nazi socialism contends that the economic well-being of the nation and its citizens as a whole must prevail

over and give direction to the welfare of the individual. The workers have lost their right to strike and their right to collective bargaining, the government undertaking to settle disputes; thus organized labor appears to have lost the gains it had made.

Similar governmental control over industry and commerce was forecast in a law giving to the Minister of Economics a considerable hand in the organization, modification, and regulation of business associations. Both in the field of business and agriculture the respective ministers were given rights to control the cartels and associations which always have been of importance in German economy, particularly in the matter of price-fixing and production control. In the agricultural field government influence has been exerted through organizations to regulate production, processing, sales, prices, and price-spread of agricultural products, partially no doubt to assure Germany adequate food supplies in the event of war. The Nazi government also exercises control over the right to inherit farm land, and wide powers as respects the allocation of workers to employment on farm lands.

This widespread entrance of government into the field of private enterprise has necessitated the development of an extensive bureaucracy. Socialist in character, such enlarged central administration suffers from the arbitrary, compulsory and excessively expensive features associated with such type of organization under similar systems of dictatorial control in other countries. Prior to Nazi-ism, Germany had been a land where strong bureaucratic control had long existed and where the short-lived democracy had found an alien soil.

The German adoption of the principle of "leadership," which is basic to much of the thinking of the Nazi group—and a principle embodied also in the dictatorships of Soviet Russia and

Italy—has resulted in Germany, as in other countries, in a loss of individual freedom, a severe limitation upon the economic and social life of the citizens, and the encroachment upon many of the privileges, which, in democratic America, are regarded as essential to individual political and business well-being.

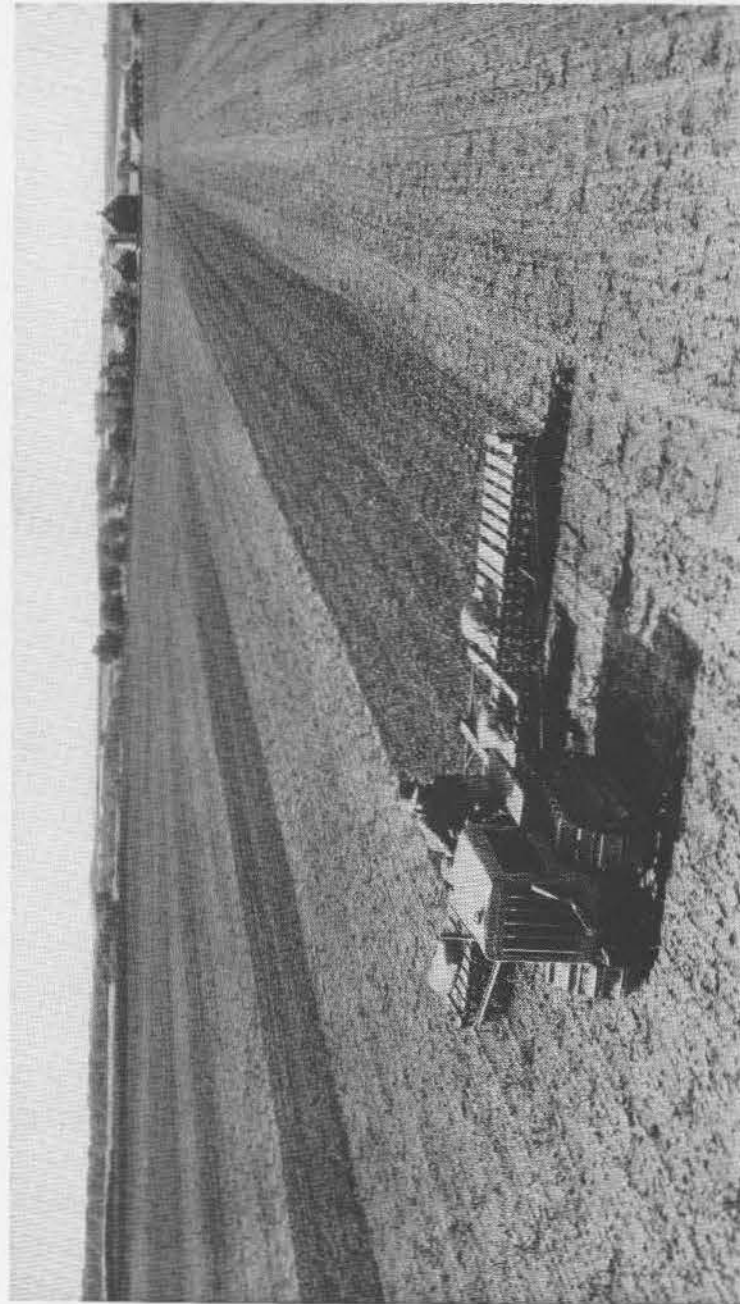
Syndicalism

SYNDICALISM has been described as a "working-class" socialism as distinguished from the socialistic theories of the "intellectuals." It is primarily a theory devised by the French General Confederation of Labor.

Syndicalism parts company with socialism and communism over the question of how the new social order would be regulated. Like the socialist, the syndicalist would abolish individual ownership, but whereas socialism would retain the state and its bureaucratic machinery to control the social system, the syndicalists fear the domination of their interests by *any government* and demand therefore that the ownership and operation of instruments of production be accomplished through the *syndicates* or trade unions. The various local trade unions would coordinate their activities through central agencies, these agencies in turn constituting an economic federation for the conduct of the business of the nation, without the intervention of any political or administrative governmental offices, either national or local.

Syndicalism's distrust of government has its origin also in the alleged ignorance of public officials as to industrial technique and workers' needs and in the conviction that bureaucracy is inefficient.

Like socialism and communism, syndicalism urges the relent-



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INDIVIDUAL OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION OF AGRICULTURE

American agriculture has been developed under the American system of private ownership and individual initiative. It has succeeded thus in creating on this continent one of the world's greatest granaries and sources of raw materials. Many of its machines and processes have had world-wide adoption.

one of The Forgotten Men who didn't find a chicken in every pot

less waging of a class war, the two main instruments in carrying on that struggle being the general strike and sabotage.

Syndicalism, disavowing as it does the usefulness of a political type of government in which representation is given not only to workers but to all other groups constituting the nation, has met with little success in any one country. Communists also have discarded syndicalism, claiming that it lacks the close-knit organization indispensable to successful revolutionary movements, that by confining itself to the economic field and by maintaining as its objective a trade-union "state," it fails to take advantage of available political methods and organisms for accomplishing its aims; and that it does not present any practical plan or effective structure for the operation of a workers' society after it has seized control of existing society.

Particularly in the United States where all citizens are assured the rights of freedom of speech, press and assembly, as well as the right to organize and strike, the syndicalist demand for militant direct action and governmental overthrow, like the communist demand, is universally condemned. In the United States many of the former syndicalists have been absorbed by the Communist Party.

Anarchism

ANARCHISM may be defined briefly as "a society without government."

While the term "anarchism" is commonly associated with various crimes of violence perpetrated in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, the anarchist basic doctrine is hardly more violent, in its advocacy of overthrow of existing government, than is the doctrine of the syndicalists or the communists.

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Like the syndicalists, the anarchists would dispense with all forms of federal and local government, supplanting them by free agreements between various regional and occupational bodies. The anarchists would dispense with all laws and with all dictation of individual conduct by a superior authority. It is their belief that forces which actuate human conduct, in the individual, could likewise be represented in free groups, freely adjusting their individual interests under this form of association, without the use of a governmental structure.

The anarchists would dispense with private ownership in land; would dispense with profits and interest, and with the wage system. However, they fear the turning over of the great economic resources of a country to a state lest the state in turn become an instrument for domination of the social structure of the nation. They favor decentralization of authority, even down to the local workers' group and to the individual, in the hope that thereby freedom of individual action might be assured.

The anarchists have worked principally among labor organizations supporting a policy of direct action against capital, without reliance in that struggle upon parliamentary procedure to accomplish the desired changes.

The anarchists find particularly distasteful the restriction of personal liberty and the denial of local autonomy under the dictatorship of communism. The communists in turn reject anarchism on the grounds that, like syndicalism, its proposed society is too loosely joined and its revolutionary plans too lacking in unity of design and campaign and in proper appreciation of the usefulness of political groups and maneuvers in carrying through a revolution or in subsequent governmental administration.

Like the syndicalists the anarchists utilize the general strike

particularly in May-Day demonstrations. Their policy of creating violent disturbances in industry and of promoting disaffection among the armed forces of nations led in the past century to efforts to combat their activities. In their counter-movement to these restrictive measures, the anarchists in a number of countries resorted to bombings and assassinations, including in the United States the bombing in Chicago in 1886 and the assassination of President McKinley in 1901. In 1894, a law, still on our statute books, was enacted specifically for the purpose of keeping foreign anarchists out of the United States, and for permitting the deportation of those already in the country.

As a militant world movement, anarchism has lost its force, a number of its proponents having aligned themselves with revolutionary communism. The communist revolution in Russia in 1917, followed by the establishment of a government of coercive communism, with a definite governmental structure and with a plan for world-wide revolution, resulted in a gradual dimming of the importance of anarchism and of syndicalism, as widely-accepted political and social theories. In socialism and in communism there tend to be various shades of doctrine and opinion, and the tenets of the anarchists and the syndicalists still persist as points of view divergent from both of them.

Conclusion

HOWEVER adaptable collectivism and dictatorship may be to the temperament of some foreign peoples and to the special conditions and circumstances at present obtaining in their countries, such systems, with their restriction of individual initiative and their denial of freedom, embody principles incompatible with the spirit of the American people and antagonistic to the best interests of the United States. The development of the American economic system has been a gradual procedure, founded on American experience and requiring constant practical adaptation to changing conditions in a rapidly developing nation. As each advance in our social and economic order has been achieved and consolidated, it has constituted a base from which to proceed to still further improvement and expansion.

Our national economic history has been a record of a century and a half of courageous pioneering and steady, rational advancement in industry, commerce, and other fields of business. As previously set forth, the American economic system has emphasized the importance of the maintenance of competition and has found in consumer preference one of its important controls. These two forces, together with governmental regulation, have worked to eliminate defects and to keep economic activity operating in the public interest. There has been increasing participation of labor in the conduct and financing of business. The flexibility of the American system has permitted effective day-to-day coordination of the many units and processes that comprise our present business structure. Liberal interchange of experience and encouragement of invention make constant contribution to improvement in our industrial and commercial system.

Under the influence of these favorable factors our economic

order has, step by step, built up for Americans a standard of well-being unsurpassed in the history of other nations. In the face of these accomplishments it can well be said that adoption here of the contrary theories of the collectivist and dictator systems of continental Europe would lead only to disturbance and delay if not to complete reversal of the forward progress of the United States.

A
BUSINESS MAN'S PERSONAL VIEWS
of
THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION



By William E. Clow, Jr.
Chicago

I WAS prompted to write the following article purely for my own personal satisfaction and because I felt that a number of my own personal friends and business associates were inclined to be too critical of certain minor policies and mistakes of the Roosevelt Administration, and not sufficiently aware of the Administration's real accomplishments, nor of the fact that the main trend of the Administration was toward a sound, progressive national policy. The main portion of the article was written in February, 1936—the balance on July 14th.

I wrote the article in no sense as a political document, nor am I connected in any way with politics.

William E. Clow, Jr.
Chicago, Illinois

August 18th, 1936

ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION

I find myself an earnest supporter of the Roosevelt administration on the basis of its record—an outline and a discussion of which are given below.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND OBJECTIVES

1. Disposed of prohibition. Took advantage of the election and the sentiment of the people and vigorously pushed ratification of the amendment throughout a large number of southern states, which states are basically dry and which states themselves remained dry. After congress passed the amendment it was freely discussed that it would be several years before it was ratified by the necessary thirty-six states on account of the well known dry attitude of certain southern and western states, and nothing but the vigor of the administration in working on these southern states and persuading them that it was their duty to ratify the amendment, regardless of their personal status, enabled us to get prohibition repealed so soon and to obtain the benefits of its repeal. Any man, unless he is either biased or uninformed, will admit the truth of this statement, and it is proved by the fact that several of these same southern states remained dry as far as their own state laws were concerned, and were only impelled to ratify the amendment by the insistence of the President.
2. Passed a considerable number of laws creating excellent reforms in our entire banking and financial picture, such as the federal insurance of deposits—laws regulating those issuing securities—laws controlling our various exchanges—the very wise provision requiring the separation of investment banking from regular banking, etc. Practically all of these laws and regulations, though opposed at first, are now even by bankers themselves admitted to have been constructive and necessary and are now considered as here to stay as a part of our national life. And, in addition, the Roosevelt administration gave assistance—at lower rates of interest—to millions of distressed citizens who were on the verge of losing their mortgaged homes or farms, to say nothing of loans to railroads, insurance companies, corpora-

tions, etc., who were unable to meet their obligations at the time.

3. Had the courage and the foresight to devalue the dollar and invalidate the gold clause in bonds as an aid to the much needed necessity of raising commodity prices, and also to put us on a level with most of the other nations of the world. This action was particularly courageous and far-seeing in view of the fact that it was not necessary as far as our gold supply was concerned. It is significant that since 1932 the countries who have tenaciously stuck to the old gold standard, like France, have had the least—if any—recovery. It is the nations like ourselves and England, who have abandoned the old gold standard, who have progressed.
4. Devised and put into operation the most gigantic program of relief of the distressed and unemployed ever undertaken by any nation at any time, and put on this entire program of relief under the most extreme pressure with every one in the entire country urging speed and haste. This relief program divided itself into three main parts.
 - (a) Direct relief to the starving and distressed population.
 - (b) Relief in the form of unemployment relief to assist in recovery, which largely consisted of a great public works program, taking advantage of the economy of doing a huge number of public works in bad times when prices were low and labor needed employment instead of conducting this same public work in boom times when prices are high and labor scarce. Assuming a given necessary annual expenditure for public works, such as roads, bridges, schools, court houses, waterworks, fire and police stations, etc., certainly it is sound economy to concentrate expenditures for these purposes in periods of depression to give employment and to help industry, and then taper these expenditures off during boom periods; in other words, let the building of necessary public works be a natural leveller. By many well meaning critics, as well as by carping critics, a certain degree of inefficiency in this works relief program has been criticised, but how many of these critics have even an imaginary idea of the stupendous task of, let us say, putting

three and one-half million men to work in three months. The task is colossal and staggers the imagination of any man who really knows something about getting work started. While undoubtedly some unnecessary jobs were done, let it be remembered that every job done was presented to the administration by the *local* authorities and *vouched for* by them as necessary and desirable work, and let it also be remembered that the vast proportion of these jobs was for useful work, such as, for example—the Sanitary District of Chicago Sewage Disposal plants, to say nothing of countless waterworks and sewage disposal plants throughout the country—the Chicago outer drive bridge—bridges over innumerable highway crossings and over railroads—and innumerable *much needed schools*. As a nation we will save money over the next decade or so due to the fact that so many of these public works improvements were completed under the administration's public works program.

And let it be added right here to the everlasting credit of the Administration that the entire public works program was conducted with an absence of graft unparalleled in the history of public improvements. When this vast program started it was freely intimated among those who had been associated with public projects of all kinds that there would be all kinds of graft in connection with such a colossal program, especially as the program was being so rushed. However, the exact opposite was true. The writer personally and through his fellow business acquaintances was in personal contact with over 5000 public works jobs—jobs ranging from ten or fifteen thousand each to jobs ranging well into the millions each. On *not one* of these jobs which came under the attention of the writer or his acquaintances was any graft paid, nor was any request for graft made by a public official. It is a record of cleanliness and integrity in connection with public construction unparalleled in experience. The newspapers which are hostile to the administration have ever-lastingly been looking for examples of graft to exploit publicly to the detriment of

the administration. Not a stone has been left unturned by the hostile press to make its readers believe that the program was riddled with graft, but even the readers of this press realize that they have been able to uncover very few instances and such as they have uncovered were definitely questionable examples. The true facts about the program are given in connection with the 5000 jobs referred to above, all of which jobs were handled with the knowledge of men in at least fifteen *different* business organizations who have been in touch with public construction all their lives, and this group of men as a whole were literally astounded at the cleanness and absence of graft in the colossal construction program of the administration. This statement can be *definitely proved*.

It is indisputable that many of the work relief jobs were not very well managed due to the size of the program and the necessity for haste, but the vast majority of these jobs were done under *contract* and on these jobs there was no question about the men working efficiently, because the contractors who had the jobs saw to that. And, incidentally, the writer—who has been in the building industry all his life and who with his associates was closely in touch with the 5000 or more jobs mentioned above—knows that the contracts for these jobs were let at very favorable figures to the government. In other words, a school house, a water works, or whatever the public improvement was, was let under contract at figures comparable—in fact, even better than the average figures in private construction. The reason for this is obvious. Work was scarce and contractors and manufacturers were hungry for business and they *bid low* for all of these government contracts. If any one doubts this statement, let him talk to *any* contractor who figured these jobs. The writer *knows* that the government obtained these jobs at the very lowest competitive figures.

It was only the jobs which were not let out on contract where the charge of a certain degree of inefficiency was justified, but the important point is that the vast majority of the money was spent

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on jobs let out under contract. The inefficiency on the non-contract jobs was largely due to the rush of getting the jobs started and the clamoring of the various localities to hurry the work to assist relief.

And, finally, while the total cost of all of these relief jobs is charged to the national debt, don't forget that in the vast majority of them the country as a whole has many excellent and permanent assets, such as those referred to in the paragraphs above.

- (c) Established the C.C.C.—probably the soundest system devised to take care of the young men of the nation in a period of crisis—taking these young men off the streets, giving them semi-military training; teaching them to be useful citizens and also teaching them their obligations by requiring them to send a large percentage of their pay to their distressed families. The very valuable accomplishments of the C.C.C. in conservation and fire prevention are a matter of common knowledge.

While on this relief subject, let us touch one other angle. Many of the opposition, who hesitate to state that they would have saved money at the expense of relief, still go on to say that all money made necessary by relief should have been spent for direct relief rather than public works to give relief or an enterprise like the C.C.C. They maintain that direct relief would be *cheaper*. In this they are no doubt correct, but, on the other hand, how about the mental attitude of the person relieved? Is it not reasonable to suppose that a boy will eventually come out of the C.C.C. in very much better shape mentally, morally and physically than if that same boy was maintained at lesser expense on direct relief, and the same is true of the men on work relief.

5. Passed the security bill providing old age pensions and unemployment insurance not only as a social but as an economic measure, and one which has been in vogue in countries like England for a generation or more.
6. Continued successfully the United States foreign policy of friendliness toward all but alliance with none. It is notable that in the few international crises

which have existed during the Roosevelt administration—such as, for example, the Italian-Ethiopian crisis—the United States was never drawn once even remotely into a position where we might conceivably become involved.

7. Gave proper encouragement and increased financial support to our armed forces of all kinds, with a view to keeping our military, naval and airplane establishments on a par with any one. Made the necessary increases in the personnel at West Point and Annapolis. There is apparently no dispute in anybody's mind that the administration has handled very well the problem of national defense.

8. Established under the N.R.A. the *principles* of no child labor, maximum hours, minimum wages, collective bargaining and reasonable fair trade practices. The *enforcement* of these principles—not the principles themselves—was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, but not until the benefits accomplished by the N.R.A. had largely assisted in recovery. Furthermore, the principles of N.R.A., as outlined above, are generally approved throughout the country and for this reason no doubt in time some legal method will be found for making these principles an enforceable part of our national life.

Many people are under the false impression that businesses generally were legally forced into the N.R.A. and compelled by law to form a code. This was in no sense true. All codes were strictly *voluntary*—the law itself extended to business the opportunity to join these *voluntary* codes. The only point was that after a given industry agreed among themselves and with the government upon a *voluntary* code and then agreed by signing the code to live up to it, then the N.R.A. legally attempted to enforce the code in case any one failed to live up to it. It was this legal enforcement that was declared unconstitutional, but the main point which should be understood is that the codes were voluntary. No industry was compelled to join a code unless it wanted to.

To be sure, moral suasion was used—the display of the blue eagle, etc.—but there was nothing in the law that compelled the Industry to join a code unless it wanted to. The only compulsion in N.R.A. was that after an individual concern or industry agreed on their voluntary code and signed it, then the law com-

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not compelled them to live up to it, and it was this law of compulsion that was declared unconstitutional.

A large proportion of the opponents of N.R.A. do not understand this situation and do not realize that in 1933 industry literally thronged to Washington and *begged* to be coded up and, incidentally, a vast number of industries—even though the law enforcement feature is now dead—are still voluntarily, as well as they can without the assistance of the law, living up to their codes.

There has been much unintelligent criticism of N.R.A. due to the fact that many elements in our population—chiefly small retailers—were brought into N.R.A. when it was never the intention that they should be. The N.R.A. was basically intended to cover large industries and large employers of labor, but in the enthusiasm of the moment countless associations of retailers came to the government and *urged* that their organizations be included under N.R.A. and most of the troubles of N.R.A. came from the complaints of these small retailers—many of which complaints were thoroughly justified. But here again in all fairness it should be pointed out that in the main these retailers were drawn in by the officials of their own organizations, and that the framers of the law really never intended it to have such a wide scope, but in 1933 everybody wanted to be coded up and many small retailers were drawn in to whom the law never should have applied. Any unbiased and well informed man will admit the truth of this statement.

9. Established under the A.A.A. the *principle* of a reasonable aid to our agricultural population as an offset to the advantage enjoyed by our industrial population under the protective tariff. While the A.A.A. was in force, it very definitely accomplished what it set out to do—namely, *to raise the income* of our farm population, and restore the much needed balance between the purchasing power of our rural and urban populations—a balance required by all sound economics. The A.A.A. was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, but as it is almost unanimously agreed that the agricultural population is entitled to some support as an offset to the protective tariff, there will probably be eventually found some proper system which can be legally enforced.

Some form of aid to our farm population is too long

a subject to discuss here. However, it is to be noted that no potential Republican candidate overlooks mentioning "his agricultural program", and many of them are far more impractical than the A.A.A. and no one doubts that the Republicans will have a strong agricultural plank in the platform.

10. Through the N.R.A. and the A.A.A.—while not a part of its direct legislation—the administration inculcated into the minds of all thinking Americans that throughout the future some provision must be made in our national life looking toward the conservation of our natural resources. It is freely admitted that President Roosevelt has done more for the cause of conservation than all of our other Presidents put together by gradually causing the people of the nation to realize that our resources must be conserved throughout the future, and that we as a nation must get away from the wasteful policy which has given rise to the saying that "France could live on the waste from the American table".

That we as a nation are commencing to think along conservation lines is amply proven by the statements heard everywhere of the necessity of conserving our timber, oil, coal, iron and other resources, and the necessity of maintaining the fertility of our soil—preventing soil erosion, etc. To President Roosevelt is due the chief credit for getting us as a nation to think along conservation lines.

11. Furnished an example in the person of the President himself to the entire country of courageous, cheerful, encouraging leadership. The President's own example probably did more than any other one thing to raise the morale of the nation and give the people confidence back in those dark days of March, 1933, and no one should forget how we felt back in those dark days of March, 1933. It is all very well for us now with the country well along toward recovery to forget the crisis of March 4th, 1933, but it is only fair to remember how desperate we felt in those days, and it is only fair to remember what a courageous, cheerful leader the President was at that distressing time.

* * * *

In the main the above outlines the chief contributions to date of the administration. There have been many other minor policies—some good and some bad—but none of them of the far reaching importance of the above. For

example, the so-called "soak the rich" system of taxation, as a method of raising money and also as a social reform, is probably open to some debate. Personally, I favor it very strongly, as I have felt always that the rich man did not pay enough for the protection afforded him by this country in the enjoyment of his wealth, and I have also felt that if one generation handed on to the next a good education, a good opportunity, and a reasonable capital start, that the first generation is not only doing all that can be expected of it but that it is doing all that is *good* for the second generation. I believe in the long run it will result in a more courageous and altogether self-reliant citizenry.

In this same category come the laws regulating the holding utility companies. They also are a matter of debate. Personally, I favor them for reasons which I will not take the trouble to explain, but others might have reasons for being equally well opposed. However, again, legislation of this character is not as far reaching and of as much national importance as the accomplishments listed under the eleven paragraphs above.

There have been certain other minor policies and legislation, but none of them are of sufficient importance to discuss herein. As frankly stated above, some of them are good and some of them are bad, depending on one's point of view, but all of them are of minor importance as compared to the eleven chief accomplishments and policies listed above.

* * * *

OPPOSITION TO THE ADMINISTRATION

It is to be noted, as far as the eleven accomplishments listed above are concerned, that the opposition does not oppose one *single* one of them. Do you, for example, hear the opposition criticize the efforts of the administration to dispose of prohibition? Do you hear the opposition clamoring for the repeal of Federal insurance of deposits? Do you hear the opposition opposing the control of our exchanges? Do you hear the opposition urging the revaluating of the dollar (they will talk about sound money and whatever that means) but do they specifically clamor for the revaluating of the dollar? Do you hear them state that they are opposed to the relief program?—etc. You will hear the opposition talk resoundingly about the Supreme Court invalidating the enforcement of the N.R.A. and the A.A.A. but do you hear the opposition opposing the *prin-*

principles of the N.R.A. or opposing the aid to our agricultural population which was set up under A.A.A.?

You certainly do not. In other words, as listed above, the statement is correct that you do not hear the opposition opposing a *single one* of the above described eleven chief accomplishments and objectives of the Roosevelt administration.

The opposition centers on a few main lines.

FIRST—That Mr. Roosevelt departed from the Democratic platform and spent a tremendous amount of money instead of economizing. They point to the increase in the national debt of some eleven billion dollars since March 4th, 1933. Unquestionably the President did spend money instead of economizing, but on the other hand when the Democratic platform was written in June, 1932, and early in the Democratic campaign, did any man in this country foresee that we would be confronted with the crisis that faced us on March 4th, 1933, and the few months thereafter. With the entire country desperately clamoring for relief and looking to Washington for help in the emergency, in my opinion the greatest credit is due to the President for his courage and foresight in not allowing himself to be bound by earlier campaign promises.

But let us examine the claims of the opposition in regard to spending money, and also let us examine what the money was spent for. The vast majority of the eleven billion dollar increase in our national debt was spent for the *relief program*. Let the opposition be fair and if they wish to persist in their criticism of spending money let them at the same time state that they would not have put on the President's relief program. The increase in our national debt—except for the sums spent on relief—is negligible, and do you hear any of the opposition speakers stating that they would have allowed the people to starve and that they would have done nothing about unemployment. One cannot fairly criticize the expenditure without also criticizing the purpose for which the expenditure was made.

So let us admit that the President spent the money for his relief program and then see from a pure matter of dollars and cents how we stand today.

The national debt has increased some eleven billion dollars due principally to the relief program. While the opposition lay great stress on this eleven billion dollars, they do not mention that since March 4th, 1933, the national wealth has increased at least *one hundred and twenty-five billion dollars*. The stocks and bonds listed on

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the New York Stock Exchange alone are worth over forty-one billion dollars more than they were on March 4th, 1933 (Standard Statistics). That gigantic figure represents only the stocks and bonds on the New York Stock Exchange alone. It includes no other exchanges, nor does it include the securities of countless smaller institutions whose stocks are not listed, nor does it include the increase in the value of farm property, real estate of all kinds, or of all the other various kinds of wealth in the United States. In view of this, I believe that the statement that the national wealth has increased one hundred and twenty-five billion dollars is conservative. So while we have accumulated a national debt of eleven billion dollars* in accomplishing the "New Deal" program, the recovery stimulated by this program has resulted in the national wealth being increased one hundred and twenty-five billion dollars. Was, or was not, the investment a good one?

(NOTE: The National debt will increase further before it reaches its peak and then commences to decline—but so also will the National wealth increase in proportion. For example, the stocks and bonds on the New York Stock Exchange have today increased beyond the forty-one billion dollar figure which compares with the National debt figure of eleven billion.)

And finally the opposition says—Who is going to pay all the debts contracted by the New Deal? The answer is obvious—that the people of this country are going to pay them and they can well afford to do so. At present, including not only national but all the state and municipal debts both in the United States and Great Britain, the average per capita public indebtedness of the United States is \$397.00, whereas the average per capita public indebtedness in Great Britain is \$936.00, and each one of us is far better able to pay than each one of them.

I am not attempting to prove that increased national debt is desirable either for this or any other country. I am merely trying to show that in the crisis which we faced on March 4th, 1933, an increase in the national debt was unavoidable except in the opinion of those who considered that all relief of any sort was unnecessary. The cost of the administration's program up to date is eleven billion dollars with the national wealth increased one hundred and twenty-five billion dollars. In another crisis, the great war—from which we got nothing—we spent up to a time shortly after the conclusion of the war twenty-five billion dollars with a grand total cost to date of forty-three billion

*See page 31.

dollars. And on March 4th, 1933, we faced an economic crisis in this country *equal if not greater* than the crisis we faced in the great war. One crisis cost us all told forty-three billion dollars, for which we have nothing to show, and the other crisis—out of which President Roosevelt so courageously led us—has cost us up to date eleven billion dollars and increased the national wealth one hundred and twenty-five billion dollars.

So much for the charge of the opposition that the President has violated the Democratic platform and spent too much money.

SECOND—The other line of opposition centers on the charge of the administration's disregard for the constitution of the United States.

In the first place, let it be said that at least three quarters of the accomplishments of the administration had nothing to do with the constitution or else were approved by the Supreme Court. While a few minor bills were disapproved by the Supreme Court, the chief basis of the charge of the opposition is the disapproval by the Supreme Court of the N.R.A. and the A.A.A. However, the opposition is very careful not to dispute the principles of the N.R.A.—the enforcement of which was declared unconstitutional—or oppose the purposes of the A.A.A.

Under this constitutional angle it must be remembered that the administration was working at high and tremendous pressure in a desperate situation when everybody in this country was looking to the federal government to save the situation. There wasn't time for the normally slow processes of our legislation. The people had to be fed—the unemployed had to be taken care of—and the country had to be saved—and the condition of the country today, as compared to March 4th, 1933, is a pretty sound indication of the fact that the job was well done, even though some liberties were taken with the constitution. And in spite of the fact that the edict of the Supreme Court made the enforcement of two of the important policies of the Administration impossible, no attempt was made by the President to over-ride the verdict of the Supreme Court as many people expected him to try to do, and as the Republicans under Grant actually did do—to say nothing of the Civil War being brought on by the Republicans of the north being unwilling to accept the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case. Feeling ran high at that time and I am not criticising the Republicans for not obeying the verdict of the Supreme Court in the trying days

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before the Civil War, or in the trying days of the reconstruction under Grant, but it must also be remembered that *these have also been trying days*, and that the administration has been working with its whole soul to bring about recovery, and yet when at certain points the Supreme Court said "no", the administration accepted the verdict—thereby clearly showing its respect for constitutional government.

There have been certain occasions in our past when in great crises some great President has temporarily disregarded the constitution and been everlastingly praised for having done so. For example, Abraham Lincoln with his own knowledge that it was unconstitutional, and therefore with a certain amount of reluctance, issued the proclamation emancipating the slaves when every constitutional authority advising him knew it was strictly illegal. The proclamation was subsequently made legal some three years thereafter by constitutional amendment. *Does any one today criticise Abraham Lincoln for having issued the Emancipation Proclamation?*

President Roosevelt on the other hand, even though undoubtedly disappointed in some of his recovery measures being halted by the constitution, has at no time attempted to use his great popularity to over-ride the constitution. On the other hand, he has strictly abided by the decisions.

The hostile press has made a tremendous effort to pin on the President the charge of violating the constitution by widely advertising his reference to the "horse and buggy days." These tactics are almost too childish to require a serious answer. As I have clearly shown, other presidents—in trying times—have actually over-ridden the constitutional checks provided by the Supreme Court. Under almost equally trying conditions, President Roosevelt has in no sense attempted to over-ride the verdicts of the Supreme Court, but merely in a very human manner gave voice to a semi-humorous, semi-impatient phrase over the setting aside of one of the principal pieces of legislation of his administration—the *principles* of which legislation he well knew were approved by the vast majority of the people, and the operation of which legislation (up to the time of its being declared unconstitutional) he knew had been materially assisting recovery. And let it be said right here that the benefits of this legislation are now still assisting recovery, because in the main the principles are still being *carried on voluntarily* in the vast majority of

cases. It is extremely regretful that the hostile press should be confusing the real issue in this manner and trying to impress upon the people the fact that our President is not abiding by the constitution. In fact, it is regrettable that the hostile press—overly biased by their partisanship—are doing so much to undermine the respect and honor which are due from every good citizen to the dignity and prestige of the President of the United States.

Another side of this constitutional angle is the claim by some of the opposition that Mr. Roosevelt is a dictator. This is such a foolish charge that little time can be wasted on it. All his laws were passed by the Congress of the United States in the strictly constitutional manner provided for their being passed, *and no one can deny this*. It is true that being the great leader that he is, the President has tremendous influence with Congress, but let those who criticise him think back on the pathetic figure of Mr. Hoover and the almost contempt that was shown a very fine man by the population generally, due to the fact that Mr. Hoover could not control his Congress, but no one can deny that Congress passed laws which President Roosevelt administered in a thoroughly legal manner. In other words, his entire program had congressional approval, and the fact that Congress could not always be dominated by the President has been very decisively proven in connection with the bonus legislation. *No man can be a dictator in this country as long as his acts are approved by the legislative representatives of the people and by the Supreme Court*. It is foolish and childish to argue otherwise.

THIRD—Some opposition in certain quarters has been shown to the administration's old age and security act, but the opposition has not been very great and it is pretty nearly the unanimous belief in this country that legislation of this sort has become a part of our life: (witness speeches of Landon and Borah).

FOURTH—Some time ago the opposition to the administration—and particularly the hostile press—were loudly declaiming that there could be *no recovery* in this country until we got rid of the New Deal. Everybody remembers these calamity howlers. Finally when this position became no longer tenable—as recovery was steadily and increasingly taking place—they then switched their tune and are now saying that recovery has been in spite of the administration instead of with the assistance of the administration. Examples are cited—notably England—of countries who without a New Deal are progressing toward recovery more

rapidly than we are. However, actual statistics are now coming in to upset the claims of these objectors, and the talk of recovery being hindered by the New Deal is commencing to be soft pedaled in political quarters, because the statistics incontrovertibly are showing that the reverse is true.

In the first place, the industrial statistics (index of total industrial activity) of the nations show that our percentage of recovery since 1932 is greater than any leading nation on earth except Japan. Japan's percentage of industrial recovery has been slightly more rapid than ours, but on the other hand ours is ahead of every other leading nation.

As a typical example of this, let us consider the steel industry—generally recognized to be the most reliable barometer of the economic condition of the nation. Every school boy practically is acquainted with the old saying, "As steel goes—so goes the nation," and all well informed people realize that this is true. Steel is used in practically every activity of our lives and if our economic life is active, consumption of steel is large and the reverse is true. So let us examine the statistics in the steel industry in the United States as compared to other nations.

The year 1932 was the world wide low year of the depression in this country as well as all other countries. It was also the world wide low year in the steel industry. All figures given below are taken from "The Iron Age," generally considered to be one of the two or three most reliable papers devoted to the steel and iron industry. In 1932 the entire world produced roughly 50,000,000 gross tons of steel ingots of which the United States produced 27.3% and the rest of the world the balance. In 1935 recovery was in progress throughout the world and also in the steel industry. In 1935 the entire world produced 96,000,000 tons of steel ingots of which the United States produced 35.3%; in other words, between 1932 and 1935 the United States increased its share of world production from 27.3% to 35.3%, or to put it another way, the United States progressed, roughly, 25% more rapidly than the rest of the world. Great Britain is frequently referred to by the opposition to the administration as an excellent example of a country recovering without a "New Deal." Let us see how Great Britain did in the steel industry—the most reliable barometer. In 1932 Great Britain produced 10.6% of the steel of the world, but in 1935 it only produced 10.4%; in other words, Great Britain only approximately held its own with the rest of the world, whereas the

United States with respect to the rest of the world gained over 25%.

Various other and equally imposing examples could be given, but it is unnecessary in this article, as they are all about in line with the steel statistics above and, as previously stated, "As steel goes—so goes the nation."

So much for the argument of the opposition that the New Deal has hindered recovery.

FIFTH—The opposition also dwells on the fact that we still have a great deal of unemployment, citing the figures that unemployment has only decreased about 3,000,000. I do not challenge this figure, but the important figure is the fact that *employment has increased about 7,500,000*. This latter figure is carefully soft pedaled by the opposition.

To explain this apparent discrepancy is very simple. The unemployment figures (those on relief, etc.) have been added to both by our growing population with a certain number of people becoming of employable age during each of the past three years, plus the fact that a great number of men whose resources gradually dwindled, finally were compelled to add themselves to the relief rolls, so that the fight against unemployment has been hindered by these two causes, and therefore the unemployment figure has only been decreased by approximately 3,000,000.

But the all important fact is that during the administration 7,500,000 people have been added to the total of those gainfully employed.

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CONCLUSIONS

President Roosevelt eminently deserves to be—and will be—overwhelmingly re-elected on the basis of his record. If the opposition are not satisfied with his record, why do they not—as suggested above—come out definitely for the repeal of the various measures which he has made the law of the land, and in addition why do they not come out and oppose publicly the principles of N.R.A., and why do they not come out and state publicly that all assistance should be abandoned and the farmer be left to hoe his own row? The reason they do not do these things is because they know that these acts and principles are sound and good. The only claim of the opposition is that they could have carried out the same objectives and principles in a better

manner. As a matter of fact, it is questionable whether they would have carried them out at all (they had plenty of opportunity to do so and never did), and it is certainly very questionable if they could have carried them out as well—always bearing in mind that everything done by the Roosevelt administration was done under the most trying conditions with the country clamoring for relief and recovery and looking toward Washington to pull us out of the misery that existed on March 4th, 1933. Let any fair minded person consider the condition of the country today as compared to March 4th, 1933, and then ask himself if the administration hasn't done an astoundingly remarkable job under the most trying circumstances and under a pressure of public anxiety only equalled on three or four occasions in our national life.

I am not so partisan or stupid as to believe or argue that the administration is solely responsible for our remarkable recovery. The United States of America and fundamental economics have been largely responsible, but I do most decidedly claim that the administration has *tremendously assisted recovery* and has brought many valuable changes into our national life and put on the statute books much valuable and permanent legislation.

Certainly—in modern times—no administration has tackled such a job or accomplished so much.

When it is all summed up, probably the greatest single accomplishment of the Roosevelt administration is the fact that he has saved for this country its *adherence to the capitalistic system*. No system of government or economics can exist in a democracy unless supported by the *vast majority* of the people, and to gain their support the vast majority of the people must be *satisfied* with the system.

Briefly described, the capitalistic system is that system under which every man is entitled to the just rewards of his own work, efforts, inventiveness, efficiency, productivity, etc., and in addition is entitled to the protection of his government in the enjoyment of these rewards, for which protection he pays in reasonable proportion to the amount which his government protects. The capitalistic system is unquestionably the best system of economics which society has ever devised, but like every good thing it had certain faults.

The chief fault of the capitalistic system was that the vast number of actual producers of wealth, the men who actually work with their hands pushing plows—running machines—mining coal, etc.,—were permitted in too many

cases to have the results of their labor lost to non-producers. The great mass of our population are producers—men who work with their hands—and they are the people who must be *kept satisfied with the system if the system is to endure*. Let me illustrate.

(NOTE: I include as "producers" all those who work with their hands in the production, transportation, and distribution [the three fundamentals of the productive machine] of actual wealth, and the white collar labor directly associated with them.)

"Jim" is a typical producer. While not saying it in so many words, what the capitalistic system tells Jim is to work steadily at his job, be a good producer, be thrifty, save money against a rainy day and accumulate a certain amount of wealth against his old age. If Jim does this he is an ideal citizen under the capitalistic system and, furthermore, when he has accumulated his savings *he becomes a capitalist*. Jim knows mighty little about finance—nor should he be expected to. He has done his job in being a good thrifty producer. When Jim accumulates his \$2500.00—\$3000.00—or \$4000.00—if humanly possible he must not be allowed to lose it, *or he will not be satisfied with the system*.

There are millions of Jims and, more than any other President, Mr. Roosevelt, by his measures like the federal deposit insurance—control of exchanges—control of those issuing securities, etc.,—has safeguarded the savings of these millions and made it more difficult for them to be lost to the non-producers.

Some people think that when Jim loses his \$3500.00 on, let us say, a sour mortgage that the money is lost. This is in no sense true. The money is lost to Jim, but it goes to the man who buys the building under the auctioneer's hammer. The same is true when Jim loses his money in a closed bank—it went to the man who got the loan and then defaulted on it.

Lack of space prevents developing this theme further, but its importance should appeal to any thinking man, and I again repeat that perhaps Mr. Roosevelt's greatest accomplishment is in the fact that he has succeeded in again reaffirming the faith of the masses of people (the millions of Jims) in the capitalistic system—*by maintaining the system*, but correcting some of its glaring faults.

History will probably consider this as his greatest accomplishment and will give him full credit for bringing America out of this crisis—the greatest depression in our

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history—*with its constitutional form of government unchanged*—(no Hitler—no Mussolini—no Stalin) and with the faith of the vast majority of its citizens reaffirmed in the capitalistic system.

* * * *

I repeat again, Mr. Roosevelt will be overwhelmingly re-elected next November. It would be a disaster to this country if he were not re-elected solely from the point of view that he and his administration have learned the ropes and the machine is now running smoothly. Any one acquainted with the present day W.P.A. as compared to the two year ago C.W.A. realizes how much more smoothly and efficiently the machinery is running today than it did two years ago, and the same is true throughout the entire administration. The machine is now operating smoothly and the legislation is in force and—what's more important—recovery is now definitely and decidedly underway and will continue provided the present administration is not disturbed. Furthermore, the country now understands the present administration and knows just about what to expect from it.

On the other hand, the campaign this fall will be extremely hot and excitable. Charges and counter-charges will be hurled back and forth by the opposing camps. The opposition to Mr. Roosevelt will have to promise a great many things in the heat of the campaign. In the rare event of the opposition being elected, they will again have to turn the country topsy-turvy to carry out these promises and to effect changes in existing legislation whether in the last analysis these changes are good or bad. Any reasonable man should see that at a time like this the throw-over of the present administration—under which we are recovering—and the introduction of a new administration with a lot of ideas of its own—would be bound to again unsettle the country.

So that from the practical standpoint the country needs the re-election of President Roosevelt, who in his last term of office will have only one ambition—namely, to go down in history as a great president and one who will leave a favorable mark upon history.

And, in addition, the failure of the country to re-elect Mr. Roosevelt overwhelmingly would be a crying act of ingratitude to a man who has given his all in a desperate situation to help the country in every conceivable way and who has succeeded so magnificently.

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NOTE: All statistics given in this document are authoritative except what the writer admits is his own guess on the gain in the country's wealth of One Hundred and Twenty-five Billion Dollars since March 4th, 1933. The basis of this guess is the figure from "Standard Statistics" that the stocks and bonds on the New York Stock Exchange have gone up Forty-one Billion Dollars since March 4th, 1933. In the writer's opinion it is reasonable to suppose that the gain on the New York Stock Exchange does not exceed more than one-third of the gain of the wealth of the entire country, taking into account the countless smaller corporations who are not listed on the New York Exchange, the various other stock, bond and commodity exchanges, and the value of all farm land, real estate, etc., but with this one exception all other statistics in other statements are authoritative.

AFTERTHOUGHTS

There is a completely different angle of approaching the problem as to whether the acts of the Roosevelt administration have been good or bad. Let's forget all arguments as to whether we should have gone off the gold standard or not—as to whether the government should have put on a relief program or not—as to whether aid should have been given to our agricultural population (a most knotty problem)—as to whether the principles of the N.R.A., such as maximum hours, minimum wages, no child labor, collective bargaining, etc., were good or bad—in fact, let's abandon all argument pro and con in regard to the policies of the administration. Let us eliminate all arguments—leave the pros and cons to the political orators—and just ask one question.

Is or is not the average man considerably better off today than he was on March 4th, 1933? In other words, the average man has a somewhat increased living expense, slightly higher taxes, and has assumed his small portion of the national debt, but over against this has his wage or salary—the value of any property he may own—returns he may be receiving from any investment—increased more than proportionately so that the net result is that the average man is better off today than he was on March 4th, 1933.

Ask your own self the question and *be honest about it.*

The real answer is that nine out of ten people are very considerably better off than they were and—regardless of their political persuasions—they cannot deny it, and it is

going to be the tremendous affirmative answer to this question which is going to overwhelmingly re-elect Mr. Roosevelt next November.

Because, in the last analysis, it might be very pertinent to suggest that regardless of arguments about this policy or that policy, the real job of a government is to do all possible to make the average citizen better off at the end of its term of office than he was at the beginning, and no one can doubt that the Roosevelt administration—assisted, of course, by the natural economic forces of the country—has accomplished *just exactly this.*

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It might be pertinent here to ask the question as to why such a large percentage of our so-called well-to-do or better class of people (I do not like either of the names but have to use them for lack of better ones) is opposed to Mr. Roosevelt. Theoretically this class of people are supposed to be better educated and better thinkers and, in the main, to be responsible for the conduct of our big industrial and financial enterprises, and therefore the reason for such a large proportion of them being opposed to the administration calls for some comment.

As a matter of fact, the reason is very simple. They feel that they are losing something and they are correct. They feel that they are going to be more heavily taxed—that some of the rules of the game under which they have previously flourished are going to be changed—and they do not like it. Every man, if he is any good at all, is *decently* selfish, and every man is, in the last analysis, bound to consider any proposition based on the way he figures it is going to affect him. The trouble with this class of people, however, is that they do not realize that by giving up a slight amount at the present time they are preserving for this country the capitalistic system whose benefits they have enjoyed and have probably insured its maintenance for generations—yes, centuries to come. They are too much impressed with present day losses and not sufficiently considering future day gains.

What they forget is that what is going on under President Roosevelt today has gone on ever since capitalism, backed by modern civilization, came into being. Practically every great leader has championed a little better deal for the masses at the expense of the classes, and if Democracy is to endure this procedure will probably continue throughout future generations. This is neither socialism,

communism, collectivism, or any other kind of "ism"—it's just plain, hard common sense.

It is very doubtful today if Mr. Roosevelt is any more unpopular with the so-called better class than were some of his great predecessors. As children in school we were taught to believe that the Tories of Revolutionary days were a pretty bad lot. As a matter of fact, this is completely untrue, because by and large they were the best people in the country and the majority of them were opposed to the Revolution and the policies of President Washington.

Andrew Jackson—one of the greatest American presidents that ever lived—was so unpopular with the better class of people that when he went to the White House, he and his wife—the President of the United States and the "first lady of the land"—were not socially received in Washington, but when it was all over history has marked Andrew Jackson as one of the greatest of our Presidents.

It is my opinion that history will deal in the same way with President Roosevelt and that twenty years from now, when we look back dispassionately on this period, it will be realized that Mr. Roosevelt's greatest contribution was steering this country through the troublous days of the worst depression we have ever experienced and bringing us out of it without any fundamental change in our form of government and with the capitalistic system unimpaired except for certain necessary improvements which he has accomplished in order to maintain the faith of the great mass of our population in the capitalistic system—*a faith that must not be lost at all cost.*

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NOTE: There are some who are alarmed at the tendency of the administration or of the times toward public ownership of public utilities and who consider this tendency as dangerous to the capitalistic system. This is in no sense true.

Probably the most capitalistic minded country in the world is France—any one who has been there will recognize the truth of this statement—and yet for a very long time France has owned its public utilities, railroads, etc. To be sure, they are not particularly well run, but that is a characteristic of the French people more than anything else. On the other hand, step up into Denmark—also a very capitalistic minded country—and the public utilities are all publicly owned and extremely well run.

Whether or not public utilities should be publicly or

privately owned has been and will continue to be a political football until the question is definitely settled one way or the other, but a tendency in any country toward public ownership of utilities is in no sense a threat to the capitalistic system in the minds of those who know the situation in other countries.

All public utilities—by nature and by economics—should be in the main, monopolies, and therefore subject to public franchise and public fixing of rates, and therefore from their very nature they are half way on the road to public ownership at all times, and also at all times they are subject to politics in connection with rate fixing problems, etc.

The main point is that all of these utilities are in a special class—by very nature subject to the possibility of public ownership and operation—and whatever may be done in this connection has nothing to do with the capitalistic thought of the country as applied to all other private endeavor.

As stated above, France is probably the most capitalistic minded country in the world from the richest Frenchman to the poorest peasant, and yet the capitalistic ideas of France toward all private enterprise are in no way affected by the fact that in France public utilities are publicly owned.

This is in no sense a defense of public ownership of utilities—in fact, the writer would like to avoid public ownership of utilities if it were possible to do so. This is merely a statement of the fact that whether or not public utilities are publicly owned has nothing to do with the general capitalistic thought of the nation.

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NOTE: I do not wish to convey the impression to any reader of this article that I am an advocate of the A.A.A. or of any of the various programs outlined by Republican presidential candidates for the relief of our farm population. I do not consider myself qualified to pass on the question as to whether such a farm relief program should be a permanent part of our national policy or not. I must say that my sense of fair play realizes that there is justice in providing for our agricultural population some form of protection to offset the protection given to our industrial population by the tariff, but whether this can be accomplished—taking into account the uncertainties of Nature—I do not pretend to know. Perhaps, as some well

informed people believe, it would be best to leave the farmers to their fate and the law of supply and demand and let them paddle their own canoe. Again I say I do not pretend to know.

But this I do say—and say it most emphatically—that whether rightly or wrongly farm relief *was and is today* a political question which no major party could overlook. Merely witness the “farm plans” in the programs of all presidential aspirants.

And this I furthermore contend, that the A.A.A. temporarily accomplished just what it set out to do and what most economists seemed to believe was absolutely essential—namely, to raise and raise promptly the very distressingly low level of the purchasing power of our agricultural population. *The figures prove that it did this*, and therefore it can only be considered as a completely successful *temporary* measure.

And I should like to further add that in my opinion—if it be granted that some form of protection for our agricultural population is required as a part of our permanent national policy—that whatever form this agricultural relief takes there will necessarily have to be some form of crop control as was set up under the A.A.A. In other words, there can not be aid for our farm population without some kind of control of production. This should be obvious to any man of intelligence, but again I say, whether these things are possible or desirable I do not pretend to know.

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In considering the record of the Roosevelt administration, let every fair minded man realize that in America under our form of government we never get perfect administrations. An average administration would be 50% good and 50% bad. That's simply the nature of politics. If we get an administration that is 60% good and 40% bad we are very definitely pleased with the results. *Practical politics* have existed in this country since Washington's administration. There have always been the honest “we-point-with-prides,” and there have always been the honest “we-view-with-alarms.” The greatest presidents this country has ever had have unquestionably committed certain blunders during their administrations, but history has dealt with them on the basis of whether or not the *good accomplished definitely exceeded the bad*.

It is in this light of reason that the Roosevelt administration should be judged. It is in this light of reason that

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the political criticisms of the Roosevelt administration should be judged—and it is in this light of reason that the average voter should determine for himself whether or not the good accomplished by the Roosevelt administration hasn't far exceeded its mistakes.

And let it never be forgotten that toward the close of his first term of office the country finds itself far advanced on the road to recovery—and, what is more important, finds itself with its constitutional form of government unchanged and with the capitalistic system not only in force but strengthened in the minds of the people.

Chicago, Illinois
February 7th, 1936.

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July 14th, 1936

AN EXPLANATION OF THE REMARKABLE ECONOMIC RECOVERY OF THE COUNTRY UNDER THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION

It has occurred to the writer many times—as I imagine it has occurred to you—to speculate as to why this country has recovered so remarkably under the Roosevelt administration when practically every important business leader of the country has continually prophesied that the exact opposite would be the case. I credit every man with being honest—and I assume that when one business leader after another made their various dire prophecies, that they were honest in their opinions. Everyone remembers the record of these prophecies.

First, some two years ago in resounding speeches from coast to coast the business leaders, and the hostile press quoting them, resounded with the theme—

“There can be no recovery as long as the New Deal is in office.”

As previously explained, this position soon became no longer tenable as recovery was taking place, so they changed their theme and again preached—

“Such recovery as we are having is in spite of the New Deal.”

But still our recovery continued and the above not being quite strong enough, they then—I'll admit somewhat lamely—said—

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"We would be recovering more rapidly if it were not for the New Deal."

And then the statistics started coming out, and to the astonishment of every one—in spite of these prophecies of our business leaders—we have staged under the New Deal *one of the most remarkable recoveries in all history.*

I am not going to go into an elaborate argument to prove the recovery. Everybody knows that it is here and that business is good. I shall just give two brief statements to prove how remarkable our recovery has been.

The following quotation is from one of the leading financial editors of the country and is based on 1935 statistics.

"A compilation made by Standard Statistics reveals that net profits, after taxes, of 1799 corporations in 1935 totalled \$2,477,032,000.00, an increase of 50.2% compared with 1934."

Here follows some further data and then finally the following:

"The improvement that has taken place in corporate profits after taxes during the last three years *has never been equalled in the history of the country.*"

And in addition to the above, it is common knowledge that business in the first half of 1936 has made further vast improvement over 1935 earnings.

So much for our recovery as far as business is concerned.

Now for one more example. As previously stated in the article, the status of the steel industry has always been considered the most reliable barometer of a country's welfare. Quoting from the "Iron Age"—a recognized authority—we have the following:

"The total (referring to production in the first six months of 1936) amounted to 85% of the average first half production in the *so-called boom years* of 1926 to 1930 inclusive. It was far above the average for the last five depression years and exceeded the average in the 1921-1925 period by a *comfortable margin*. While the trend for the next six months is difficult to forecast, the full year seems certain to be the best since 1930." (1930 considered a boom year.)

The above simply means that the steel industry is operating only slightly below boom times and comfortably above average times, and the steel industry is the most reliable barometer.

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All of the above facts naturally give rise to the question as to how it was possible for our leading business authorities to be so wrong in their prophecies. As stated above, I credit them with being honest and, this being true, they have all been honestly mistaken. To be sure, some one might answer by stating that all of our business leaders were wrong in the fall of 1929, but as a matter of fact the whole country was wrong in the fall of 1929, so the business leaders can hardly be blamed.

Nor is it sufficient explanation (although some people try to use the fact as a political argument) that the prophecies of the business leaders would have been true had the Supreme Court not invalidated N.R.A. and A.A.A. (The N.R.A. was not invalidated until about the middle of 1935 and the A.A.A. was not invalidated until January 1936). Please remember that I am trying to look at this matter from the economic and not the political standpoint, and the facts are very well proved that whatever N.R.A. and A.A.A. contributed to recovery is still going on, because any well informed man knows that the *principles* of N.R.A. are still today in operation and that N.R.A. is 95% effective today on a voluntary basis. And the same statement is true for A.A.A., which, as previously pointed out, did just exactly what it was intended to do—namely, raised the purchasing power of our agricultural population. The figures prove that it did it.

In seeking around for some explanation of our remarkable recovery in spite of the prophecies of the business leaders, I have come to the following conclusion, which I believe is sound.

Let us first consider the Roosevelt theory of economics. As every one knows, his theory of the quickest way out of the depression was to *raise wages and raise commodity prices*. Every bit of the Roosevelt recovery legislation has aimed at accomplishing *these two things*. Let us now analyze a little on why these two economic policies accomplished recovery in spite of all prophecies to the contrary—in spite of the widespread protests of business men (which everyone remembers) that they could not pay higher wages when they were not making money, etc.

In coming out of previous depressions where deflation was allowed to run its course, it is a well known fact that first business and the wealthy regained prosperity, and prosperity filtered down through them to the rest of the population. This has been the history of all previous depressions.

In considering this matter, the Roosevelt economy hit upon, in my estimation, a brilliant theory, which Mr. Roosevelt proceeded to put into practice and which can be simply explained in the following example.

Let us assume as typical of the wealthy class of this country a man and his wife with three children and with an income of \$20,000.00 a year. Now let us assume this income is doubled. The important question from the standpoint of economics is what will this family do with the additional \$20,000.00. Without going into great detail, it is probably a safe statement to make that not 25% of this increase will go into immediate consumption. The family and their children cannot eat any more. They can wear very little more, and while they may bring up to a certain extent their standard of living, the chances are that the great bulk of this increased income will go into payment of debts, savings accounts, or investments (at a time when we have more capital than we need available for investment) *and not into consumption which calls for the immediate production of goods.*

On the other hand, consider a man and his wife and three children struggling along on an income of from \$50.00 to \$75.00 per month, which during the depression was typical of vast masses of our population. They have hardly enough to eat, let alone adequate clothing, etc. Now let us imagine this man's income doubled. I state that it is a fair conclusion that the entire additional income will immediately go into consumption calling for the production of goods. And let it be remembered that it is *greater production and consumption of goods* that make for prosperity.

In my opinion, it was the realization of this economic fact that caused Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers to adopt this *complete reversal* of economic policy—namely, to first make the great mass of the population more prosperous and allow the enormous consumption of goods due to this increased prosperity to filter back to the businesses and the wealthier classes, and make them prosperous.

That the policy has been completely successful in bringing back an astounding recovery, in spite of the oft expressed views of our leading business men, is now a matter of history.

I can draw exactly the same analogy with respect to higher commodity prices as affecting the man in debt who depends upon reasonable commodity prices to liquidate his debt, like the farmer with a mortgage on his farm,

which he proposed to actually pay in wheat. If wheat is 30c a bushel he can barely service his debt and eke out a bare living; in other words, he has *no purchasing power*.

But with wheat at \$1.00 a bushel he can not only service his debt, but have an additional *purchasing power* which he will most certainly use immediately.

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And so it might seem that in addition to all of the accomplishments of the Roosevelt administration listed herein—chief among which I still consider the federal deposit insurance which *safe-guards the savings of the masses*, and his wisdom in going off the gold standard—to say nothing of his handling of the relief problem—that Mr. Roosevelt has given us a *new theory of economics*, which may serve this country for all time in future depressions and crises.

And it might also seem pertinent to ask a final and very leading question. When the Roosevelt administration went off the gold standard it was bitterly opposed by the opposition, but today practically everyone considers it as a brilliant achievement of the Administration. The conditions in France today are an eloquent example of what has happened to a country that stubbornly clung to the gold standard.

When the Roosevelt administration passed the law establishing federal insurance of deposits, the howls and cries of the opposition reached to the heavens, but today even by the opposition it is considered a most excellent piece of legislation.

When the social security and unemployment insurance act was passed, the opposition resoundingly opposed it. Today it is accepted and is part of the Republican platform.

The relief program of the Roosevelt administration was bitterly opposed by the opposition, but today the Republican platform promises a relief program.

And, in addition, the Republican platform actually uses the New Deal terms of "collective bargaining", "maximum hours", "minimum wages", etc.

In other words, many of the Roosevelt policies which were at first bitterly opposed by the opposition are now accepted as a matter of course, and as a part of our national life, even by the opposition itself.

And now—and most important—we find *recovery an accomplished fact* in spite of the prophecies of the opposition.

Therefore might it not be quite pertinent to ask if it isn't about time for the opposition to concede that Mr. Roosevelt has been "right" in practically all of his important policies, and to abandon the attitude of immediately assuming that every time the Roosevelt administration does anything, it must be "wrong", simply because it may happen to be a departure from the old rules of the game.

When in history has another President been so "right" in connection with *so many* important policies?

* * * *

And there is another question that it might be quite pertinent to ask.

Isn't it about time for the opposition to quit worrying themselves and the public about what they "think" Mr. Roosevelt is going to do, and simply confine themselves to what he has done. For example: for close to two years the opposition has intimated that Mr. Roosevelt *might* attempt to overrule the Supreme Court—pack the Supreme Court—or get around its verdicts in some way—and none of these things has been done. In every instance, the Supreme Court has either approved Mr. Roosevelt's action or in those cases where the Supreme Court disapproved his actions, the President has *strictly abided by the decisions*.

Another example of the opposition's worrying about what they "think" the President may do is in connection with the repeated dire prophecies that the President is planning to be a dictator—that he is planning to regiment us—and that he is planning to take away our personal liberty. Such bosh hardly requires a serious answer, because it is all in the realm of imagination. The best answer that I can give is the one previously quoted in this article reading as follows:

"No man can be a dictator in this country as long as his acts are approved by the legislative representatives of the people and by the Supreme Court."

And every one knows that Mr. Roosevelt's laws have been properly passed by Congress in the constitutional manner, and that if any of these laws have been disapproved by the Supreme Court, that Mr. Roosevelt has abided by the decision.

So again I say, let's stop paying attention to those who try to worry us by what they "think" the President will do, and let's stick to the facts.

THE NATIONAL DEBT

So many loose statements have been made by the opposition to the administration in connection with the increase in our national debt, that it seems desirable to give herein the correct information. Perhaps the easiest way to do it is to quote from an article by the well known financial editor—Robert P. Vanderpoel—which appeared in the July 13th, 1936, issue of the "Chicago American". The "Chicago American" is of course a Hearst newspaper, but nevertheless Mr. Vanderpoel is noted for his accuracy and his fairness regardless of the personal bias of any of the publishers in whose columns his articles appear. The Vanderpoel article follows:

"A Wall Street study of federal indebtedness is interesting and discloses a condition less alarming than the figures usually presented.

"Total indebtedness of the government as of June 30, 1936, is placed at \$33,779,000,000, compared with \$22,539,000,000 on June 30, 1933, (the close of the last government fiscal year under the Hoover administration—this parenthesis is mine) an increase in three years of \$11,240,000,000.

"Net indebtedness, however, is placed at \$25,253,000,000, compared with \$19,477,000,000 three years ago, an increase of \$5,768,000,000.

"Five and three-quarters billion dollars is a large sum, but considering the severity of the depression it is probably not an excessive amount to have spent on the war against that depression by a nation as vast and with as great resources as the United States. This becomes apparent, for example, when one considers that the value of stocks listed on the New York Exchange rose \$31,211,000,000 during the three years and four months from February 28, 1933, to June 30, 1936, (please note that this is the value of *stocks* only; if bonds were included the figure would be much higher; this parenthesis is mine) or that bank deposits rose about \$8,000,000,000 during this same period.

"Offsetting the gross indebtedness of the federal government the Wall Street study shows \$2,682,000,000 of cash on hand, \$1,800,000,000 cash or equivalent in the stabilization fund, and \$4,034,000,000 recoverable value of various investments of different federal agencies.

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A GALLANT LEADER



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

HOTEL BILTMORE

NEW YORK CITY

W. FORBES MORGAN
TREASURER

September 2, 1936

Mr. A. C. Chadwick, Jr.
3624 Fiske Avenue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania \$1.00

Dear Mr. Chadwick:

The amount of your remittance to the Roosevelt Nominators is indicated above.

On behalf of the National Committee, it is my privilege, exercised with much pleasure, to thank you for your contribution.

You have participated in a remarkable nation-wide movement which not only honored President Franklin D. Roosevelt with a popular expression of esteem and admiration but which also raised a substantial part of the fund for his re-election campaign. You have helped the Democratic party.

Sincerely,

W. Forbes Morgan
W. Forbes Morgan
Treasurer

M:n

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"The figures do not include provision for payment of the soldiers' bonus. The recoverable value of assets is placed at 66 2-3 per cent of face value, although estimates have been made that they will run *substantially higher* than this. There is no public knowledge as to whether the stabilization fund is intact or has increased or decreased in value.

"The foreign so-called war debts exceeding \$12,000,000,000 have been *charged off entirely* in this computation, although hopes are expressed in some quarters that eventually something may be realized on these 'investments'.

"The government has guaranteed \$4,689,000,000 of obligations of Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation, the Home Owners Loan Corporation and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This represents a conditional liability, but officials explain that no loss has accrued to the government yet as a result of its guarantee and that assets held seem ample to cover all liabilities."

Many of the exaggerated statements about the national debts are due to overlooking the difference between gross debt and net debt. For example, the writer himself made the same error earlier in this article on page 10 by referring to an increase in the national debt of some \$11,000,000,000. As explained by Mr. Vanderpoel, there is a big difference between gross and net debt and it is the *net debt which counts*. For example, a corporation—doing very little business—may owe the banks nothing. However, the same corporation doing a large business may owe a considerable amount at the bank, but have a great deal more than enough to offset it in inventories and accounts receivable. So remember that it is our *net government debt* that counts and this is well explained by Mr. Vanderpoel.

Please note that the above quotations from Mr. Vanderpoel is based on "Wall Street study" of federal indebtedness. Wall Street may be anti-administration, but on the other hand when it comes to cold figures Wall Street sticks to the facts, which probably accounts for Wall Street's support of the stock market. Wall Street knows that conditions are sound, however little they may like to credit this soundness to the Roosevelt administration.

And please note that Wall Street only charges the administration with an increase of Five and Three Quarters

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Billions Dollars in the national debt, except, of course, for the extra cost of the soldiers' bonus.

Now let us see how this actually affects each one of us. Disregarding the cost of the bonus, the above increase in the public debt under the Roosevelt administration has increased our per capita indebtedness something less than \$50 each. On the other hand, the increase in our national wealth of over \$125,000,000,000 under the Roosevelt administration has increased our per capita wealth about \$1000 each. In other words, each one of us has invested about \$50 in order to gain \$1000. I still consider it a mighty good investment.

And let me repeat again, that in addition to putting many wise laws on our statute books, the Roosevelt administration at the small cost to each of us of about \$50.00 has brought us through the depression with our constitutional form of government unchanged—with the capitalistic system, as improved, still in force—and has tremendously assisted in bringing about a phenomenal national recovery, which up to date has raised our national wealth over \$125,000,000,000—or \$1,000 for each one of us on a per capita basis.

"I make this specific recommendation that each and every one who is interested in obtaining the facts and in spreading those facts abroad, each and every one of you interested in getting at the truth that lies somewhere behind the smoke-screen of charges and counter-charges of a National campaign, constitute yourself a committee of one."

—PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, in Jackson Day address, January 8, 1936.

COMMITTEE OF ONE

FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

452 Munsey Building
WASHINGTON, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, *Chairman*
HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE
MRS. CASPAR WHITNEY



Dear Friend:

Your name has been given to us by one of your friends, with the thought that you may be able to give us some helpful advice.

We need the names of five responsible, loyal persons in your community who are whole-heartedly in sympathy with the Administration in Washington. The kind of men and women we want should be ready, eager and willing to do as they are told in rendering a real service to the Party, who stand for the great human principles of our President.

The kind of persons we want should be active, influential, hard workers, and, preferably, owners of automobiles, not in politics or seeking office or reward, but whose loyalty is unquestioned.

These men will be asked to join the COMMITTEE OF ONE, a special corps of trusted workers who will be called upon to do special service during the present presidential campaign.

Enclosed is a blank with spaces for five names. We will be most grateful to you if you will fill this out carefully, with considerable thought, and return the blank to us in the enclosed prepaid reply envelope, by return mail.

Cordially yours,

Bennett Champ Clark
Chairman, Executive Committee

Boondoggling

The Story of the
"\$25,000"
MEMPHIS
DOG HOUSE
and
OTHER STORIES



Road paving in Cochise County, Arizona, WPA workers are shown laying a pre-mixture of emulsified asphalt.

Repair and construction on West Michigan Street in Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana, by WPA workers.



September 1936

THE MEMPHIS "\$25,000" DOG HOUSE (TENNESSEE)

THE STORY . . . THE FACTS . . .

Statement of Hon. Daniel O. Hastings (Rep.) of Delaware in the United States Senate. (Printed in Congressional Record of February 25, 1936.)

MR. HASTINGS: "Let me read from a speech delivered by Representative Lehlbach and I think the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. McKellar) will be interested in this. He said:

'You think this Passamaquoddy project is a sole exception and not typical of the insensate spending orgy now going on? Well, let's look at the dog pound in the city of Memphis, Tenn., for the building of which \$25,000 of WPA money has been allocated. I saw some days ago in the New York Sun a reproduction of the architect's sketch of this dog house, and I certainly wish I could live in as handsome a building as the Memphis dogs will occupy. The dogs will have individual pens with fresh bedding every day, exercise runways, shower baths, and every other imaginable comfort of home.'

"These dogs are not valuable dogs. These are just stray dogs brought in there. If the owner does not claim them in three days, after they have had a bath and a night's rest, they are taken into a gas chamber and the gas is turned on and they are killed."

WHY HAVE A DOG POUND?

During the last three years, the Memphis (Tennessee) Health Department has given 877 Pasteur treatments, mostly to children who had been bitten by mad dogs . . . 1500 people were reported bitten by dogs and in 372 cases these dogs were found to be suffering from rabies. . . . Six people suffered horrible deaths from this cause. . . . In 1935, at large cost to the taxpayers, more than 10,000 dogs had to be destroyed in Memphis.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

This project is sponsored by the City of Memphis, approved by its Health Department, the Memphis Humane Society, and demanded by civic bodies.

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST?

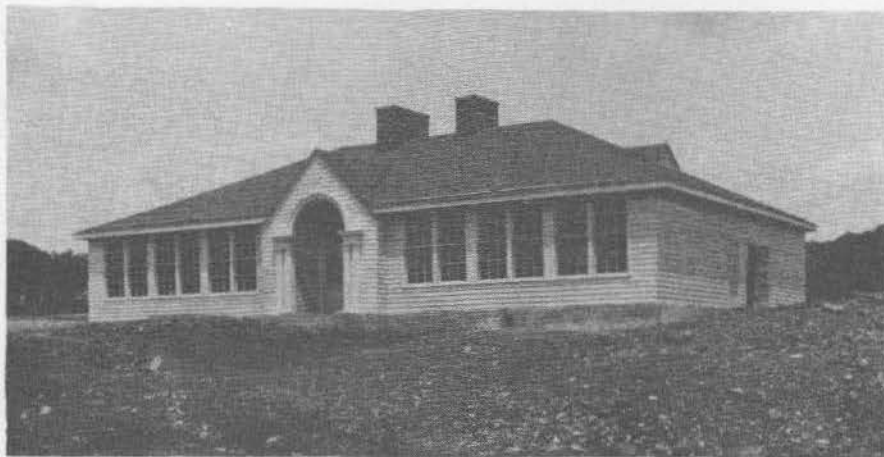
Not \$25,000—if the Senator from Delaware will pardon us—but \$19,000. Not even \$19,000 "of WPA Money", but \$13,000, allocated almost entirely for labor. The City of Memphis contributes the balance of \$6000 to cover material costs.

W P A FURNISHES LABOR

The WPA contribution is intended to cover the labor costs, giving employment to 53 men for two months . . . funds which otherwise would have been necessitated for direct relief.

WHAT WILL IT DO?

The building is attractive, has concrete walls, steel pens and a lethal gas chamber. . . . It also provides space for a central office for an organized control of rabies and the handling of small animals. . . . It is estimated that the Pound, aside from its protection of the health of the citizens will shortly pay for itself in savings effected in the health, police and other public services of the city government.



A four-room frame school in Pebble Township near Idaho, Pike County, Ohio. This is part of a Program of seven 4-room school buildings to eliminate 31 1-room schools. Five of these are to be completed under WPA.

Construction of Star City School at Star City, Lincoln County, Arkansas, by WPA workers.



THE SCHOOLS OF TRES LAGUNAS (NEW MEXICO)

THE STORY . . . At Tres Lagunas, New Mexico, the WPA plans to construct two school buildings. One will cost \$2,052; the other \$2,152.

The total population of Tres Lagunas is eleven souls, of which it appears that not more than four are, in all probability, of school age.

With two pupils per school and \$1,000 per pupil, this might be termed higher education, indeed.

—NEW YORK SUN, "TODAY'S BOONDOGGLE"

March 10, 1936

THE FACTS . . .

WHY THIS PROJECT?

Schools are admittedly necessary. To be of practical value, they must be reasonably near to the families they serve. In sparsely settled areas, such as is most of New Mexico, each school will for the time being serve but a few pupils. But, certainly the children affected, though few in numbers, must not be denied schooling.

New Mexico is our youngest State, the fourth largest in area and with a predominately rural population. This necessitates the construction of a large number of small school houses all over the State. Naturally, until the State's basic plant is established, the cost per capita will be relatively high.

The project cited comprises the construction of two wood frame school buildings: One 9 miles northwest of Tres Lagunas, the other 12 miles north of this village. This precinct has a population of 206.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

The Catron County, New Mexico, Board of Education sponsored this project and made a contribution to it.

WHAT WILL IT COST?

The cost of the schools is \$2,062 and \$2,152, or a total of \$4214 for the two. The sponsor's contribution is \$300.

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

On each of these schools, the WPA provides jobs for 13 men for two months; a total of 26 men.

WHAT WILL IT DO?

These schools provide usable facilities to the surrounding families. In the country as a whole, there is a school for every 12 square miles. In New Mexico, due to its large area, this average has stood at 99 square miles, thereby denying educational facilities to many children. These two schools right that situation in their district.



Cohas WPA Sewing Project, Manchester, Hillsborough County, New Hampshire.

A number of WPA women workers at machines in the sewing room at Abilene, Taylor County, Texas.



THE OCALA COMMUNITY CENTER (FLORIDA)

THE STORY . . . THE FACTS . . .

"The \$1,400,000,000 which the WPA is spending on work relief represents an outlay of slightly more than \$10 for each of the 130,000,000 men, women and children in the United States, and any community that gets less than this is bound to feel that it has been gypped.

"The little town of Ocala, in Marion County, Florida, will have no cause for complaint, however. The President has already approved a street-improvement program, the construction of a community center, a community service program and other projects for this town.

"On top of all this, the WPA announces that it will demolish the old courthouse and jail and rebuild the structure again, pave more streets and lay some sidewalks at a total cost to the Federal Treasury of \$148,466.

"This project alone represents the expenditure of more than \$20 for each of Ocala's 7,200 inhabitants."

—New York Sun,
"Today's Boon-Doggie"
December 13, 1935

WHY THIS PROJECT?

This public development affects not only the 7,281 residents of Ocala, Florida, but the 29,578 citizens of Marion County, as well as thousands of visitors from all over the country who sojourn at Silver Springs, popular nearby resort. . . . Allotment of such community projects is made not entirely upon the basis of population, but by considerations of the relief load, skills available, the permanency and need of the projected improvements.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

This project was directly sponsored by the Marion County Commission and requested by the Ocala city government.

HOW MUCH DOES IT COST?

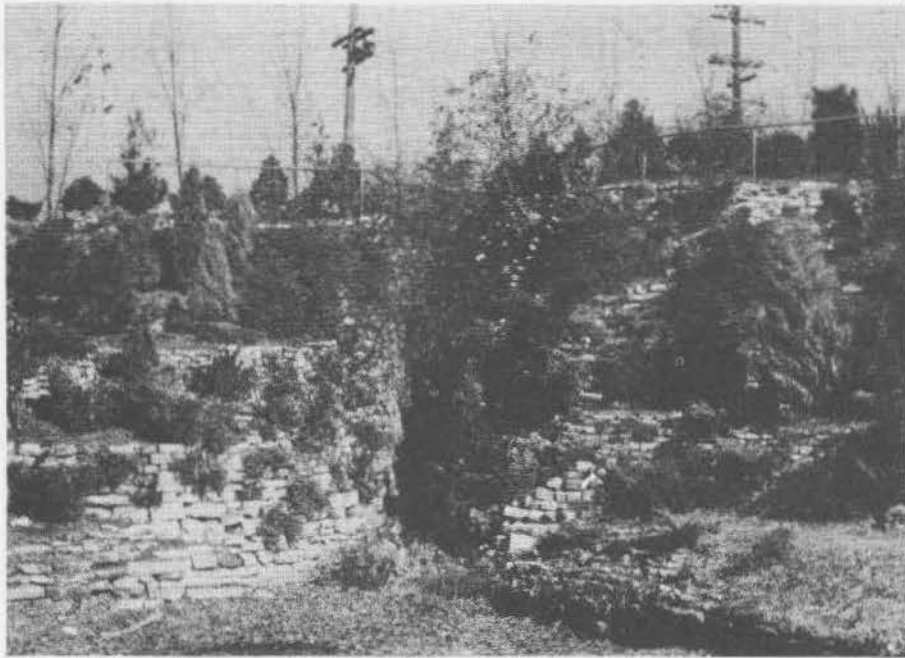
The total cost is \$201,796. Of this amount, the local sponsors—the Marion County Commission—contributes \$53,330. This latter sum approximates the cost of the raw materials involved.

W P A SUPPLIES LABOR

The \$148,466 WPA contribution will provide work for 207 men for a period of one year . . . funds which otherwise would have been required for direct relief.

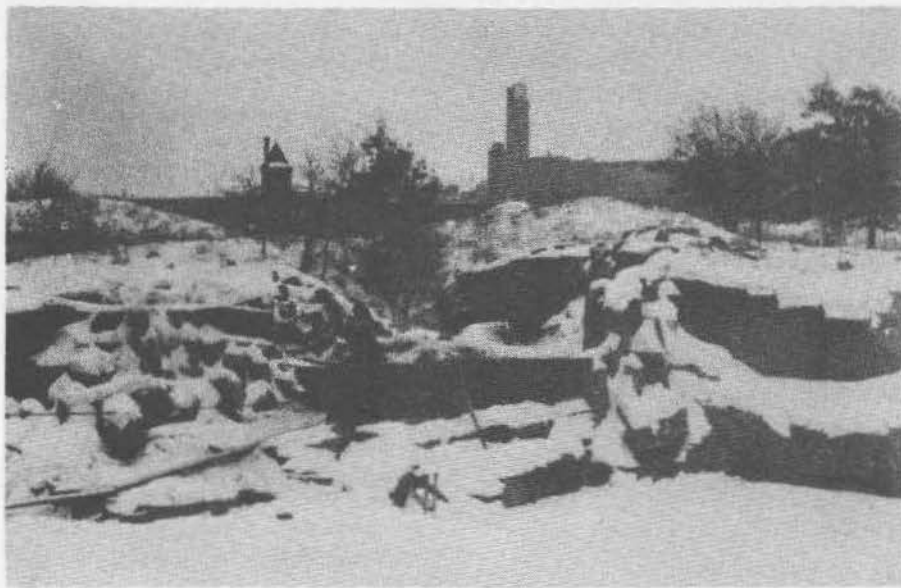
WHAT THE PROJECT IS

The work to be done consists of the demolition of the present Court House and jail . . . rebuilding a four-story reinforced concrete structure . . . paving adjoining streets . . . laying of concrete sidewalks . . . and clearing of ground for a public park in city square.



Rock Garden built by WPA workers in West Swinney Park, Fort Wayne, Allen County, Indiana.

Recreational Park Project at Teachers' College, St. Cloud, Stearns County, Minnesota. WPA workers have already started work on the granite wall.



THE FLAGSTONES OF PENN YAN (NEW YORK)

* * *

THE STORY . . . THE FACTS . . .

"If any one in Penn Yan, New York, has some old flagstones to which he has become attached for sentimental reasons, it behooves him now to guard them well.

"The WPA has put through a project calling for the expenditure of \$17,858 'to remove old flagstones and replace with new.' In just that form, and without any further description, the project was approved by the President, and somehow, slipped through the Comptroller-General's office.

"No one here knows, therefore, what flagstones are to be taken up or where the new ones are to be put down. Thus, every flagstone in the town stands in distinct jeopardy and may be ruthlessly seized and replaced by some ardent relief worker anxious to do his day's job well and to get it over with."

—NEW YORK SUN,
"Today's Boon-Doggle"
December 26, 1935

WHY THIS PROJECT?

The Village of Penn Yan, N. Y., has in the past suffered many damage suits brought by persons for injuries caused by the faulty condition of the streets. Some of the streets are in very bad repair.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

The Village of Penn Yan sponsored this project and makes a substantial contribution toward it.

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST?

The total cost of the project is \$24,680. Of this amount the village of Penn Yan contributes \$6,822, which substantially covers the cost of the materials used.

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

The WPA contribution provides jobs for 24 men for a period of one year—funds which otherwise would have gone for direct relief.

WHAT WILL IT DO?

This project is a permanent and much needed public improvement. "Under ordinary circumstances", say the sponsors, "repairs to broken flags would be piece-meal over a ten year period. The WPA plan completes the work in one year.



Felts Field Airport, Spokane, Spokane County, Washington. W.P.A. workers are shown constructing a new hangar and administration building.

Boeing Airport, Seattle, King County, Washington. A general view.



THE BOULDER DIKE (COLORADO)

* * *

THE STORY . . . "If a tidal wave more than a mile high should ever sweep across the country from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains it would find the college town of Boulder, Colorado, well prepared, for the Federal Government is spending \$10,403 to build a dike there.

"No such catastrophe being imminent, the project may serve meanwhile as a money-saving device for tourists who might otherwise be forced to go all the way to Holland to see a dike.

"In Holland the dikes constitute man's oldest living alibi. Caught returning tardily to their homes, delinquent husbands tell their wives of their heroic struggles to stop a leak in the dike. Wouldn't it be fun to see the expression on the face of the Dean of Women the first time a University of Colorado co-ed tries that out on her?"

—NEW YORK SUN—"TODAY'S BOON-DOGGLE"

October 28, 1935

THE FACTS . . .

WHY THIS DIKE?

This dike is built to control local flood waters and to avert the dangers of Boulder Creek changing its course to its old channel on land now under cultivation. "One bad flood", say the sponsors, "with the creek channel unprotected, could cause damage which would exceed vastly the entire cost of the project."

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST?

The total outlay for this dike project is \$11,899, of which the local sponsors contribute \$1496. In addition to the 1120 feet of dike, the project also includes straightening of Boulder Creek channel, construction of 4026 feet of new channel, 1175 yards of riprapping and 350 feet of irrigation ditch and flume.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

The Commissioners of Boulder County, Colorado, are sponsoring this dike project and have made a substantial contribution toward it. . . . Numerous farmers and landowners of the district petitioned the Commissioners for relief from this hazard.

W P A FURNISHES LABOR.

The W. P. A. contribution of \$10,403 provides jobs for 37 men for five months . . . funds which otherwise would be required for direct relief.

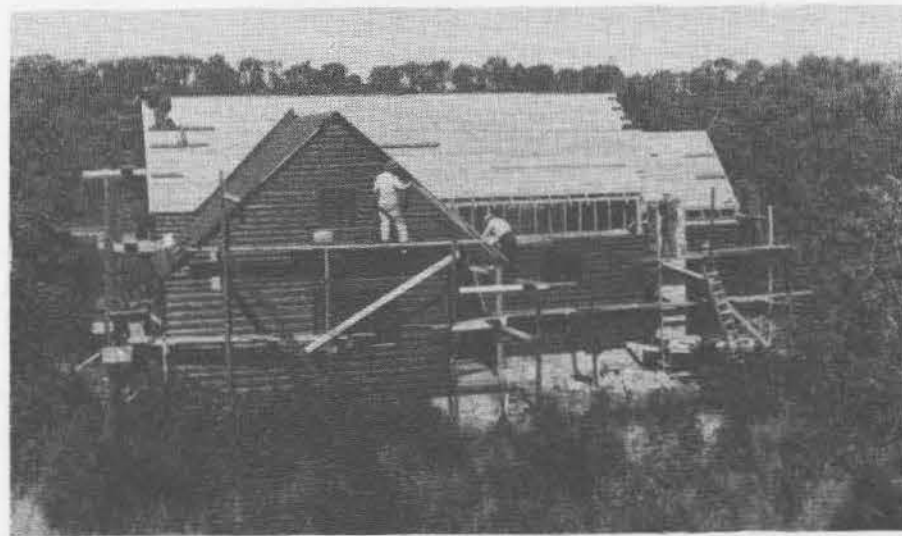
WHAT IT WILL DO

Because of the ever increasing crookedness of the channel and trees falling into it, the creek has been doing great damage during high water to a large area of fertile cultivated land . . . the creek, states the Boulder Daily Camera, "Has roared out of its banks before and there was definite danger it would do it again."



WPA Writers' Project at Philadelphia, Pa. Members are shown studying an aerial map of central Philadelphia in the Map Division of the Free Public Library.

Community Cabin, Rocky River Reservation, Metropolitan Park, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. WPA workers are shown in the construction work on this project.



THE ROAD AT GREENS GAP (NEW MEXICO)

THE STORY . . . THE FACTS . . .

"About midway between Pie Town and Horse Springs, near the Continental Divide, in New Mexico, is a place which is listed as Greens Gap in some of the more detailed atlases.

"Greens Gap has a population of ten, or about two ordinary-sized families. These two families, however, would find it convenient if the Government would build them a road leading from their homes to the County Highway, eight miles away.

"The Government, of course, will oblige. The road will not be any slouch job either, for the Treasury will spend \$14,647 on it, or \$1,465 per inhabitant.

"Labor for the job, it appears, will have to be imported into Greens Gap."

—New York Sun,
"Today's Boon-Doggle"
February 24, 1936

WHY THIS ROAD?

This eight miles of road is sorely needed to provide the people of this vast farming and ranching region with an outlet to the main State highways. . . . The road itself will be a State Highway connecting State Road 12 with U. S. Highway 60 and not merely a link to the County Highway as claimed. . . . "The present road is a mail route which is practically impassable", declares the sponsors. . . . The service to the hamlet of Greens Gap is unimportant—that to the surrounding region is.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

This project is sponsored by the County Commissioners of Catron County.

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST?

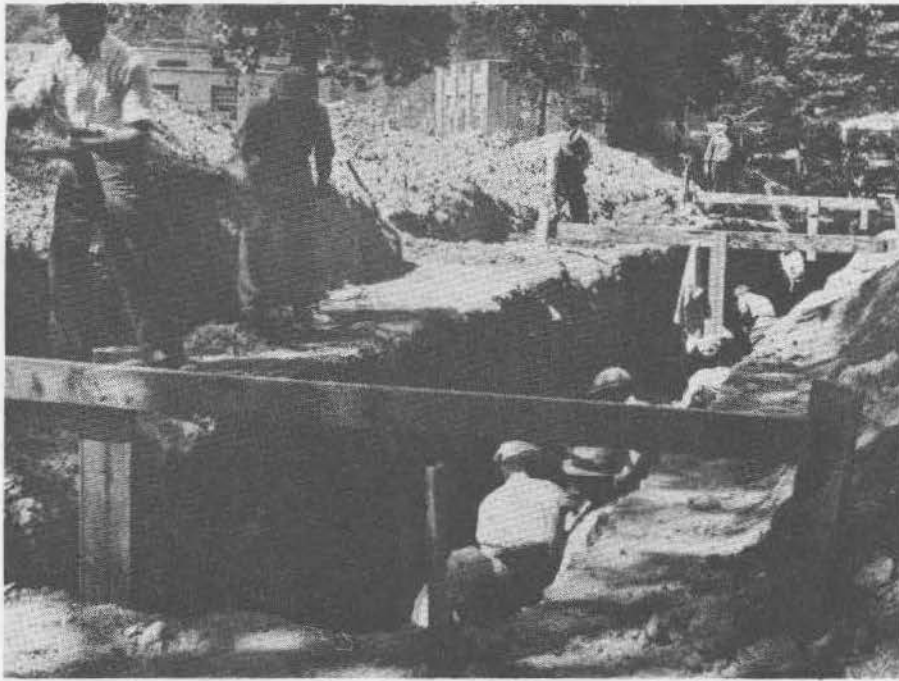
The total cost of this highway is \$15,231, of which amount the sponsors contribute \$584.

W P A FURNISHES LABOR

The WPA contribution furnishes jobs for 41 men for six months. . . . Most of the population in this area is on relief.

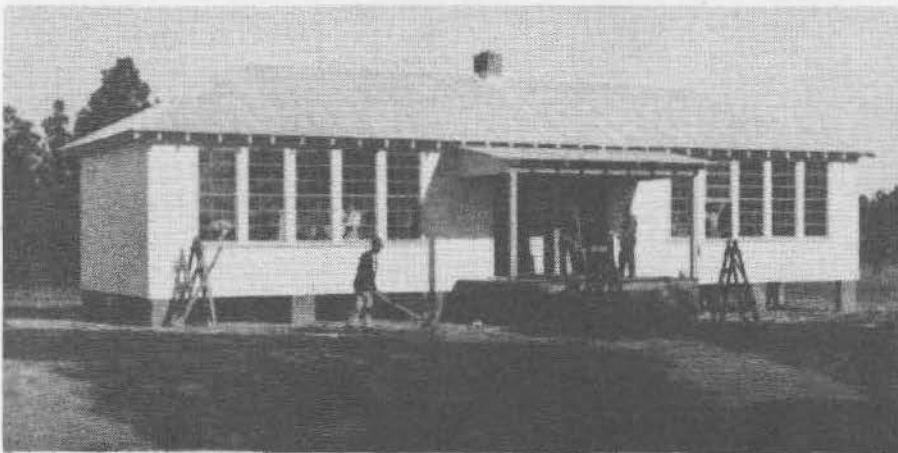
WHAT WILL IT DO?

Good roads are a vital necessity to farmers and stock raisers. . . . This highway will greatly facilitate haulage of farm-to-market of the agricultural products of this region, aiding materially in the rehabilitation of the hampered and stricken people of this section. . . . All communities in this region, as well, will be served by this new link highway.



A group of WPA workers digging a trench in Prospect Zoo and Garden, New York City.

WPA workers constructing Brandon School, Richmond County, Georgia.



THE JAMESBURG STADIUM

(NEW JERSEY)

* * *

THE STORY . . . THE FACTS . . .

"Pasadena has its Rose Bowl, New Orleans has its Sugar Bowl, Miami has its Orange Bowl and now Jamesburg, New Jersey, is to have its Pork Barrel.

"That, at least, would be an appropriate name, it appears, for the new stadium that the Federal Government is building on the high school grounds in that little community. The school has never had a football team or a track team, but since the WPA is grading the athletic field, constructing a football field and cinder track and erecting wooden grandstands the school officials are determined to launch a new and ambitious athletic program next year.

"This will guarantee the use of the cinder track and the football field for which the President has allocated \$40,000 and on which \$44,000 has already been spent, but it does not solve the problem of the grandstands.

"None of the responsible officials in Washington know what the capacity of the grandstand is. . . . Neither do the high school officials.

"School officials judged, however, that the stands, when completed, will accommodate between 2,500 and 3,000. As the population of the entire town of Jamesburg is only 2,048 it appears that the local athletic association when it faces its task of filling the stands the Government is so generously providing will have to revive the old chain letter craze in order to sell the tickets through the 260 pupils and eleven members of the faculty who now constitute the school's entire population."

—New York Sun. "Today's Boon-Doggle" January 7, 1937

WHY THIS STADIUM

This project covers a stadium and athletic field on the high school grounds. The sponsor's agent, the Borough Treasurer, says: "The Borough has not sufficient funds to complete the grading of the athletic field and for building the stadium. The work is absolutely necessary to provide proper facilities not only for the Borough of Jamesburg but for adjacent communities. There are no playgrounds of this type within fifteen miles of Jamesburg."

WHO ASKED FOR IT

The Borough of Jamesburg provides \$4,530 on this project. The WPA has a first grant of \$39,634 and a supplementary grant of \$4,335.

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

This project went into operation February 18th, employing 52 men who will have jobs for a period of one year. The money represented by their pay checks would otherwise have been spent for direct relief.

WHAT WILL IT DO?

There is no doubt about the stadium's capacity. It is by no means 2500 to 3000", but only 800! It will serve not only the Borough of Jamesburg but almost the entire County in which it is situated.



Above group of children at the Oakdale Community Center designing and making doll clothes under the supervision of a WPA Recreation Supervisor, in Louisville, Jefferson County, Kentucky.

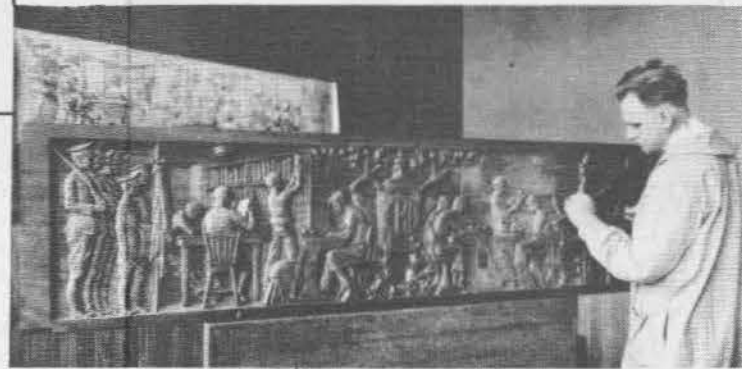


At left, WPA workers shelving banks of the new Fall Creek channel, Millersville, Marion County, Indiana.

At right, intersection of Baker Avenue and Walton Way, Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia. WPA workers are reinforcing with steel and spreading concrete on first section of this street improvement.



At left, Public Works of Art Project. . . . Artist-Sculptor carving a wood panel for the East Boston High School. ERA of Massachusetts Project.



Below, wood-work instruction given at the Neighborhood House, Community Center, by a WPA worker. This instruction is part of a project designed to reduce and prevent juvenile delinquency in Louisville, Jefferson County, Kentucky.



THE "WATER SOFTENING PLANT" AT CLARK (SOUTH DAKOTA)

THE STORY . . . "Little by little the New Dealers are taking the joy out of life, for what is life without glamour? What is the West without wildness and wooliness? What is the lone prairie without hell-for-leather punchers who like their liquor hard and their mustangs tough?"

"Disheartening as it may be, however, the WPA will spend \$14,000 to build a water-softening plant on Clark, South Dakota; and heresy of heresies, a local sponsor will contribute an additional \$5,000.

"That noise you hear is Messrs. Carson, Fremont and Cody revolving in their graves. The other noise? Oh, that is the White House quartet singing a revised version of its favorite song:

'Give me a home, where the buffalo roam,
Put a cute Pekingese in my lap
And massage me enough so my skin won't get rough
And make soft water run from the tap.'

—NEW YORK SUN, "Today's Boon-Doggie," Dec. 11, 1935

THE FACTS . . .

WHY THIS PROJECT?

This project is not as yet in operation because all available WPA labor is now assigned to other projects. It is a water filtration plant for filtering bicarbonates from the city's water supply. . . . "The water is pure but so heavily impregnated with bicarbonates which make it disagreeable for household use", says the local sponsor. So heavy is this precipitation that the mains clog, requiring frequent flushing. . . . Domestic plumbing is rapidly being ruined and reliable water supply to the community is constantly threatened.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

The City of Clark, South Dakota, sponsors this project and contributes a substantial amount towards it.

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST?

The total cost of this plant will be \$19,000, of which the sponsor contributes \$5,000, which amount substantially covers the cost of materials used.

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

The WPA allotment of funds furnishes jobs to 42 men for 7 months—if and when such WPA Labor is available. This money, of course, would otherwise be required for direct relief.

WHAT WILL IT DO?

"There is a universal demand that this water be treated in some proper way to make its use less expensive and disagreeable", says the City Manager of Clark. . . . The only other alternative would be to dig a deep well in an endeavor to reach satisfactory water—a move that would cost as much as the filtering plant, would not employ as many men, but would result in greatly increased operating costs.

THE CALDWELL STOCK TRAIL (IDAHO)

THE STORY . . . "Far-flung are the ramifications if the Works Progress Administration, and few of its projects, perhaps, are more colorful than the one at Caldwell, Idaho, for the construction of a stock trail from the city limits to the stock yards and processing plant. Some wag has pronounced the trail as a sort of 'last mile' for the bees.

"Here, indeed, is color distinctly reminiscent of the Old West. New York taxpayers should be interested."

—NEW YORK SUN, "TODAY'S BOON-DOGGLE"

September 30, 1935

THE FACTS . . .

WHY THIS PROJECT?

"One of the primary industries of the City of Caldwell", says Mayor Emery L. Vassar, "is the live stock industry and a stock trail is an absolute necessity for the successful and orderly operation of such an industry."

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

The City of Caldwell, Idaho, sponsored this project and made very substantial contributions to it.

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST?

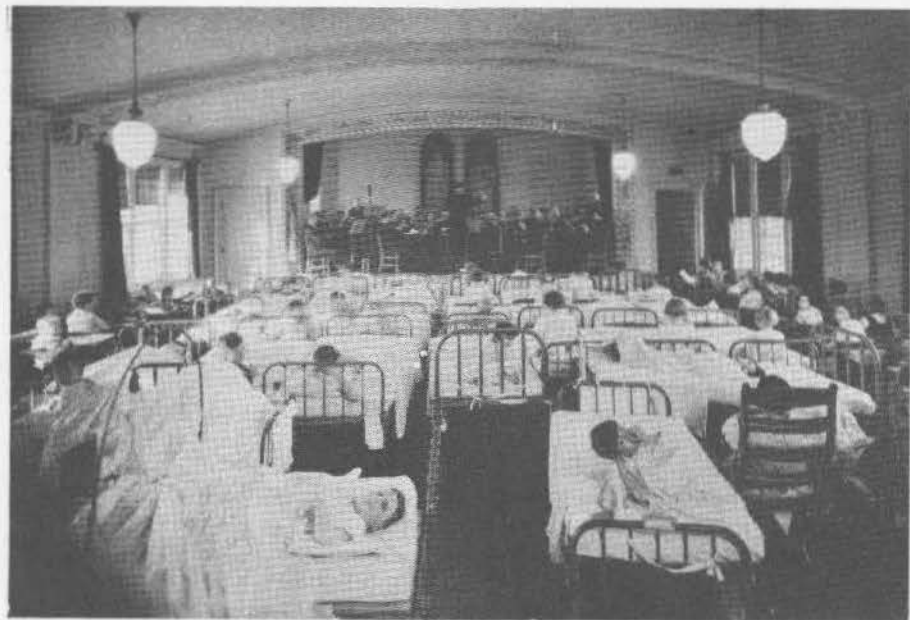
The first allocation of funds was of \$3,986 by WPA and \$7,485 by the City of Caldwell. A supplementary project approved in December, 1935, added \$6,090 federal funds and \$1570 on the part of the sp

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

On the original project, 29 men—WPA workers—were given jobs for a period of 3 months. These funds, of course, would otherwise have been spent for direct relief.

WHAT WILL IT DO?

"The driving of live stock over the streets . . . and State and Federal highways . . . has been the source of a great deal of danger and contention between the stock men and people travelling" says Mayor Vassar. . . . The stock trail provides safe, quick, easy ingress and egress for live stock to the stock yards and, he says, "eliminate the major part of the dangers to traffic." The work includes construction of a 32x18 ft. steel bridge on concrete abutments, culverts, fence along the trail, grading and graveling the trail.



WPA Concert Orchestra entertaining 240 boys and girls at the Gillette Hospital for Crippled Children, St. Paul, Ramsey County, Minnesota. This is a regular Thursday feature for these unfortunate children, under the auspices of WPA.



Belmont Lake State Park, Babylon, Suffolk County, New York. WPA workers are shown constructing the by-pass road around the lake.

THE YAVAPI COUNTY ROAD (ARIZONA)

THE STORY . . . "Out in Yavapi County, Arizona, are two unincorporated communities known as Skull Valley and Yava. There are eighty residents in Skull Valley; seventy-five in Yava. Sometimes they visit each other. The road between the towns was rough. Cost to the Government \$81,611; cost to Skull Valley and Yava nothing—for improvement of the road."

—THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

THE FACTS . . .

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

The W P A contribution of \$81,611 will largely be spent for labor, furnishing jobs to 115 men for a period of one year . . . funds otherwise that would have been necessary to spend for direct relief.

WHY THIS ROAD?

"The road covered by this project serves the largest cattle, goat and mining district in the country", states the local sponsors. . . . Good roads are vital to a region of this kind.

WHAT WILL IT DO?

This road services three school districts, the assessed valuations of which are \$1,344,000. . . . It also facilitates the operation of the Hillside and Comstock Dexter mines; one company—the Hillside Gold Mine—freights between 500 and 600 tons of concentrates per month and hauls 100 to 200 tons of supplies over this road. . . . Besides mining and cattle raising, this area raises apples, plums, poultry and garden produce that are trucked into Prescott and Phoenix over this improved road. . . . The road is also a link in one of two main county roads and carries tourists through the Prescott National Forest.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

The Board of Supervisors of Yavapi County sponsored this project and contributed a substantial amount toward it.

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST?

The total cost of this project will be \$94,976 and the local sponsors contributed not "nothing", as claimed, but the substantial amount of \$13,365 . . . This contribution goes far toward covering the cost of the materials used.

COW HEAD BAYOU CLEARANCE (LOUISIANA)

THE STORY . . . "To improve Cow Head Bayou at Morganza, Louisiana, Federal funds \$4,290; sponsor's contribution, \$34."

—THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL
COMMITTEE

THE FACTS . . .

WHY THIS PROJECT?

"Cow Head Bayou drains an area of approximately 25,000 acres, relieves the levee system of transpiration water and also drains about 8 miles of Highway Route 30", says the sponsor. . . . This natural drainage outlet for the parish is impeded for a distance of 6.6 miles by trees, debris and other obstructions. . . . The purpose of this project is to clear the bayou for that distance.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

The President of the Police Jury, Parish of Pointe Coupes, Louisiana, sponsored this project. . . . (A parish in Louisiana is equivalent to a county in other States.)

WHAT WILL IT COST?

The total cost is \$4324, of which amount the sponsor contributes the sum of \$34.

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

The WPA contribution provides jobs to 32 eligible WPA workers for a period of 4 months. This money would otherwise be doled out for direct relief.

WHAT WILL IT DO?

"The portion (about 4 miles) completed under FERA", says the sponsor, "is very beneficial to the lands and parish and State roads in the . . . vicinity. . . . This project is of tremendous importance to the people in this section . . . and I should like to urge the necessity of beginning work on this project as soon as possible". . . . It must be understood that all this land is low lying and efficient drainage is vital to practical tillage and for the safety and health of the people.

At the time this is written, work has not yet begun, pending release of relief labor from other projects in this section.

THE ISLANDS IN INDIAN LAKE STATE PARK (OHIO)

THE STORY . . . THE FACTS . . .

"The boundless ingenuity of the New Dealers who spend sleepless nights devising ways to spend their \$4,000,000,000 reached its absolute zenith in two projects approved by the President before he left Washington on his Western trip.

"The government is to build two islands in Indian Lake State Park in Washington Township, Logan County, Ohio.

"The islands are dirt cheap, so to speak, costing only \$49,050, of which the Federal Treasury will kick in \$46,690.

"The ingenuity of the New Dealers broke down pitifully, however, when it came to naming the islands. Faced with this problem they reverted quickly to their alphabetical habits. The first island is to be known as Island A, the second as Island B."

—NEW YORK SUN,
"Today's Boon-Doggle"
October 5, 1935

WHY THESE ISLANDS?

This project consists of dredging and filling two large willow swamps in one of Ohio's leading summer recreational centers. . . . Grading and landscaping both the islands to rise out of these swamps is also included. . . . These swamps have been a nuisance in mosquito-breeding and have been a blight on an otherwise important and delightful public park.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

This program is sponsored by the Ohio State Division of Conservation.

WHAT WILL IT COST?

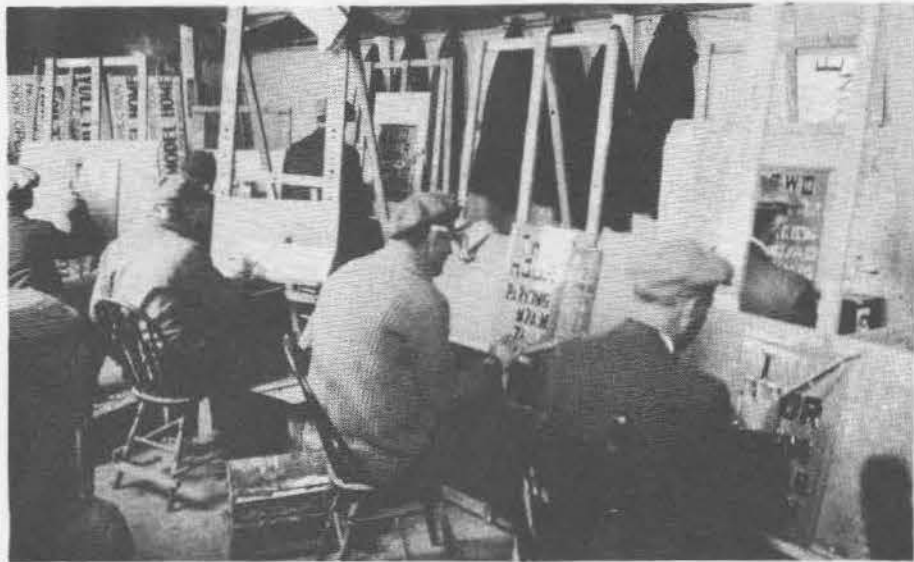
Not \$46,690—though this as the original estimate—but only \$10,743. . . . Of this amount the WPA provides \$8383, principally intended for labor and the sponsor contributes \$2360.

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

This WPA allocation of funds furnishes jobs to 104 men for a period of 10 months—money which otherwise would have been spent on direct relief.

WHAT WILL IT DO?

"I think the chief value of these projects to the community", says J. H. Donahy, Reservoir Foreman for the Division of Conservation, "is mosquito eradication, with their recreational value secondary. They will provide more ground for swimming and boating, and they will beautify the lake and the land. . . ." The park containing these made islands is patronized by the people of several surrounding towns. . . . The eradication of the mosquitos will make the existing cottage sites more attractive and more sites will be provided by the additional lake frontage, and fishing, boating and swimming facilities will be increased.



WPA Easel Room of Sign Shop, Nassau County, New York. This shop gives employment to over 100 unemployed painters. This group of sign painters is re-lettering re-painted metal signs for highway and city street use.



Fish Rearing Pond and Hatchery on Elk Horn Creek above Praise, in the Cumberland Mountains, Kentucky. Constructed by KERA labor; deepened and improved by WPA workers. Picture by Dr. O. W. Thompson, Pikeville, Kentucky.

THE GAME FISH IN MACON RIVER (WISCONSIN)

THE STORY . . . "At Richford, Wisconsin, to improve trout stream, increasing insect life, restoring aquatic life and improving spawning beds, Federal funds, \$3,993.

—THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

THE FACTS . . .

WHY THIS PROJECT?

"This is part of a well established program", says the sponsor, "for improving lakes and streams by means of sinking log and brush tangles in order to restore natural conditions conducive to increasing insect life and other natural food for trout and other fish. This work is the most important step in the restoration of game fish in Wisconsin." This work is along the Macon River.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

The Wisconsin Conservation Commission sponsored this project and it is strongly endorsed by other local civic bodies.

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST?

The total cost is \$6801. Of this amount, the WPA allocates \$3993 which

is principally intended for labor while the local sponsors contribute \$2808 covering largely the cost of materials used in the project.

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

The WPA contribution provides jobs for 20 men for a period of 4½ months—funds which otherwise would have been spent for direct relief.

WHAT WILL IT DO?

The head of the State Department of Fisheries says: "Streams teeming with fish are a very valuable economic asset to any community. They are one of the best tourist attractions and bring tourist trade worth thousands of dollars annually to the State."

This is the type of national conservation program which was first advocated by President Theodore Roosevelt. The Macon River district is popular with fishermen and sportsmen of the Central West.

"GRASS IN THE STREETS" OF OAKLAND

(CALIFORNIA)

THE STORY . . . "When Herbert Hoover reluctantly left office in 1933 he looked darkly into the future and predicted that under the Roosevelt Regime grass would grow in the city streets.

"Imagine, therefore, the consternation caused in New Deal circles recently when President Roosevelt formally approved the following Works Progress Administration project:

"Oakland, California; Removing grass from dedicated street areas in Hill District; Federal funds, \$7,750; sponsors contribution, \$1,061."

"—And in Mr. Hoover's own State, too. It's a plot!"

—NEW YORK SUN, "TODAY'S BOON-DOGGLE"

October 14, 1935

THE FACTS . . .

WHY CUT THIS GRASS?

The hill district of Oakland is sparsely settled. . . . Streets have been laid out, but many are yet unpaved and overrun with grass, brush and trees. . . . Fires have been frequent and in 1933 one person died and several were injured fighting them. . . . The hazards must be removed every year because the spring rains stimulate the growth of a fresh crop of grass which, in the dry season is a menace to life and property.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

The City of Oakland sponsored this project, following a similar FERA project which had cut City fire losses in 1935 to the lowest in 10 years.

WHAT WILL IT COST?

The total cost is \$8811, of which the City of Oakland contributes \$1061—practically all WPA money being allocated for labor.

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

The WPA contribution of \$7750 creates jobs for 45 men for a period of three months—funds which otherwise would have been required for direct relief.

WHAT WILL IT DO?

"The City does not have funds to employ labor for this purpose", says the Oakland City Manager. "On the other hand, it is work that can be done only by hand, therefore admirably fitted to the WPA program" . . . This clearance project prevents possible loss of life and great property damage from fire.

DRAINING THE PIGGERY AT WALTHAM

(MASSACHUSETTS)

THE STORY . . . THE FACTS . . .

PIGS. (From The Sun's Own Mother Goose.)

("President Roosevelt has approved an allocation of \$9,478 of Federal Funds to drain a piggery on Winter Street, in Waltham, Massachusetts, to avoid contamination of the water supply."—WPA announcement.)

"This little pig was plowed under,
But this little pig lived on
In his piggery on Winter Street,
Down in Waltham town.

Like all little pigs, he was dirty as sin,
But dirtier still was his sty.
The residents feared he would menace their
health
By polluting the water supply.
They thought that the owner could clean the
place up,
But the owner was far too wise.
He saw a good chance to get more than nine
grand
Out of these Washington guys.

So this little pig may have roast beef and more,
Though the poor taxpayers have none,
For till this little pig goes to market
He'll live in a darned costly home."

—NEW YORK SUN,
"Today's Boon-Doggle"
November 19, 1935

WHY THE PROJECT?

The run-off from the piggery in Winter Street, Waltham, Massachusetts, has been emptying into a stream which feeds the water supply reservoir of the adjoining City of Cambridge. . . . Danger of contamination was so great that the Massachusetts State Board of Health ordered the piggery drained.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

This project was sponsored by the City of Waltham and approved by the State Board of Health.

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST?

The total cost is \$10,571. Of this amount the City of Waltham contributes \$1093—the remainder by WPA.

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

The WPA supplies jobs on this project to 83 men for a period of two months . . . funds otherwise necessitated for direct relief . . .

WHAT IT WILL DO

"By building a drain", declares the Waltham City Engineer, "we can intercept this (contaminated) water and cause it to drain without reaching the Cambridge water basin, which holds the domestic water supply for the whole city" . . . Cambridge has a population of 113,643, Waltham 39,247.

SANDOVAL ROADS and COMMUNITY CENTER

(NEW MEXICO)

THE STORY . . . "These New Mexicans have a persuasive way about them—at least when it comes to getting money out of the Federal Treasury. The WPA program in the little town of Bernalillo, for example, calls for road improvements costing \$73,254. In addition, the Treasury will pay out \$10,403 for a community center program which includes among other things the construction of a handsome swimming pool and picnic benches and tables. The WPA will also spend \$6,910 there on a community gardening project.

In all, the Federal Treasury will be nicked for \$90,567, while local sponsors have been prevailed on to contribute \$1,250 as their share . . ."

—NEW YORK SUN, "Today's Boon-Doggie"—Feb. 21, 1936

THE FACTS . . .

FOUR SEPARATE PROJECTS

There are two road improvements, one of 35 miles farm-to-market and home-to-school, serving 1,000 people; the other 10.4 miles serving 1500 citizens. . . . Both roads serve as the only outlets from farming, ranching and lumbering regions to the State highway system. . . . Present roads are only "cow trails" and impassable in wet weather.

The Community Center program includes construction of a recreation park and playground near Bernalillo and improvement of 1.6 miles of connecting road. . . . A swimming pool, picnic facilities, trees and shrubbery transplantation. . . .

The Gardening Project cans surplus produce from community gardens. Part of the canned goods are distributed on a share basis to non-relief families supplying the produce (to keep them off relief rolls), the remainder direct to relief clients. . . . About 2000 people are benefited. . . . The canning outfit is portable to cover the entire county, thus reducing spoilage loss of produce.

WHO ASKED FOR THEM?

These projects are directly sponsored by the County Commissioners of Sandoval County, New Mexico, and requested by citizens of the district.

HOW MUCH DO THEY COST?

The two road projects total \$73,254.
. . . The community center \$10,403.
. . . The Gardening Project \$6,190.
. . . The sponsors contribute \$1250.

WPA PROVIDES 201 JOBS

The larger road project employs 84 men for one year . . . the shorter road improvement furnishes jobs to 58 men for six months . . . the Community Center program employs 36 men for six months . . . the Gardening Project furnishes employment to 23 (17 of whom are women) for six months.

THE RESULTS

The two roads open up an otherwise practically isolated region, affecting some 2500 people. . . . Bernalillo is the County seat and the Community Center affords the population its only recreational facilities. . . . The Gardening Project is virtually self-liquidating. . . . The relief load is heavy, nearly every family in one region being on relief.

FLORENCE COMMUNITY SERVICE PROGRAMS

(COLORADO)

THE STORY . . . "When President Roosevelt first announced his plans for the present work relief program he told newspaper men that allocations of funds would be governed by the number of employables on relief in the community in question.

It is interesting to note, therefore, that the President has approved the following projects in the little town of Florence, Colorado: Community service programs, \$19,579; construct sewage tank, \$24,639; lay sewer line, plant trees, construct walks in cemetery, \$875; improve streets, \$3,920; realign stream, \$11,200; install concrete curbs and irrigation ditches, \$24,725; widen highway, \$22,323. The total is \$107,263.

"It is interesting to note that the population of Florence is 2,475 persons, and there is no record in Washington to show—nor does any one here know—whether a single one of these persons is an employable on relief."

—NEW YORK SUN, "Today's Boon-Doggie," October 31, 1935

THE FACTS . . .

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

On the Street Surfacing Project, 100 men are given jobs for three months. On the Sewing Project employment is given to 21 women for 6 months. . . . (The clothing made is turned over to local welfare authorities for distribution to relief unemployables). . . . Funds allocated for this labor would otherwise have been expended on direct relief.

WHY THE PROJECTS?

The Mayor of Florence, Colorado, reports that none of the projects mentioned in the NEW YORK SUN story were operating up to February, 1936. . . . The only projects operating at that time were one for surfacing and oiling 4 miles of city streets and a Sewing Project. . . . The paragraphs next below treat of these two projects.

WHO ASKED FOR THESE?

The Mayor and City Council of Florence, as well as the authorities of Fremont County, in which Florence is located, sponsored these projects.

HOW MUCH DO THEY COST?

The street surfacing project entails a cost of \$24,989—the local sponsors contributing \$2,660, the WPA allocation being \$22,239. . . . The Sewing Project costs \$8,804, of which the sponsors contribute \$375.

THE WPA POLICY

Approval of the seven projects not in operation cited, does not mean that funds for all or any will ever be made available. . . . All were given Presidential approval on the established policy of having in reserve WPA projects to cover the needs of all persons in the community eligible for such employment. . . . There were 1403 such persons in Fremont County in December, 1935, as cited . . .

The \$22,322 allotment for highway widening is for work on an important county road and provides employment for 80 county employables (not cared for in Florence projects) for 5 months.

THE STOCKTON LIBRARY READERS' ADVISER (CALIFORNIA)

THE STORY . . . "Pressing on to new pinnacles of paternalism, the Roosevelt administration has decided to guide the untutored minds of the residents of Stockton, California, in the selection of reading matter. From its \$1,700,000,000 boondoggling fund the WPA has decided to spend \$1,300 to maintain a corps of literary advisers in the Stockton Public Library to help the patrons select 'appropriate material for reading'. Thus far, however, the Brain Trusters have overlooked the opportunity of allocating additional funds to psychoanalyze the readers in order to determine accurately what books will or will not be appropriate to their particular needs."

—THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

THE FACTS . . .

WHY A READER'S ADVISER?

A single Readers' Adviser, not "a corps of literary advisers" as stated is provided. . . . The aim is to assist readers in obtaining special material and to stimulate the fuller use of the library's facilities. . . . The unemployed person assigned to the project is a graduate of the University of California Library School.

WHO ASKED FOR IT?

This project was sponsored by the Stockton, California, Public Library.

HOW MUCH WILL IT COST?

Not "\$1300" from WPA funds, but only \$924—the balance of \$384 being contributed by the local sponsors.

WPA FURNISHES LABOR

The Readers' Adviser was unemployed, so that the WPA contribution provides another job for a period of at least one year.

WHAT WILL IT DO?

The work to date has consisted largely in the compilation of bibliographies of material available in the local library on timely subjects. . . . Such a facility is of special benefit to school children and students. . . . The Librarian says: "Projects of this type are especially worthwhile and are proving a definite value to our community. We would like to maintain and develop this valuable service." Without the cooperation of WPA this valuable work could not be done.

The Roosevelt Record

WASHINGTON, D. C.
MAY 9, 1936
VOL. 1 NO. 3

5¢

NEW DEAL IN FACTS



A New Kind of Campaign Newspaper

The new weekly magazine-newspaper that has already proved a national sensation . . . Every Democrat, Republican and Independent should read it . . . Gives all the facts and figures—the whole truth about President Roosevelt's program . . . With cartoons and dramatic pictures—graphic, interesting stories and analytical articles by nationally famous writers.

It goes to the bottom of the issues, principles and personalities—it's exciting, factual, truthful, truly American.

Published weekly—the biggest value in publication history—only \$1.00 for all issues.

Here's My Dollar

Record Publishing Co.
455 Munsey Bldg.
Washington, D. C.

Here's my dollar for the ROOSEVELT RECORD to be sent weekly during the campaign.

Name.....
Street.....
City.....State.....

September 17th 1936.

David Stern, Publisher,
Broad & Wood streets,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Stern,

Enclosed you will find a series of colored cards, which
comprise an idea intended to be of aid to President Roosevelt, given
to you free of any sort of entanglement. If you can use it I am
perfectly willing to sign a release.

Crude samples of printed pasteboards, they are, to be
sure. They should be printed in great quantities and scattered far
and wide. Varied colors would cause people to stop, pick them up,
and read them. Children would collect them, as they usually do with
all sorts of similar things.

The subjects should be issued at intermittent intervals,
---not all at once. After three or four have been issued men, women
and children would look forward to see what was printed on the next
card.

My thought is that they could be spread about by means
of an airplane, but this may prove to be too costly, or against some
city ordinance.

If the idea is worth anything---use it. If not, throw
the whole works into the wastebasket. My desire is simply to be of
humble assistance to Mr. Roosevelt and you who support him.

Very truly yours,

A.C.Chadwick, Jr.,

3624 Fisk avenue,
Philadelphia, Pa.

September 29th 1936.

George H. Harle, Jr.,
Governor of Pennsylvania,
Harrisburg, Penna.

Dear Governor,

Enclosed you will find a series of printed letters which are still being distributed by the Collins & Aikman Corporation, a plush manufacturing concern which has factories in West Philadelphia and Manayunk, in Philadelphia.

These letters are handed---in separate envelopes---to every employee, each week, with his pay envelope. The series is not yet complete, and I believe they will eventually lead up to an open declaration for some certain candidate.

I know they are anti-Roosevelt propaganda; and believe they are illegal, although the separate envelope may be an evasion of possible legal technicalities.

No employer, in my mind, has the right to tell his workers how to vote. The worker sells his labor at a price agreed upon between the factory owner and himself; the worker doesn't include his soul and his great American right of free franchise. Industrialists may argue differently, and point to the WPA or other Federal agencies, honestly or falsely, to refute this contention, but I claim that in the latter case, the work being made especially to prevent men from starving to death, that they should be grateful to those who provide the work and see that they are returned to office. Maybe I am wrong, but nevertheless this is how I feel.

The Collins & Aikman firm manufactures plush largely for use in automobile upholstery.

The letters are yours to use as you see fit, or to consign them to the wastebasket. They may be of assistance to you in your efforts to bring more success to the New Deal.

Very truly yours,

A. C. Chadwick, Jr.,

3624 Fiske avenue,
East Falls, Philadelphia, Pa.

Sample of letters placed in employees pay envelopes during Roosevelt-Landon Campaign of 1936. (This was final one in series, and is dated October 30, 1936.)

To the Collins & Aikman Family:

Up to this time, you have received twelve of these letters about the cost of government—the money spent principally by men who hold political offices.

As we pointed out in the beginning, there are wasteful politicians in all political parties—and our interest is not in the political label a candidate for office happens to wear, but whether or not he is likely to prove a spendthrift and waster of other people's money.

Unfortunately, these men who hold public office have both the power to decide how much you shall pay in taxes—and also the unlimited power to spend. These two powers together give them many times more power than any other group or groups of people in the nation today.

Let's bring this whole thing home by looking at a few figures regarding Collins & Aikman. In the past four years, this company has paid:

- (1) — \$3,441,289 to stockholders in the form of dividends.
- (2) — \$15,536,294 to employes in wages and salaries.
- (3) — \$10,209,901 in direct and indirect taxes.

About one-third of the average wage-earner's income goes for taxes, many of which are concealed in the price of practically everything he buys, so on top of the taxes paid by the company, about \$5,101,324 of the payroll mentioned above ultimately went to pay toward the cost of the government.

So, the real balance stands as follows:

- (1) — \$3,441,289 to stockholders (on which many of them paid taxes).
- (2) — \$15,311,225 combined taxes paid by the company and its employes.
- (3) — \$10,434,970 left over for employes after they had paid their taxes.

So when we get all through, out of the money that the company paid out in wages, dividends and taxes, government of one kind or another got:

ABOUT \$1.50 FOR EVERY DOLLAR THE WAGE EARNER GOT, AND

ABOUT \$4.50 to \$5.00 FOR EVERY DOLLAR THE OWNERS OF THE BUSINESS GOT

Comparing all these, you can begin to get some idea what unbridled government spending is costing — and how it cuts into the people who maintain politicians in office.

COLLINS & AIKMAN CORPORATION.



COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
HARRISBURG

25

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR

September 30, 1936

Mr. A. C. Chadwick, Jr.,
3624 Fiske Avenue,
East Falls,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Chadwick:

Thank you for your letter of
September 29th, enclosing copies of
printed letters which are being distribut-
ed by the Collins & Aikman Corporation.

The Governor is now out of
the city but I shall be glad to bring it
to his attention at the first opportunity.

With appreciation of your cour-
tesy, I am

Sincerely yours,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Robert L. Myers, Jr." with a long horizontal flourish extending to the left.

Robert L. Myers, Jr.

J. DAVID STERN

NEW YORK POST, NEW YORK
PHILADELPHIA RECORD, PHILADELPHIA
EVENING COURIER, CAMDEN, N.J.
MORNING POST, CAMDEN, N.J.

Philadelphia, October 1st, 1936.

Mr. A. C. Chadwick, Jr.,
3624 Fisk Avenue,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Chadwick:

This is a belated acknowledgment of your letter addressed to Mr. Stern, containing a number of Roosevelt throwouts for use in the present campaign.

The matter was referred to the Democratic City Executive Committee but they claim their plans have already been completed and they naturally, cannot expand on them. The idea is an excellent one and I regret it will have to be postponed until some later campaign.

Yours sincerely,

Ben Zorek

Secretary to Publisher.



JESSE C. DOUGLASS CONSTABLE

2000 NORTH BROAD STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

STEVENSON 4747-4748
PARK 2520-4362

MEMBER
PHILA. REAL ESTATE BOARD
NORTH PHILA. REALTY BOARD
WEST PHILA. REALTY BOARD
SOUTH PHILA. REALTY BOARD

ELECTION 1936 CALENDAR

ALL HOURS ARE EASTERN STANDARD TIME

- September 15 Second Fall Registration Day.
September 29 Last day to fill vacancies in party nominations caused by withdrawal of candidates nominated at the primary or by nomination papers filed by independent bodies of citizens.
October 3 Third and Last Fall Registration Day.
October 7 to October 24 inclusive. Special registration by Registration Commission on each weekday in Room 824, City Hall Annex.
November 3 General Election Day (Tuesday). Poles open from 7 A. M. to 7 P. M.
December 3 Last day for candidates and treasurers of political committees to file statements of expenses at election

REGISTRATION DAYS, 1936

- For November Election
September 3, Thursday } 7 A. M. to 1 P. M.
September 15, Tuesday } 4 P. M. to 10 P. M.
October 3, Saturday

GENERAL ELECTION, November 3 } 7 A. M. to 7 P. M.

ALL PREVIOUS REGISTRATIONS ARE VOID

YOU MUST REGISTER AGAIN IN ORDER TO VOTE AT THE NOVEMBER ELECTION

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Republican, Alfred M. Landon
Democratic, Franklin D. Roosevelt
Socialist, Norman Thomas
Prohibition, D. Leigh Colvin
Communist, Earl Browder
Industrial Labor, John W. Aiken
Royal Oak, William Lemke

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Republican, Frank Knox
Democratic, John N. Garner
Socialist, George Nelson
Prohibition, Claude A. Watson
Communist, James W. Ford
Industrial Labor, Emil E. Teichert
Royal Oak, Thomas C. O'Brien

REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS Philadelphia

1st District
Rep., Harry C. Ransley
Dem., Leon Sacks
Soc., Gamshei Kutikoff

2nd District
Rep., William H. Wilson
Dem., Jas. P. McGranery
Soc., David Braginsky

3rd District
Rep., Clare G. Fenerty
Dem., Mich. J. Bradley
Soc., Robert Fletcher

4th District
Rep., Boies Penrose, Jr.
Dem., J. Burrwood Daly
Soc., William Eckel

5th District
Rep., James J. Connolly
Dem., Frank J. G. Dorsey
Soc., Philip H. Van Gelder

6th District
Rep., George F. Holmes
Dem., Michael J. Stack
Soc., Harry Berger

7th District
Rep., George P. Darrow
Dem., Ira W. Drew
Soc., David Felix

STATE TREASURER

Republican, Frank L. Pinola
Democratic, F. Clair Ross
Socialist, Wm. J. VanEssen
Prohibition, Ella B. Black
Communist, Pat Toohy
Industrial Labor, A. A. Albaugh

AUDITOR-GENERAL

Republican, E. Arthur Sweeny
Democratic, Warren R. Roberts
Socialist, Sarah Limbach
Prohibition, Robert P. Carroll
Communist, B. D. Anis
Industrial Labor, Alfred W. Teichert
Old Age Pension, Bernard Davidowitz

REPRESENTATIVE IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

- 1st District**
(Two to be elected)
Rep., L. A. Greenstein
Rep., Stephen C. Denning
Dem., John P. Corrigan
Dem., Joseph Skale
Soc., William Penslar
Soc., Sam Brademan
- 2nd District**
(One to be elected)
Rep., C. C. A. Baldi, Jr.
Dem., Rocco Costanzo
- 3rd District**
(Two to be elected)
Rep., Morris J. Root
Rep., Arnold M. Blumberg
Dem., Leonard J. DeNote
Dem., Isador Ostroff
- 4th District**
- 10th District**
(Two to be elected)
Rep., Chas. W. Sweeney
Rep., William H. Griffin
Dem., Thomas E. Shea
Dem., Paul C. Lewis
Soc., Sonia Teitelman
- 11th District**
(One to be elected)
Rep., F. P. Orlemann
Dem., Leo V. Tumelty
- 12th District**
(Two to be elected)
Rep., Fred. H. Myers
Rep., Robert A. Maguire
Dem., J. Harold Levy
Dem., Benjamin L. Long
- 13th District**
(Two to be elected)
Rep., Clinton A. Sowers
Rep., William L. Reed
- 19th District**
(Two to be elected)
Rep., Martin P. Newell
Rep., Harry Greeby
Dem., Ralph C. Donohoe
Dem., Jos. M. O'Brien
Soc., Andy Yasser
- 20th District**
(Two to be elected)
Rep., Harvey Uhler
Rep., Edward Haws
Dem., Edward Flanagan
Dem., Eugene J. Hagerty
Soc., Ruth Becker
Soc., Charles Setias
- 21st District**
(Two to be elected)
Rep., J. R. Kenney
Rep., H. R. Reynolds
Dem., John Brigerman
Dem., Leonard McGee

NOMINEES

SENATOR IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Philadelphia's Legislative and Councilmanic Districts

| STATE REPRESENTATIVE AND DISTRICTS 1936—Election in All Districts | | | | STATE SENATORS AND DISTRICTS 1936—Election in 1-3-5-7 Districts | | | |
|--|----------|------|--|--|-----------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| DIST | WARDS | TYPE | REPRESENTATIVES | DIST. | WARDS | Party | STATE SENATORS |
| 1st | 1,39 | R | Stephen C. Denning R L. Arthur Greenstein | 1st | 1,26,36,39,48 | R | Joseph C. Trainer |
| 2d | 2 | R | Charles C. A. Baldi, Jr. | 2d | 2,3,4,7,8,9,30 | R | Samuel W. Salus |
| 3d | 3,4,5 | R | Morris J. Root R Arnold M. Blumberg | 3d | 5,6,10,11,12,13,14 16,18 | R | John R. K. Scott |
| 4th | 6,8,9 | R | George J. Mallen | 4th | 24,27,34,40,44,46 | D | John J. McCreesh |
| 5th | 26,36,48 | D | Anna M. Brancato D Charles Melchiorre D Francis J. Falkenstein | 5th | 17,19,20,31,37 | R | Max Aron |
| | | | | 6th | 21,22,38,42,49,50 | R | Dr. George Woodward |
| | | | | 7th | 15,28,29,32,47 | R | Harry Shantz |

3rd District
(Two to be elected)
Rep., Morris J. Root
Rep., Arnold M. Blumberg
Dem., Leonard J. DeNote
Dem., Isador Ostroff

4th District
(One to be elected)
Rep., George Jos. Mallen
Dem., A. A. Sulcove

5th District
(Three to be elected)
Rep., John Chiusolo
Rep., Charles R. Regan
Rep., Peter J. Campbell
Dem., F. J. Falkenstein
Dem., Charles Melchiorre
Dem., Anna Brancato

6th District
(One to be elected)
Rep., Richard A. Cooper
Dem., Samuel Holmes
Dem., Joseph Schwartz

7th District
(One to be elected)
Rep., Wm. A. Upshur, Jr.
Dem., Wm. A. Allmond

8th District
(Two to be elected)
Rep., James O'Dare
Rep., Chas. E. Voorhees
Dem., J. Leo Caesar
Dem., Arthur R. Schor

9th District
(One to be elected)
Rep., Herman J. Tahl
Dem., Abraham M. Kroll

(Two to be elected)
Rep., Fred. H. Myers
Rep., Robert A. Maguire
Dem., J. Harold Levy
Dem., Benjamin L. Long

13th District
(Two to be elected)
Rep., Clinton A. Sowers
Rep., William J. Beadman
Dem., Edwin F. Thompson
Dem., Reuben E. Cohen

14th District
(One to be elected)
Rep., Robt. S. Hamilton
Dem., S. H. Cauffman

15th District
(One to be elected)
Rep., J. J. McDevitt, 3rd
Dem., Thomas J. Clary
Dem., Peggy T. Schwartz

16th District
(One to be elected)
Rep., C. H. N. Wilson
Dem., Frank J. Fitch
Dem., Leon Shull

17th District
(One to be elected)
Rep., George D. Mansfield
Dem., H. M. Dubbs, Jr.
Dem., Alice Hanson

18th District
(Three to be elected)
Rep., Manuel Fleisher
Rep., James F. Heavey
Rep., W. Albert Sanders
Dem., John J. Finnerty
Dem., Marshall L. Shepard
Dem., Joseph Ominsky
Dem., Benjamin Sherman
Dem., Leah K. Neutra
Dem., Max Zonis

Soc., Ruth Becker
Soc., Charles Settas

21st District
(Two to be elected)
Rep., J. R. Kenney
Rep., H. R. Reynolds
Dem., John Brugerman
Dem., Leonard McGehee
Soc., Ann Wabold
Soc., Lew Kaufman

22nd District
(Two to be elected)
Rep., Harry L. Duffort
Rep., Jas. A. McGarrity
Dem., James A. Smith
Dem., Samuel A. Blank
Soc., Rose Krouse

23rd District
(One to be elected)
Rep., A. A. Wasserman
Dem., James F. Walsh

24th District
(One to be elected)
Rep., Emil C. Esslinger
Dem., Elmer Kilroy
Soc., Charles Salter

25th District
(One to be elected)
Rep., Christian Sautter
Dem., Joseph A. Scanlon
Soc., Kazimier Miller

26th District
(One to be elected)
Rep., Fred C. Gartner
Dem., John J. McShane
Soc., Nellie Lithgow Chew

27th District
(One to be elected)
Rep., Robert Boyd
Dem., John B. Hering

| | | | |
|------|----------|---|--|
| 2d | 2 | R | Charles C. A. Baldi, Jr. |
| 3d | 3,4,5 | R | Morris J. Root Arnold M. Blumberg |
| 4th | 6,8,9 | R | George J. Mallen |
| 5th | 26,36,48 | D | Anna M. Brancato Charles Melchiorre Francis J. Falkenstein |
| 6th | 7 | R | Richard Cooper |
| 7th | 30 | R | Walker K. Jackson |
| 8th | 10,13,14 | R | (Vacancy) William Patrick Condon |
| 9th | 11,12 | R | Herman J. Tahl |
| 10th | 15 | R | Charles W. Sweeney Robert H. Moore |
| 11th | 17,18 | D | Leo V. Tumelty |
| 12th | 19 | D | Albert L. Long Albert L. Pfoff |
| 13th | 16,20 | R | Clinton A. Sowers William T. Beadman |
| 14th | 21 | R | Robert S. Hamilton |
| 15th | 22 | R | John J. McDevitt, 3rd |
| 16th | 42,49,50 | D | Frank J. Fitch |
| 17th | 23,35,41 | R | Lewis F. Castor, Jr. |
| 18th | 24,34,44 | D | John J. Finnerty Marshall L. Shepard Joseph Ominsky |
| 19th | 25,45 | D | Andrew A. Cannon Joseph David Burks |
| 20th | 28,37 | D | Eugene J. Hagerty Edward Flanagan |
| 21st | 29,47 | R | J. Raymond Kenney Hobson R. Reynolds |
| 22d | 27,40,46 | R | Harry L. Duffort John J. Carr |
| 23d | 32 | R | A. Alfred Wasserman |
| 24th | 38 | D | Elmer Kilroy |
| 25th | 33 | D | Joseph A. Scanlon |
| 26th | 43 | R | Joseph A. Ferko |
| 27th | 31 | R | Robert Boyd |

| | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|---|---------------------|
| 3d | 5,6,10,11,12,13,14,16,18 | R | John R. K. Scott |
| 4th | 24,27,34,40,44,46 | D | John J. McCreech |
| 5th | 17,19,20,31,37 | R | Max Aron |
| 6th | 21,23,38,42,49,50 | R | Dr. George Woodward |
| 7th | 15,28,29,32,47 | R | Harry Shapiro |
| 8th | 23,25,33,35,41,43,45 | D | Walter S. Pytko |

COUNCILMANIC DISTRICTS
Election in All Districts in 1939

| DIST. | WARDS | COUNCILMEN |
|-------|--------------------------|--|
| 1st | 1,26,36,39,48 | Dr. Arthur Keegan Charles J. Pommer Bernard Samuel |
| 2d | 2,3,4,7,8,9,30 | Henry J. Trainer |
| 3d | 5,6,10,11,12,13,14,16,18 | Phineas T. Green |
| 4th | 24,27,34,40,44,46 | George Maxman James H. Irvin James G. Clark George Connell Edward A. Kelly |
| 5th | 17,19,20,31,37 | Louis Schwartz Frederic D. Garman |
| 6th | 21,22,38,42,49,50 | (Vacancy) Clarence E. Blackburn William A. Kelley William B. Simons |
| 7th | 15,28,29,32,47 | Patrick Connor Alexander C. Green |
| 8th | 23,25,33,35,41,43,45 | John J. Daly Clarence K. Crossan John L. Fox Thomas P. Stokely |

MEMBERS REPUBLICAN CITY COMMITTEE

Chairman, EDWIN R. COX

| Ward | Ward | Ward |
|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Charles J. Pommer | 18 Joseph Lyons | 35 Clarence K. Crossan |
| 2 Frank J. Willard | 19 Frederic D. Garman | 36 Edwin R. Cox |
| 3 Henry J. Trainer | 20 Edward J. Connor | 37 Oscar E. Noll |
| 4 Samuel W. Salus | 21 William J. Hamilton | 38 Thomas F. Glancey |
| 5 Arnold M. Blumberg | 22 David E. Watson | 39 Bernard Samuel |
| 6 Samuel Kenin | 23 David T. Hart | 40 George Connell |
| 7 Michael Kessler | 24 James G. Clark | 41 Austin Greer |
| 8 Edward J. Cooke | 25 Wm. F. Campbell | 42 William A. Kelley |
| 9 James M. Neely | 26 Joseph C. Trainer | 43 James C. Clark |
| 10 Dennis F. Fitzgerald | 27 David W. Harris | 44 Joseph J. Kelly |
| 11 Phineas T. Green | 28 James A. Smith | 45 Fredk. Schwarz, Jr. |
| 12 Louis Hamburg | 29 Richard Weglein | 46 Samuel Dunbar |
| 13 Morton Witkin | 30 B. G. Collier | 47 John J. Fennen |
| 14 John R. K. Scott | 31 Edward J. Holland | 48 William J. Morrow |
| 15 Alexander C. Green | 32 Alex. Lichtenstein | 49 J. Myron Honigman |
| 16 Joseph McArdle | 33 Atkinson Costello | 50 William B. Simons |
| 17 Ferdinand G. Zweig | 34 Edward A. Kelly | |

MEMBERS DEMOCRATIC CITY COMMITTEE

Chairman, JOHN B. KELLY

| Ward | Ward | Ward |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Leon Sacks | 18 Michael A. Byrne | 35 Charles A. Hild |
| 2 Joseph Marinelli | 19 Joseph O'Mullin | 36 James P. McGranery |
| 3 Henry Cianfrani | 20 Andrew A. Boyle | 37 Charles H. Hersch |
| 4 Herbert Spencer Levin | 21 Walter Morley | 38 James W. McBride |
| 5 Frederick A. Swoboda | 22 John F. McCormack | 39 Robert J. Fitzgerald |
| 6 Helen Liston | 23 John J. Beggin | 40 John J. Hennessy |
| 7 Austin Norris | 24 William Bach | 41 Michael Sweeney |
| 8 Francis W. Sullivan | 25 Frank Dougherty | 42 Herbert McGlinchey |
| 9 Benjamin Shulman | 26 Michael A. Spatola | 43 John Haney |
| 10 John J. Shanahan | 27 Bernard I. Shovlin | 44 John B. Albany |
| 11 (Vacancy) | 28 Benjamin Green | 45 Walter Pytko |
| 12 Wm. Deppenschmidt | 29 Leo A. Kirk | 46 William A. Freeman |
| 13 Horace Mayer | 30 Michael R. Kerwick | 47 Joseph M. Corcoran |
| 14 Charles McDonald | 31 P. A. McCann | 48 William A. Hagan |
| 15 Thos. J. Minnick, Jr. | 32 John E. Sheridan | 49 John L. Barrett |
| 16 George D. Crevey | 33 William D. Robbins | 50 Charles M. Finley |
| 17 Michael McDevitt | 34 Thomas A. Logue | |

Propaganda distrib^{ed} by employers to influence the
votes of their men in Presidential campaign of
1936

28

WHO IS THE
"FORGOTTEN MAN"
NOW?



Are Business
Employees
and Employers
to be the
Goats?



DICTATORS
don't belong
here!



Class Hatreds and
Class Legislation
Are Un-American

Propaganda distributed by employers to influence the
votes of their workers in Presidential campaign of
1936 28

"THE Forgotten Man" we hear so much about—used to mean the man without a job. To help him we now have thousands of alphabetical agencies, bureaus and bureaucrats dishing out public funds—your money and mine.

But now who is The Forgotten Man?

He is the honest, hard-working American citizen—you and I—employers and employees—the backbone of the nation. He earns his living by productive effort, and only asks that others do likewise. There are no plans to hold down his growing taxes and increasing cost of living.

He is self-supporting and asks no favors. He is busy making a living, supporting his family, church and school, and it hasn't been his habit to kick or make appeals to politicians. Therefore he hasn't excited their fear or won their favor. Their interest in him is confined to what he earns and its taxing possibilities.

The Forgotten Man is burdened with the entire cost of all the schemes for making everybody happy, including the unfortunates, loafers, grafters and others who live off of tax money.

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Are Business
Employees
and Employers
to be the
Goats?



ALL history proves that when a country is run by a dictator the rights of citizens largely or entirely disappear.

Would-be dictators in their greed for power try to get a foothold by fooling the people with catch-phrases and beautiful but insincere or impossible promises.

Are the helpless, oppressed, starving peasants under a Russian dictator happy?

Are the millions in Germany under a dictator free and con-

tented? Their press is controlled. They have no free speech. Their religion is dictated. The people live in fear.

Are the millions in Italy under a dictator satisfied with their high cost of living—seizure of their private property and spying on their personal affairs?

Regardless of what they do in other countries, the United States should be free of seekers of power with their cure-all remedies and schemes that al-



"It is natural for man to seek power. It is because of this trait of human nature that the founders of our institutions provided a system of checks and balances. They placed all their public officers under constitutional limitation . . . They were very apprehensive that the executive might seek to exercise arbitrary powers."

—Calvin Coolidge

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**Class Hatreds and
Class Legislation
Are Un-American**

Propaganda distrib^{ed} by employers to influence the
votes of their men
- Presidential campaign of
1936 28

"FO
THERE has been so much loose talk lately about what America hasn't, that there is danger of losing sight of what she has—that rich inheritance of fought-for Liberty and Opportunity found nowhere else in the world.

So much emphasis has been placed on unemployment, that it is becoming increasingly clear that the far greater millions of employed people in America are being forgotten. They have been put in danger by extravagant alphabetical experiments limiting production, smothering initiative, increasing cost of living, and tinkering with our financial structure—

schemes that may look all right on paper, but are destructive in practice. The price of crack-pot ideas in economics and government is going to come out of somebody's hide. Whose?

Business and industry which—with all its faults in the past—brought jobs, welfare and progress to our land, is now unfairly being pictured by politicians and bureaucrats as the "bad boy" who caused the depression. No one country, person, or group of persons, brought on the depression. But one thing is sure—when our country is pulled out of its difficulties, it's going to be business employers and


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D
C
ABRAHAM LINCOLN fought class hatreds and class legislation in this country with as much determination as he fought slavery.

He regarded any one an enemy of America who would try to arouse class antagonism to turn one group of citizens against another group. He considered them as dangerous as those who would stir up a rebellion against national law and order.

What would he think of those today in the United States who are secretly and openly sowing the seed of discord! Who are trying to stir up class hatreds between "labor" and "capital," between farm people and people in the city, between one group of workers and another, between employers and em-

ployees, between employed and unemployed, and so on!

Those who promote legislation favoring a class or group at the expense of others, are dangerous trouble makers. Their unworthy purpose is to gain votes or advantage at the expense of the public welfare.

There is no good reason why we should have class hatreds and class legislation in America. We can thrive and prosper only when we are helping one another and cooperating—when there is no favoritism and we are working together harmoniously to solve our problems—striving for a square deal for all.

Any one who attempts to create or develop class hatreds or class legislation has no place here in America, and certainly

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Propaganda distrib^d by employers to influence the votes of their men in Presidential campaign of 28

Political experimenters depend upon The Forgotten Man who produces the wealth of the country, to foot the bills for their extravagant ideas.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

We Forgotten Men—there are millions of us, employees and employers—will not be remembered until we stand together and take action to tell those in public office what we like and what we don't like.

[Please pass this along to others]

No. 3

employees who will do the principal job of pulling—not politicians, demagogues, and impractical professors.

Don't be afraid to have an opinion and express it, and give your support to leaders who will uphold American traditions. We have freedom of speech in this country so far.



"Although there may be times when private industry needs the curb and bit of government regulation, still it is vastly superior to government planning and government control of business and of all human effort."

—Alfred E. Smith
Democratic candidate for President 1928

[Please pass this along to others]

No. 2

ways include a plan to take from those who have and give to those who haven't. Such promises win a following for a while—until the bunk is found out.

Whatever the plans and promises of any would-be dictator in this country, a great majority of Americans will refuse to accept any substitute for the freedom and opportunity of our tried and tested form of government—of, for and by the people.

[Please pass this along to others] No. 5

no place in the administration of our national affairs.

◆ ◆ ◆



"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues and kindreds. Nor should this lead us to a war upon property, or the owners of property.

Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich and, hence, is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently and build one for himself, thus, by example, assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

—Abraham Lincoln

[Please pass this along to others]

No. 36

Propaganda Distributed by employers to influence the votes
of their workers in Presidential Campaign of 1936

29

**NOT ONLY
OURSELVES—**



*but our children and our children's children
will pay the heavy taxes resulting from govern-
mental extravagance and wild spending.*

Not Perfect—but
The Best Country
in the World!



“Share the Wealth”
“Soak the Rich”
—tricky political slogans



Every Day Is Tax Collection Day!

ALL of us pay taxes whether we know it or not. Not one of us spends a dime of which some part does not go for taxes. The tax collector's net is made to catch the smallest fish as well as the largest.

The direct sales tax is easy to see—it is plainly tacked on to prices. But hundreds of other taxes are *hidden* in the prices we pay.

Every dollar paid in rent goes in part to pay the tax on real estate. Every ton of coal burned pays part of the tax on the coal yard, the vehicle tax on the trucks used to haul the coal, and some of the taxes on the railroad that brought the coal from the mine.

Some taxes of course we should rightfully pay. We all need police

service, fire department protection, courts to give us justice, and hundreds of other services we accept without thinking. At the same time, we all have a right to demand that tax money must not be wasted. Taxes, direct and indirect, cut into the weekly wage to an extent most people fail to understand.

To figure exactly what each person pays through indirect taxes is as complicated as a jig-saw puzzle. A loaf of bread carries a load of over 50 taxes—most of them indirect. Out of a salary of \$25.00 a week as spent by an ordinary American family, it is estimated about \$5.38 goes for taxes. Taxes are figured in the cost of everything we buy or use!

Sad to say, too, that in spite of all we are paying and the increased taxes we will have to pay—and pay as long as we live—the tax burden created by the politicians' wild spending will also rest upon our children and our children's children.

Not Perfect—but
The Best Country
in the World!



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● "Share the Wealth" and "Soak the Rich" are old and nice sounding phrases. They are proposed by political job seekers, and others who seek something for nothing, but if put into practice, they would kill the goose that lays the golden egg.

Some people seem to forget there cannot be *employment* without *employers*.

Rich people don't keep their money in piles of cash or sacks of coin—and they keep only a small part of it in banks. They invest in land, buildings, manufacturing plants, mines, and transportation companies — where the members of American families can earn an honest living.

It is vital to national welfare for people to invest their wealth in useful business projects—

and keep it there—because every million dollars of invested capital means employment for about 200 men. A billion dollars kept out of the hands of politicians means the employment of enough men to man the industries of a city like Detroit.

Any tax which drains an excessive amount of capital out of industry *puts men out of work*. Any tax which discourages capital, robs thousands of the chance to earn a living.

If all the income of Americans in 1933 receiving over \$3930 for that year had been seized by the government, the amount would have paid only about *half* the government deficit of that year. If the amount had been shared by all others who received income your share and mine would have been less than \$5.00 a month.*

*Col. L. P. Ayres

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Propaganda Distributed by employers to influence the votes
of their workers in Presidential Campaign of 1936

29

PEOPLE living under the various autocratic governments that now seem to be in style have less freedom, less money and fewer luxuries by far than we Americans.

If Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Nazism and all the other "isms" are so desirable, why is it that 90% of the people in those countries under them, would give their right arm to be American citizens?

Why is it that the immigration quota lists are always full, with thousands waiting and thousands of others paying big prices to be smuggled into America?

You can't fool these immigrants. They know the conditions under tyrannical governments. All they want is

to get out and get into America!

Even "jolly England" isn't so jolly for the workman. A skilled worker after many, many years at his trade rarely can get more than Five Pounds (Less than \$25.00) a week.

Recent statistics show we have 44 Million savings accounts in this country with 24 Billion Dollars in deposits.

10 Million owners of shares in Building & Loan Associations, representing an investment of 8 Billion Dollars.

Over 33½ Million ordinary life insurance policies in force, representing a face value of over 90½ Billion Dollars.

Over 88¼ Million in "industrial" policies for over 18¼ Billion Dollars.

Over 14 Million or nearly one-half of Americans are home owners. Over 3½ Million farms are operated by their owners.

Four out of every five families are car owners—two-thirds have phones—practically half have radios.

but our
will pay
mental e

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"Share the Wealth"

"Soak the Rich"

—tricky political slogans



Unnecessary taxes can be cut by cutting out governmental extravagance, waste and unnecessary political bureaus and commissions.

Political officeholders who practice economy and efficiency are the men who deserve and should have our support.

"The Federal Government has no means of getting a dollar to expend which it first does not take from the pockets of the tax payers, and let me tell my laboring friends that when pay day comes, when the money must be paid back . . . they will be the first victims . . ."



—Carter Glass,
Senator (Democrat) from Virginia

[Please pass this along to others]

No. 35

Under no other form of government at any time has any country ever even approached this distribution of wealth among its people.

In spite of those who would "make America over," it's the best country in the world! Let's put a stop to tinkering and keep it the best.



"See where there is a bill up in Congress now to change the Constitution all around. It seems the men who drew up this thing years ago didn't know much, and we are now getting a bunch of real fellows who can take that old Parchment and fix it up like it should have been all these years.

It seems it's just been luck that's got us by so far."

—Wm Rogers

[Please pass this along to others]

No. 18

If enough money could be raised by "soaking the rich" to pay the cost of government, or to hand out any worthwhile amounts to people who aren't earning it, the "rich" would have to include nearly all wage earners.

"All Share the Wealth programs are mis-named. They really should be called Steal the Wealth programs. It is not their intention to provide new and larger opportunities for fruitful labor, whether by hand or by brain, but rather to take by force some part of the savings which the work and the thrift of others have enabled them to build up."



—Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler,
President of Columbia University

[Please pass

No. 16

RULES FOR STUDEBAKER PRESIDENTIAL SWEEPSTAKES

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- 4** This contest is not open to minors. Contestant must state that he or she is of voting age.
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- 8** In the event of ties duplicate prizes will be awarded.
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THE STUDEBAKER CORPORATION
SOUTH BEND, INDIANA

RECORD POPULAR VOTE IN NOVEMBER SEEN BY WILLIAM TYLER PAGE

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The major political parties and numerous minority groups, he said, are engaged in a strenuous campaign to qualify all voters.

(Clipping from Chicago
Tribune, July 10, 1936)

POPULAR VOTE FOR

| Candidate and Party | 1828 *Popular | Per Cent | Electo- rals |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Jackson (D.) | 647,231 | 55.97 | 178 |
| Adams (F.) | 509,097 | 44.03 | 83 |
| 1832 | | | |
| Jackson (D.) | 687,502 | 54.96 | 219 |
| Clay (W.) | 530,189 | 42.39 | 49 |
| Floyd (W.) | | | 11 |
| Wirt (A.-M.) | 33,108 | 2.65 | 7 |
| 1836 | | | |
| Van Buren (D.) | 761,549 | 50.83 | 170 |
| Harrison (W.) | | | 73 |
| White (W.) | 736,656 | 49.17 | 26 |
| Webster (W.) | | | 14 |
| Mangum (W.) | | | 11 |
| 1840 | | | |
| Harrison (W.) | 1,275,017 | 52.89 | 234 |
| Van Buren (D.) | 1,128,702 | 46.82 | 60 |
| Birney (L.) | 7,059 | .39 | |
| 1844 | | | |
| Polk (D.) | 1,337,243 | 49.55 | 170 |
| Clay (W.) | 1,299,068 | 48.14 | 105 |
| Birney (L.) | 62,300 | 2.31 | |
| 1848 | | | |
| Taylor (W.) | 1,360,101 | 47.36 | 163 |
| Cass (D.) | 1,220,544 | 42.50 | 107 |
| Van Buren (F.-S.) | 291,263 | 10.14 | |
| 1852 | | | |
| Pierce (D.) | 1,601,474 | 51.03 | 254 |
| Scott (W.) | 1,380,678 | 43.99 | 42 |
| Hale (F.-S.) | 156,149 | 4.98 | |
| 1856 | | | |
| Buchanan (D.) | 1,838,169 | 45.34 | 174 |
| Fremont (R.) | 1,341,264 | 33.09 | 114 |
| Fillmore (A.) | 874,534 | 21.57 | 8 |
| 1860 | | | |
| Lincoln (R.) | 1,866,352 | 39.91 | 180 |
| Breckinridge (D.) | 845,763 | 18.08 | 72 |
| Bell (U.) | 589,581 | 12.61 | 39 |
| Douglas (D.) | 1,375,157 | 29.40 | 12 |
| 1864 | | | |
| Lincoln (R.) | 2,216,067 | 55.06 | 216 |
| McClellan (D.) | 1,808,725 | 44.94 | 21 |
| 1868 | | | |
| Grant (R.) | 3,015,071 | 52.67 | 214 |
| Seymour (D.) | 2,709,613 | 47.33 | 80 |
| 1872 | | | |
| Grant (R.) | 3,597,070 | 55.63 | 292 |
| Greeley (D.) | 2,834,079 | 43.83 | 66x |
| O'Connor (I. D.) | 29,408 | .45 | |
| Black (T.) | 5,608 | .09 | |

| Candidate and Party | 1876 *Popular | Per Cent | Electo- rals |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Hayes (R.) | 4,033,950 | 47.95 | 185 |
| Tilden (D.) | 4,284,885 | 50.94 | 184 |
| Cooper (G.) | 81,740 | .97 | |
| Smith (Pr.) | 9,522 | .11 | |
| Walter (A.) | 2,636 | .03 | |
| 1880 | | | |
| Garfield (R.) | 4,449,053 | 48.31 | 214 |
| Hancock (D.) | 4,442,035 | 48.23 | 155 |
| Weaver (G.) | 307,306 | 3.34 | |
| Dow (Pr.) | 10,487 | .11 | |
| Phelps (A.) | 707 | .01 | |
| 1884 | | | |
| Cleveland (D.) | 4,911,017 | 48.89 | 219 |
| Blaine (R.) | 4,848,334 | 48.27 | 182 |
| St. John (Pr.) | 151,809 | 1.51 | |
| Butler (G.) | 133,825 | 1.33 | |
| 1888 | | | |
| Harrison (R.) | 5,444,337 | 47.82 | 233 |
| Cleveland (D.) | 5,540,050 | 48.66 | 168 |
| Fisk (Pr.) | 250,125 | 2.20 | |
| Streeter (U.-L.) | 146,897 | 1.29 | |
| Cowdrey (U.-L.) | 2,808 | .03 | |
| 1892 | | | |
| Cleveland (D.) | 5,554,414 | 46.04 | 277 |
| Harrison (R.) | 5,190,802 | 43.02 | 145 |
| Weaver (F.) | 1,027,329 | 8.51 | 22 |
| Bidwell (Pr.) | 271,058 | 2.24 | |
| Wing (S.) | 21,164 | .19 | |
| 1896 | | | |
| McKinley (R.) | 7,035,638 | 50.88 | 271 |
| Bryan (D.) | 6,467,946 | 46.77 | 176 |
| Levering (Pr.) | 141,676 | 1.03 | |
| Palmer (N. D.) | 131,529 | .95 | |
| Matchett (S.-L.) | 36,454 | .27 | |
| Bentley (N.) | 13,969 | .10 | |
| 1900 | | | |
| McKinley (R.) | 7,219,530 | 51.69 | 292 |
| Bryan (D.) | 6,358,071 | 45.51 | 155 |
| Woolley (Pr.) | 209,166 | 1.49 | |
| Debs (S.-D.) | 94,768 | .67 | |
| Barker (P.) | 50,232 | .37 | |
| Malloney (S.-L.) | 32,751 | .23 | |
| Ellis (U.-R.) | 5,098 | .04 | |
| Leonard (U.-C.) | 518 | .00 | |
| 1904 | | | |
| Roosevelt (R.) | 7,628,834 | 56.41 | 336 |
| Parker (D.) | 5,084,491 | 37.60 | 140 |
| Debs (S.) | 402,460 | 2.98 | |
| Swallow (Pr.) | 259,257 | 1.91 | |
| Watson (P.) | 114,753 | .85 | |
| Corregan (S.-L.) | 33,724 | .25 | |
| Holcomb (C.) | 830 | .00 | |

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THE STUDEBAKER CORPORATION
SOUTH BEND, INDIANA

R E P R E S I D E N T (1828-1932)

| Candidate and Party | 1908 *Popular | Per Cent | Electo- toral |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------|------------------|
| Taft (R.) | 7,679,006 | 51.58 | 321 |
| Bryan (D.) | 6,409,106 | 43.05 | 162 |
| Debs (S.) | 420,820 | 2.83 | .. |
| Chafin (Pr.) | 252,683 | 1.69 | .. |
| Hisgen (I.) | 83,562 | .56 | .. |
| Watson (F.) | 28,131 | .19 | .. |
| Gilhaus (S.-L.) | 13,825 | .10 | .. |
| Turney (U. C.) | 461 | .00 | .. |
| 1912 | | | |
| Wilson (D.) | 6,286,214 | 41.82 | 435 |
| Roosevelt (Pro.) | 4,126,020 | 27.45 | 88 |
| Taft (R.) | 3,483,922 | 23.17 | 8 |
| Debs (S.) | 897,011 | 5.97 | .. |
| Chafin (Pr.) | 208,923 | 1.39 | .. |
| Reimer (S.-L.) | 29,079 | .20 | .. |
| 1916 | | | |
| Wilson (D.) | 9,129,606 | 49.28 | 277 |
| Hughes (R.) | 8,538,221 | 46.07 | 254 |
| Benson (S.) | 586,113 | 3.16 | .. |
| Hanly (Pr.) | 220,506 | 1.19 | .. |
| (Pr.) | 41,894 | .23 | .. |
| Reimer (S.-L.) | 13,403 | .07 | .. |
| 1920 | | | |
| Harding (R.) | 16,152,200 | 61.02 | 404 |
| Cox (D.) | 9,147,353 | 34.55 | 127 |
| Debs (S.) | 919,799 | 3.47 | .. |
| Watkins (Pr.) | 189,408 | .72 | .. |
| Cox (S.-L.) | 31,175 | .12 | .. |
| Christensen (F.-L.) | 26,541 | .10 | .. |
| Maccauley (S.-T.) | 5,837 | .02 | .. |
| 1924 | | | |
| Coolidge (R.) | 15,725,003 | 54.07 | 382 |
| Davis (D.) | 8,385,586 | 28.86 | 136 |
| La Follette (Pro.) | 4,626,471 | 16.59 | 13 |
| Faris (Pr.) | 57,551 | .19 | .. |
| Foster (W.) | 36,386 | .12 | .. |
| Johns (S.-L.) | 27,650 | .10 | .. |
| Nations (A.) | 23,967 | .08 | .. |
| Wallace (C.-L.) | 1,262 | .01 | .. |
| 1928 | | | |
| Hoover (R.) | 21,367,604 | 58.08 | 444 |
| Smith (D.) | 19,003,795 | 40.79 | 87 |
| Thomas (S.) | 267,627 | .72 | .. |
| Foster (Wo.) | 48,964 | .13 | .. |
| Reynolds (S.-L.) | 21,644 | .06 | .. |
| Varney (Pr.) | 19,957 | .06 | .. |
| Webb (F.-L.) | 6,390 | .02 | .. |
| 1932 | | | |
| Roosevelt (D.) | 22,821,513 | 57.40 | 472 |
| Hoover (R.) | 15,761,787 | 39.65 | 59 |
| Thomas (S.) | 884,274 | 2.22 | .. |
| Foster (C.) | 102,991 | .26 | .. |
| Upshaw (Pr.) | 81,674 | .20 | .. |
| Harvey (L.) | 58,425 | .13 | .. |
| Reynolds (S.-L.) | 34,046 | .02 | .. |
| Coxey (F.-L.) | 7,431 | .02 | .. |
| Cox (I.) | 740 | .. | .. |

PARTIES

- A. American
 - A.-M. anti-Masonic
 - C. Continental
 - C.-L. Commonwealth-land
 - D. Democratic
 - F. Federal
 - F.-S. Free-soil
 - F.-L. Farmer-Labor
 - G. Greenback
 - I. Independence
 - I. D. Independent Democratic
 - L. Liberty
 - N. National
 - N. D. National Democratic
 - P. People's
 - Pr. Prohibition
 - Pro. Progressive
 - R. Republican
 - S. Socialist
 - S.-L. Socialist-Labor
 - S.-D. Socialist-Democratic
 - S.-T. Single Tax
 - T. Temperance
 - U. C. United Christian
 - U. Union
 - U.-L. United Labor
 - U.-R. Union Republican
 - W. Whig
 - Wo. Workers
 - L.-U. Liberty Unity
 - J. Jobless
- (x) Owing to death of Mr. Greeley, the 66 electoral votes were variously cast.

R. 23,000,000
L. 14,000,000

40,000 G. O. P. LEAD IN NORTH PHILA.

John B. Kelly's Only One of
Six Showing Registry
Divided Almost Even

FIGHT ON EMLÉN'S SEAT

BY ROBERT W. COMBER

All indications point to the large northern section of the city—mostly residential and of long time independent tendency—turning in a substantial plurality for Landon next month.

Democrats face the task of shooting at a 40,000-lead in Republican enrollment among approximately 190,000 voters registered in the two major parties, in the six wards combined.

The area presents one Congressional fight which the G. O. P. should win easily, and a contest to fill a vacancy in City Council with the Republicans also favored by a smaller margin.

One ward—the 38th—which is part of the 5th Councilmanic district but not in the 7th Congressional district, has only 60 fewer Democrats registered than Republicans, according to figures of the enrollment not quite completed. This is the bailiwick of John B. Kelly, Democratic city leader.

Bounded by W. Lehigh av., Broad st., Germantown av., Wingoheoking st., Tacony creek, four other thoroughfares which form boundary lines between Philadelphia and Montgomery county, and the Schuylkill River, the entire territory includes Tioga, Falls of Schuylkill, Roxborough, Manayunk, Germantown, Chestnut Hill, Logan, Olney and Oak Lane.

Darrow Appears Safe

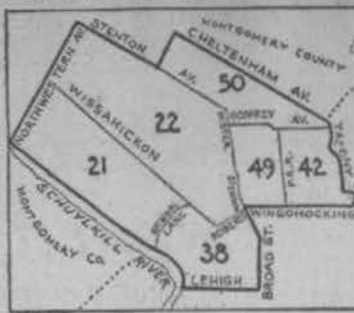
The 21st, 22d, 42d, 49th and 50th wards comprise the Congressional district. Congressman George P. Darrow, veteran Republican member of the national House, appears headed for re-election over Dr. Ira W. Drew, the Democratic nominee.

Dr. Drew, an osteopath, of Germantown, where Darrow also lives, has an added advantage of being on the Royal Oak party ticket. He was placed by the Democrats on their ticket in substitution for another candidate after the April primary, because he had endorsement of the National Union for Social Justice. Drew will benefit from those registered Republicans and non partisans who vote the straight Royal Oak party ticket which Lemke heads in Pennsylvania for President.

In 1934, Darrow was elected by a plurality of 6,783, and in the Mayorality election, last year, the Republican lead in the district was 12,238. In the registration this year, the Republican increase has held up closer to the Democratic gain than in any other section of the city.

The Republicans lead in enrollment by about 39,600. Last year 10.8 per cent. of the Republican registrants voted for Kelly, Democratic candidate for Mayor. If the full enrolled vote of both parties should be

G. O. P. AHEAD HERE



In this 6-ward northern residential section of the city, which has 40,000 more Republicans enrolled than Democrats, the former look for a Landon plurality.

polled at the coming election and the 1935 ratio of "swingover" Republicans should prevail, G. O. P. leaders point out that Darrow would be 19,000 ahead at the polls.

In considering the actual balloting, of course, some allowance must be made for stay-at-home voters, the Royal Oak votes Drew will get from outside from registered Democrats, and votes Darrow will receive from old line Democrats opposed to the New Deal.

Contest on Emlén's Seat

Lines for the special election to fill the Council seat made vacant by death of former Councilman Samuel Emlén are drawn slightly different from the Congressional contest, because of inclusion of the Democratic-trended 38th ward in the Councilmanic district, and the fact that many voters of both parties may neglect to make an additional mark on the supplementary ballot.

Theodore D. Starr, investment broker and member of a socially prominent family, is the Republican nominee for Council. Opposing him on the Democratic ticket is Thomas Z. Minehart, an attorney and son of a former Councilman. Both candidates live in the 22d ward, which also was the late Mr. Emlén's home. They were nominated by caucuses of members of the respective City Committees in the district.

At the municipal election last year, the lowest man among the four winning Republican nominees for Council (the district has four places) had a plurality of 11,745 over the highest losing Democrat. This was 1800 more than S. Davis Wil-

son's Republican plurality for Mayor in the district.

The 38th ward went Democratic last year by 2,300 and in 1934 by 3,300. The 49th ward was in the same category with smaller Democratic pluralities although it had a Republican majority in registration. Republicans again lead in enrollment there, by about 1,700.

There is no election for State Senator in the district this year, as it is one of the even-numbered ones. Only four members of the State House of Representatives are to be elected in this vast territory, because of the Legislature's failure to reapportion the Philadelphia districts on a basis equitable with the

city's division of population.

The Democrats now hold two of the House seats at Harrisburg. It looks as if they will retain one, and they have a fighting chance of keeping the other.

In the 14th Legislative district, which is the 21st ward, a three-to-one Republican registration insures the re-election of Representative

Robert S. Hamilton over his Democratic opponent, Stanley Hart Cauffman.

Representative John J. McDevitt, 3d, likewise appears certain to be re-elected by Republicans in the 15th district, 22d ward, where G. O. P. leads two-to-one in enrollment. He is opposed by Thomas J. Clary, one of the few Democratic House candidates in the city who also has a Royal Oak nomination.

The 16th district (42d, 49th and 50th wards) will be much closer on election day than the 10,000 advantage in Republican registration would indicate. Representative Frank J. Fitch, Democrat seeking re-election, is opposed by C. Herbert N. Wilson, Republican. A switch-

over of 11½ per cent. of Republican registrants to the Democratic ticket—the ratio which prevailed here a year ago—would make Fitch the winner by several hundred votes.

Representative Elmer Kilroy, Democratic incumbent, is favored in the 24th district, 38th ward. The Republican candidate is Emil C. Esslinger.

see results of election back in books #CC

The President Reports

October 21st 1936

To the Nation To-Night

From Worcester, Mass.

Consult Radio Program for Time
Franklin D. Roosevelt.

HEAR the President give an account of his stewardship - Hear the Dramatic story of his Battle against the forces of concentrated Wealth.

The methods he pursued to rescue America from the misery and suffering of depression. How he restored the purchasing power of the **GREAT MASSES OF AMERICAN PEOPLE.**

**A MAGNIFICENT RECITAL
OF WHAT HE HAS DONE and WHY**

Listen to Sound Wagon for Details

DEMOCRATIC CITY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

411 FRANKLIN TRUST BUILDING

PHILADELPHIA

JOHN B. KELLY
CHAIRMAN

BERNARD I. SHOVLIN
SECRETARY

October 24, 1936.

Dear Fellow Democrat:

As Chairman of the Democratic City Committee, I want to thank you for registering Democratic. You no doubt know that we registered 403,851 Democrats against a Republican enrollment of 519,865.

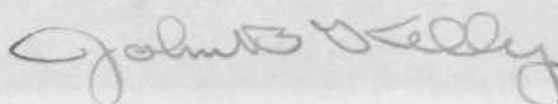
Our job is still to be completed. Please let nothing interfere with your going to the polls, as early as possible, on November 3rd and casting your vote for the re-election of President Roosevelt and the entire Democratic ticket.

We can carry the City and State, but we must work to this end courageously and together. I feel, if you will take it upon yourself, you can persuade many of your friends and neighbors who have registered Republican to vote for President Roosevelt and our candidates.

I am, therefore, writing to solicit your personal help. If every soldier in this great Democratic Army does his or her part, we shall surely on November 3rd, WIN WITH ROOSEVELT.

President Roosevelt, by his great humanitarian, social justice and recovery program, has helped you and me during the last three and one-half years. Now he needs your help and mine. LET US NOT FAIL HIM!

Yours for Roosevelt,



John B. Kelly
CHAIRMAN

Roxborough: Roosevelt-Landon Presidential Campaign of 1936 [From Phila Record Sunday Oct 25, 1936]

'SAVE AMERICA'—FROM SCENES LIKE THIS



With characteristic blindness, the Republican City Committee failed to note the proximity of the defunct Roxborough Trust Company when it hung this Landon-Knox campaign banner at Ridge ave. and Green lane. The boner would almost be funny if it weren't for the fact that the funds of 9878 depositors were tied up when the bank closed on October 13, 1931, in Hoover's regime.

Polling Places

TWENTY-FIRST WARD

- 1—5146 Ridge avenue
- 2—126 Hermit
- 3—4031 Cresson
- 4—4223 Main
- 5—116 Grape
- 6—140 Carson
- 7—194 Dupont
- 8—125 Ripka
- 9—155 Fountain
- 10—4155 Terrace
- 11—225 Grape
- 12—281 Green lane
- 13—272 Hermitage
- 14—5107 Rochelle avenue
- 15—141 Kalos
- 16—369 Shurs lane
- 17—4232 Pechin
- 18—323 Roxborough avenue
- 19—N. W. Cor Pechin and Lyceum avenue
- 20—407 Green lane
- 21—456 Ripka avenue
- 22—422 Fountain
- 23—N. W. cor Wissahickon avenue and School lane
- 24—6024 Wissahickon avenue
- 26—596 Jamestown
- 26—5888 Henry avenue
- 27—Lyceum and Ridge avenue
- 28—6709 Ridge avenue
- 29—N. W. cor Ridge avenue and Domino lane
- 30—8311 Ridge avenue

EAST FALLS

- 28—Oak Road and Midvale ave
- 37—35th & Allegheny avenue
- 38—3348 Clearfield street
- 40—4127 Ridge avenue
- 41—3400 Henry avenue
- 42—S. E. cor Conrad and Midvale avenue
- 43—N. E. cor Queen lane and Cresson
- 44—4256 Ridge avenue
- 45—3501 Conrad street

LITERARY DIGEST STRAW VOTE POLL OF 1936.

Final Figures on Oct. 30th 1936

THE POLL.

WHAT HAPPENED
ON NOVEMBER 3RD
1936.

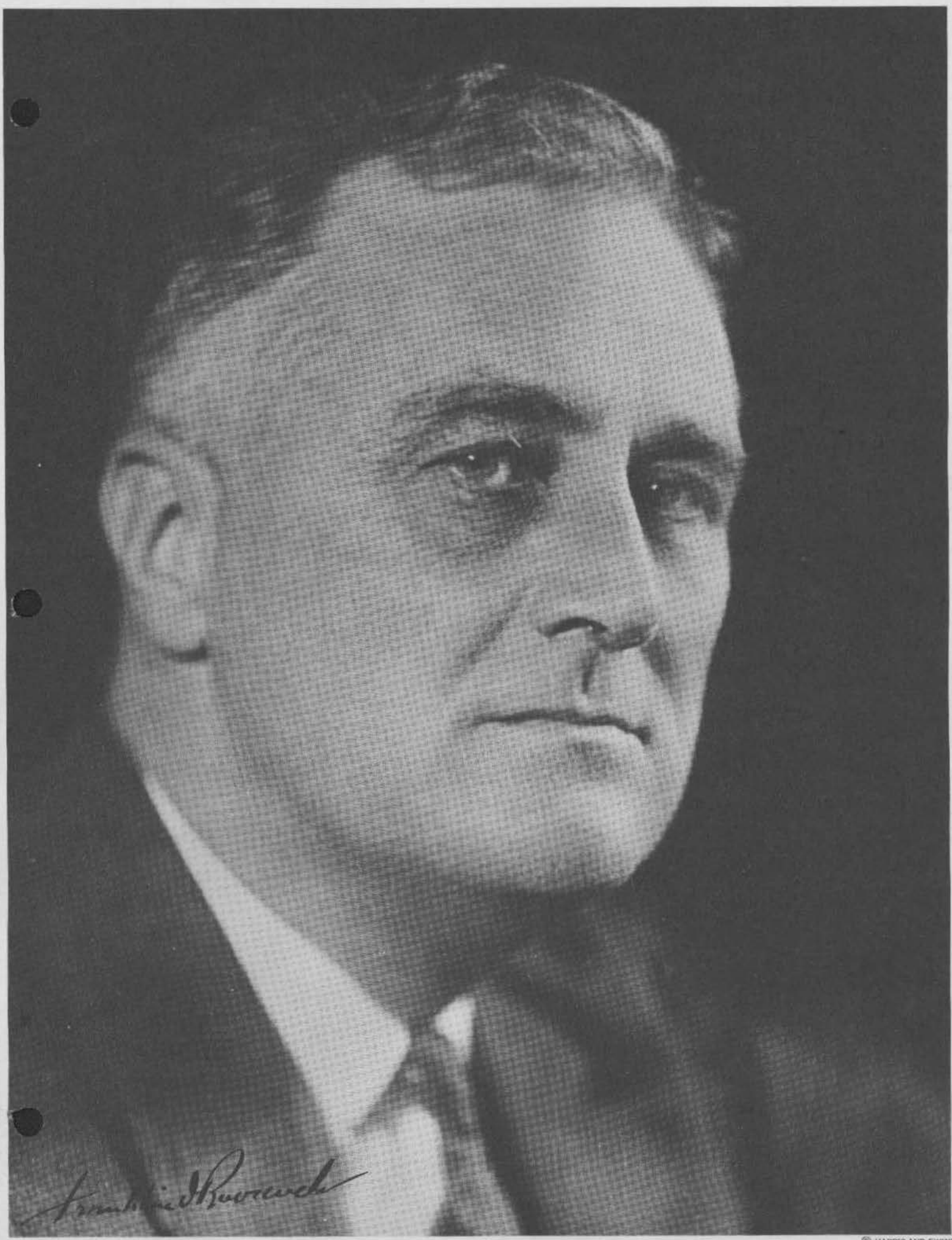
Incomplete returns on Nov. 5th 1936

| 48 States' Returns With Electoral Vote | | | | | | | The Result | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------|----------------|------------|----------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| In the Literary Digest Straw Poll | | | | | | | | | | | |
| States. | Final Returns to October 30 | | | | | Electoral Vote | | Electoral Vote | | Popular Vote | |
| | Electoral Vote. | Total Ballots. | Landon Percentage | Roosevelt Percentage | All others. | Landon. | Roosevelt. | Landon | Roosevelt | Landon | Roosevelt |
| Solid South (124) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Alabama | 11 | 13,273 | 23.05 | 75.96 | .99 | — | 11 | 11 | 22,960 | 145,023 | |
| Arkansas | 9 | 10,540 | 25.85 | 72.18 | 1.97 | — | 9 | 9 | 16,291 | 74,042 | |
| Florida | 7 | 15,021 | 40.52 | 57.39 | 2.09 | — | 7 | 7 | 28,520 | 213,219 | |
| Georgia | 12 | 16,999 | 23.22 | 75.98 | .80 | — | 12 | 12 | 33,928 | 208,655 | |
| Louisiana | 10 | 12,585 | 29.29 | 62.79 | 7.92 | — | 10 | 10 | 7,545 | 73,625 | |
| Mississippi | 9 | 7,012 | 12.09 | 86.71 | 1.20 | — | 9 | 9 | 713 | 21,683 | |
| North Carolina .. | 13 | 22,593 | 27.06 | 72.25 | .69 | — | 13 | 13 | 132,695 | 465,541 | |
| South Carolina ... | 8 | 8,426 | 14.80 | 84.32 | .88 | — | 8 | 8 | 1,346 | 53,987 | |
| Tennessee | 11 | 29,978 | 32.97 | 66.14 | .89 | — | 11 | 11 | 131,510 | 208,312 | |
| Texas | 23 | 53,746 | 28.54 | 69.78 | 1.68 | — | 23 | 23 | 57,212 | 422,484 | |
| Virginia | 11 | 27,268 | 37.49 | 61.55 | .96 | — | 11 | 11 | 96,723 | 223,291 | |
| Border States (53) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Kentucky | 11 | 30,861 | 43.31 | 53.76 | 2.93 | — | 11 | 11 | 318,143 | 461,184 | |
| Maryland | 8 | 36,676 | 47.61 | 50.01 | 2.38 | — | 8 | 8 | 229,125 | 387,125 | |
| Missouri | 15 | 91,354 | 54.76 | 41.89 | 3.35 | 15 | 15 | 677,756 | 1,078,070 | | |
| Oklahoma | 11 | 29,971 | 48.19 | 50.30 | 1.51 | — | 11 | 11 | 200,291 | 416,750 | |
| West Virginia ... | 8 | 24,210 | 56.42 | 42.28 | 1.30 | 8 | 8 | 277,856 | 428,849 | | |
| New England (41) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Connecticut | 8 | 44,151 | 65.25 | 30.38 | 4.37 | 8 | 8 | 278,110 | 381,274 | | |
| Maine | 5 | 17,576 | 66.81 | 30.36 | 2.83 | 5 | 5 | 166,969 | 124,583 | | |
| Massachusetts .. | 17 | 119,829 | 72.98 | 21.67 | 5.35 | 17 | 17 | 769,214 | 541,281 | | |
| New Hampshire . | 4 | 12,492 | 74.24 | 22.07 | 3.69 | 4 | 4 | 107,624 | 186,231 | | |
| Rhode Island ... | 4 | 14,818 | 70.19 | 23.55 | 6.26 | 4 | 4 | 124,716 | 166,667 | | |
| Vermont | 3 | 9,936 | 72.88 | 24.74 | 2.38 | 3 | 3 | 70,960 | 67,149 | | |
| Middle Atlantic (102) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Delaware | 3 | 5,028 | 58.04 | 40.73 | 1.23 | 3 | 3 | 54,409 | 69,956 | | |
| New Jersey | 16 | 89,854 | 65.30 | 30.75 | 3.95 | 16 | 16 | 714,725 | 1,081,992 | | |
| New York | 47 | 323,635 | 50.14 | 43.03 | 6.83 | 47 | 47 | 2,147,033 | 3,257,349 | | |
| Pennsylvania ... | 36 | 209,828 | 56.75 | 38.66 | 4.59 | 36 | 36 | 681,323 | 2,324,734 | | |
| Central West (100) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Illinois | 29 | 210,734 | 58.51 | 37.50 | 3.99 | 29 | 29 | 1,527,566 | 2,244,242 | | |
| Indiana | 14 | 72,101 | 59.37 | 36.98 | 3.65 | 14 | 14 | 666,769 | 902,367 | | |
| Michigan | 19 | 81,360 | 63.27 | 31.57 | 5.16 | 19 | 19 | 669,778 | 765,764 | | |
| Ohio | 26 | 138,081 | 56.41 | 36.78 | 6.81 | 26 | 26 | 1,128,507 | 1,764,757 | | |
| Wisconsin | 12 | 59,178 | 57.11 | 35.12 | 7.77 | 12 | 12 | 360,876 | 754,532 | | |
| Western Farm (46) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Iowa | 11 | 53,663 | 59.39 | 34.69 | 5.92 | 11 | 11 | 457,699 | 579,086 | | |
| Kansas | 9 | 56,872 | 62.26 | 35.61 | 2.13 | 9 | 9 | 366,920 | 419,789 | | |
| Minnesota | 11 | 57,685 | 53.33 | 35.94 | 10.73 | 11 | 11 | 328,153 | 528,148 | | |
| Nebraska | 7 | 31,072 | 58.83 | 37.88 | 3.29 | 7 | 7 | 238,024 | 326,265 | | |
| North Dakota ... | 4 | 9,114 | 46.63 | 40.22 | 13.15 | 4 | 4 | 30,527 | 65,777 | | |
| South Dakota ... | 4 | 13,858 | 61.21 | 32.52 | 6.27 | 4 | 4 | 82,945 | 101,782 | | |
| Mountain States (30) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Arizona | 3 | 4,476 | 52.21 | 44.13 | 3.66 | 3 | 3 | 32,326 | 83,266 | | |
| Colorado | 6 | 26,786 | 59.54 | 37.43 | 3.03 | 6 | 6 | 125,329 | 209,911 | | |
| Idaho | 4 | 6,546 | 55.80 | 39.89 | 4.31 | 4 | 4 | 64,760 | 120,078 | | |
| Montana | 4 | 8,352 | 53.76 | 42.65 | 3.59 | 4 | 4 | 47,042 | 78,531 | | |
| Nevada | 3 | 2,013 | 49.83 | 47.44 | 2.73 | 3 | 3 | 8,119 | 20,807 | | |
| New Mexico | 3 | 3,363 | 48.32 | 49.42 | 2.26 | — | 3 | 51,377 | 70,757 | | |
| Utah | 4 | 9,578 | 42.46 | 55.52 | 2.02 | — | 4 | 63,912 | 44,687 | | |
| Wyoming | 3 | 4,132 | 60.84 | 36.92 | 2.24 | 8 | 3 | 28,646 | 45,675 | | |
| Pacific (35) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| California | 22 | 173,935 | 51.47 | 44.41 | 4.12 | 22 | 22 | 656,057 | 1,071,882 | | |
| Oregon | 5 | 23,664 | 49.64 | 46.28 | 4.08 | 5 | 5 | 78,623 | 184,070 | | |
| Washington | 8 | 37,697 | 56.52 | 40.47 | 3.01 | 8 | 8 | 121,133 | 254,762 | | |
| *States Unknown .. | — | 14,563 | 49.15 | 44.94 | 5.91 | — | — | — | — | — | |
| Total | 531 | 2,376,523 | 54.43 | 40.94 | 4.63 | 370 | 161 | 8 | 523 | 10,476,028 | 24,847,332 |

*This designation includes ballots, the mailing origin of which cannot be identified by the Literary Digest, because the senders failed to designate the State in which they live.

POLITICAL PREDICTION: By A. C. Chadwick, October 30th 1936.
 Four Days Before
 Election of November 3rd
 1936.

| <u>PREDICTION</u> | <u>WHAT HAPPENED.</u> Dated 11/5/36 |
|---|---|
| Roosevelt will win election. | He did! And how! |
| Roosevelt will carry the 38th Ward. | He did. By 8947 votes |
| Landon will carry the 21st Ward. | By only 648 votes |
| Landon will carry the 22nd Ward. | By only 7804 votes |
| 42nd Ward will be fairly even. | 6346 for Roosevelt. |
| 49th Ward will be about even. | 6351 for Roosevelt |
| 50th Ward: Close. | 1551 for Roosevelt. |
| Philadelphia vote close: Within 25,000 either way. | Democratic for 1st time since 1856 by Approx- 210,025 votes |
| Roosevelt will carry Pennsylvania. | He did! First time for Democrats since before Civil War |
| Roosevelt will receive larger popular vote than in 1932. (1932: 22,813,786) | Total: 2 days after election and incomplete: 24,847,332 |
| Landon vote will be about 15,000,000. | 15,476,078 |
| Roosevelt vote will be about 23,000,000. | 24,847,332 |
| For State Offices: Ross and Roberts, the Democratic candidates will win. | They did! |
| Congressman George P. Darrow will win. (Rep) | Wrong here He lost! |
| Congressman J. Burrwood Daly will lose. (Dem) | Wrong here He won! |
| State Representative Robt. S. Hamilton will win. (Rep) | Right here, but just by a whisker. |
| State Representative Elmer Kilroy will win. (Dem) | Right. He did. |
| Starr (Rep) will win City Council seat. | Wrong. He lost to Minehart, Demk |



Franklin D. Roosevelt

Do You Want Another HOOVER ?
IF NOT . . .

SUPPORT



PRESIDENT
ROOSEVELT

by registering as a **DEMOCRAT**

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3rd, 1936

8 A. M. to 2 P. M. 5 P. M. to 11 P. M.

38th WARD DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE

YOU MUST REGISTER TO VOTE
REGISTER REPUBLICAN

Then vote REPUBLICAN to save the American plan of government and protect your future and that of your children.

FIRST DAY to ENROLL and REGISTER
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1936

No tax receipt or poll tax is required!!!

Registrars will sit from 8 A. M. to 2 P. M. and from 5 P. M. to 11 P. M. (Daylight Time). All previous registrations are void!!!

Your polling place is located at _____



Members of Ward Executive Committee.

The chart, shown below, as printed in the Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger, of Monday, November 2nd 1936, was denounced, later in the evening, by Senator Wagner, of New York, sponsor of the Social Security Act, as a deliberate fraud, he particularly mentioning that there were no cards prepared for enrollment and that religion played no part in any part or intention of the Act. 40

LEDGER—PHILADELPHIA. MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1936

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|--|---------------|--------------|-----------|
| WRITE NAME IN FULL | DATE OF BIRTH | | | AGE | DATE WILL BE 65 | | | EDUCATION |
| | MONTH | DAY | YEAR | | MONTH | DAY | YEAR | |
| PRESENT ADDRESS | | | | | PHONE | | | |
| ADDRESS CHANGED | | | | | | | | |
| IN CASE OF ACCIDENT, NOTIFY | | | | | | | | |
| MALE <input type="checkbox"/> FEMALE <input type="checkbox"/> | DIVORCED <input type="checkbox"/> | OWN HOME <input type="checkbox"/> | LIVE WITH PARENTS <input type="checkbox"/> | ROOM <input type="checkbox"/> | CHURCH ATTENDED | MEMBER | | |
| BIRTH PLACE | CITIZEN OF U. S. | NATURALIZED? | WHEN | YEARS IN U. S. | YEARS IN STATE | YEARS SOUNDED | | |
| UNION AFFILIATION | PHYSICAL DEFECTS | | TRADE OR OCCUPATION | HEIGHT | WEIGHT | COLOR OF HAIR | COLOR OF EYE | |
| GENERAL BENEFICIARY OR NEAREST RELATIVE | | | | | | PHONE NUMBER | | |
| PREVIOUS | POSITION | WORKED | WAGE | REASON FOR LEAVING | REFERENCES OTHER THAN FORMER EMPLOYER | | | |
| 1 | FROM | START | END | | | | | |
| 2 | FROM | START | END | | | | | |
| 3 | FROM | START | END | | | | | |
| 4 | FROM | START | END | | | | | |
| APPLICANT, DO NOT WRITE OBSERVATIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS | | | | | ARE YOU RELATED TO EMPLOYER? ANY RELATIVES WORKING HERE? | | | |
| DATE FILED | MC | REGISTRATION NO. | NAME - LAST | FIRST | MIDDLE | EMPLOYEE NO. | | |

APPLICATION FORM UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Above is a reproduction of the application through which workers must register for old-age pensions and unemployment insurance after January 1. Arrows indicate information required, together with space for number by which workers will be listed. The law requires that employers make stated deductions from workers' pay envelopes. The act has been denounced by Republicans as "regimentation" and "a mandatory pay cut"

Circulated by the Philadelphia Democratic Party
Committee, on Monday, November 2nd 1936

41

WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. Workingman, watch your step. Tory employers throughout the State are trying to trip you.

Has your boss put up a sign or sent out notices warning that he will be compelled to deduct money from your pay envelope to pay for the Federal Social Security Program? Many bosses have done the same. There has been a flood of these placards and notices in the last few weeks past—just before the election.

What is it all about? Just this: Certain employers are trying to fool their employees into thinking that the New Deal Social Security Program is taking money from the working men and women of this Nation.

As a matter of fact, the Social Security Program will bring back to working men and women more—much more—than they put into it.

How?

Because all the money will be used eventually for unemployment insurance, or in other words it all goes to the men and women in the groups that were forgotten before the New Deal.

What are certain employers kicking about?

They know that they have to match your contribution dollar for dollar and that it all goes for **your** benefit. They are trying to use you to play their game.


If your employer is far-sighted he knows that Social Security is good business for him, because it will guard against depressions and widespread need. If your employer is the other kind, he is probably putting up signs and handing out notices, trying to frighten you into voting against your own interests.

President Roosevelt's Social Security Program is intended to protect first the vast group of citizens who can't provide for their own old age or for periods of unemployment.

It protects, secondly, all citizens against relief taxes and the hardships of a depression such as we have just experienced.

Don't let them fool you by half-truths. The Republican Party is trying to mislead you about this law, just as its State Senators gave lip service to Social Security at Harrisburg and then knifed the bill which would have made the program immediately effective in your behalf. You know what they are trying to do. It's their same old game. Watch your step!

You know that President Roosevelt meant it when he said: "Among our first objectives in Social Security I place the security of the men, women and children of the Nation first."


John B. Kelly
Chairman.

Circulated on Monday, November 2nd, 1936

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TEN REASONS WHY WE SHOULD VOTE FOR ROOSEVELT

1. Because he saved Americans from panic, desperation and starvation into which the Hoover administration had plunged them; reduced unemployment, bread lines and food riots and preserved this country's most priceless assets, its working men and women.
2. Because he saved 1,100,000 American homes from sheriff's sale through the HOLC and millions more indirectly by increasing property values.
3. Because he made our bank deposits safe.
4. Because he is the man to keep us out of foreign war. The G. O. P. campaign is largely financed by interests which would profit immensely from war.
5. Because he fought Labor's battle and won higher wages and greater respect for Labor. His re-election will insure a continued fair break for Labor.
6. Because he saved American farmers.
7. Because he rescued the small business man by restoring his customers.
8. Because he is doing away with conditions of oppression, misery and depression which breed Communism, and has restored to Americans their confidence in the American System.
9. Because everybody knows what Roosevelt has DONE and nobody knows what Landon would do.
10. Because the re-election of Franklin D. Roosevelt will keep the country from falling back into the hands of the same "barons of blunder" who wrecked it in 1929-33.

John B. Kelly
Chairman.

Philadelphia Democratic City Committee Chairman

Ad inserted in Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, by State
Senator Wm. George Woodward, (Republican) of Chestnut Hill on 43
November 2nd 1936

LANDON: ROOSEVELT

Recovery

Landon said: "The way to recovery is for the government to stop trying to run the lives of 130,000,000 people. If the government will do this it will give American initiative a chance and eleven million men and women will not long be looking vainly for jobs."

(Cleveland, Oct. 12th.)

Roosevelt won't tell his plans for business regulation, but both his son James, and Gov. Earle last Wednesday said the NRA will be revived. Former NRA employees have been recalled under Maj. Berry, to "plan" for next year. Tugwell said: "Business must logically disappear." Roosevelt denies none of this.

Constitution

Landon said: "Once I am elected President, the American idea of a constitutional government of personal freedom will be preserved." (Albuquerque, Oct. 19th.) "It is not my belief that the Constitution is above change. But change must come through the people and not through usurpation."

(Topeka, July 23rd.)

Roosevelt won't say whether necessary changes in the Constitution, if any, will be made through orderly amendments nor does he deny that he will "pack" the Supreme Court by increasing it with four new members as stated last Thursday by New Deal Senator Wheeler; nor will the President assure us that he will honor the decisions of the Supreme Court

Congress

Landon said: "Being elected, I shall immediately recommend to Congress the repeal of all laws giving autocratic power to the President."

(Detroit, Oct. 13th.)

Roosevelt won't return the power to Congress that he usurped "for the emergency."

Civil Service

Landon said: "The merit system must be restored, expanded and improved. I pledge myself to the extension of the merit system, under the Civil Service from top to bottom."

(St. Louis, night before last.)

Roosevelt won't promise to extend the Civil Service above Third Class Postmasters. His former promises to uphold the Civil Service have been notorious and repudiated.

Waste and Extravagance

Landon said: "We must recognize that a government does not have an unlimited supply of money to spend. It must husband its resources just as truly as does the head of a family."

(Topeka, July 23rd.)

"The budget is going to be balanced by

Will Roosevelt decrease his profligate spending? No one knows. And Roosevelt won't tell. And Tugwell-the-Roosevelt plans new splurges!

He tells us he will balance the budget

November 3, 1936

My dear Pennsylvanian:

Tuesday, November third, is in every sense OPPORTUNITY DAY for the Voters of Pennsylvania.

OPPORTUNITY DAY because it will offer them the opportunity to accomplish these two striking ends:

First, to give deserved indorsement to the great social justice and humanitarian policies of President Roosevelt and his great recovery program which is returning prosperity to the United States; Second, to destroy for all time the stranglehold control of the Republican majority in the State Senate, led by the convicted McClure and Clark, the disbarred Salus, and the reactionary agents of special privileged corporations like Owlett and Buckman, which has killed every piece of decent legislation now in effect in other States, and sponsored by my Administration.

Two years ago, I was elected Governor on a platform pledged to a Square Deal for Labor, Agriculture, The Home Owner, and The Small Business Man; on a platform pledged to a tax program based on ability to pay; on a platform pledged to give adequate relief to the innocent victims of the depression brought about by twelve years of Republican misrule.

While the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives at Harrisburg wholeheartedly supported me in my attempts to carry out my platform pledges, we were both blocked by the Republican controlled State Senate.

Now these hatchet men of the corrupt Republican leadership, who killed such decent legislation as the Anti-Sweatshop Bill, the Minimum Wage Bill for Women Workers, the Liberal Workmen's Compensation Bill, the Unemployment Insurance Bill, the Unionization Bill and similar bills, are again candidates for re-election.

Realizing that it has no chance to prevent the re-election of President Roosevelt, the corrupt Republican Gang hope to persuade the Voters of Pennsylvania to "SPLIT" their ballots. The Pew-Grundy-Mellon-Weir dictatorship in the Republican gang will leave no stone unturned to capture control of the State Legislature so that it can continue its traditional role of executioner of all decent and humane legislation.

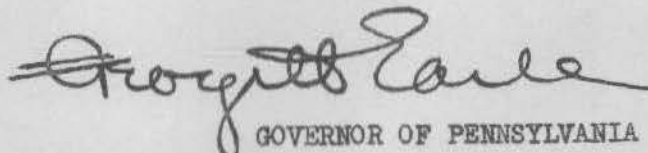
To the Voters of Pennsylvania, I earnestly make this appeal - do not be misled by the tricky pleas of local Republican workers for a "SPLIT" ballot in which you would give support to Republican candidates for the State Legislature.

The Pew-Grundy-Mellon-Weir dictatorship, in the past, has given no quarter, has shown no mercy to Labor, Agriculture, The Home Owner and The Small Business Man. There can be no compromise with special privilege - no compromise with political corruption - no compromise with a treacherous, selfish enemy.

VOTE FOR YOURSELF ON NOVEMBER THIRD BY VOTING THE STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

VOTE EARLY!

Sincerely,


GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA

CHALK TWO UP FOR ROOSEVELT!



John B. Kelly, chairman of the Democratic City Committee, and his wife were in the vanguard of voters yesterday at the polling place at Midvale ave. and Conrad st.

Won by Roosevelt

523 ELECTORAL VOTES

| | Elec. Vote. | Total Dists. | Dists. Report. | Popular Vote. | | |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|------------|---------|
| | | | | Roosevelt. | Landon. | Lemke. |
| Alabama | 11 | 2,200 | 1,160 | 149,023 | 22,960 | 56 |
| Arizona | 3 | 443 | 396 | 76,473 | 29,686 | 2,545 |
| Arkansas | 9 | 2,156 | 971 | 74,042 | 16,291 | 5 |
| California | 22 | 11,716 | 9,572 | 1,391,882 | 656,057 | .... |
| Colorado | 6 | 1,520 | 1,005 | 168,338 | 109,507 | 2,701 |
| Connecticut | 6 | 169 | 169 | 381,374 | 278,110 | 23,002 |
| Delaware | 3 | 232 | 194 | 48,279 | 37,895 | .... |
| Florida | 7 | 1,322 | 1,123 | 212,719 | 67,655 | .... |
| Georgia | 12 | 1,766 | 1,574 | 228,666 | 33,978 | 109 |
| Idaho | 4 | 793 | 716 | 110,161 | 60,605 | 2,304 |
| Illinois | 29 | 7,912 | 7,421 | 2,118,078 | 1,423,156 | 66,787 |
| Indiana | 14 | 3,840 | 3,354 | 819,555 | 598,701 | 10,558 |
| Iowa | 11 | 2,442 | 1,653 | 431,017 | 333,603 | 11,078 |
| Kansas | 9 | 2,690 | 2,533 | 401,387 | 352,326 | .... |
| Kentucky | 11 | 4,299 | 3,678 | 454,966 | 312,928 | .... |
| Louisiana | 10 | 1,584 | 180 | 73,625 | 7,545 | .... |
| Maryland | 8 | 1,453 | 1,447 | 387,125 | 229,125 | .... |
| Massachusetts | 17 | 1,765 | 1,765 | 941,701 | 769,214 | 120,733 |
| Michigan | 19 | 3,469 | 3,238 | 943,989 | 653,594 | 57,538 |
| Minnesota | 11 | 3,724 | 1,642 | 332,042 | 168,793 | 37,105 |
| Mississippi | 9 | 1,659 | 147 | 21,683 | 713 | .... |
| Missouri | 15 | 4,357 | 4,310 | 1,098,090 | 687,756 | 8,736 |
| Montana | 4 | 1,237 | 468 | 79,531 | 29,042 | 1,214 |
| Nebraska | 7 | 2,031 | 2,001 | 336,265 | 238,324 | 12,240 |
| Nevada | 3 | 256 | 203 | 20,307 | 8,119 | .... |
| New Hampshire | 4 | 295 | 295 | 106,221 | 103,626 | 3,523 |
| New Jersey | 16 | 3,581 | 3,574 | 1,077,335 | 710,955 | .... |
| New Mexico | 3 | 914 | 638 | 84,003 | 46,374 | 30 |
| New York | 47 | 8,950 | 8,926 | 3,257,439 | 2,149,033 | .... |
| North Carolina | 13 | 1,855 | 1,312 | 465,541 | 132,695 | .... |
| North Dakota | 4 | 2,245 | 764 | 65,877 | 30,527 | 11,840 |
| Ohio | 26 | 8,600 | 7,686 | 1,479,996 | 1,001,050 | 95,973 |
| Oklahoma | 11 | 3,421 | 2,874 | 416,830 | 200,291 | .... |
| Oregon | 5 | 1,625 | 1,225 | 154,080 | 78,623 | 12,673 |
| Pennsylvania | 36 | 8,010 | 7,919 | 2,324,934 | 1,681,323 | 48,266 |
| Rhode Island | 4 | 245 | 245 | 166,667 | 124,816 | 18,201 |
| South Carolina | 8 | 1,272 | 700 | 83,987 | 1,346 | .... |
| South Dakota | 4 | 1,958 | 1,248 | 103,952 | 82,945 | 2,536 |
| Tennessee | 11 | 2,295 | 2,036 | 308,312 | 131,510 | 168 |
| Texas | 23 | 254 | 215 | 420,484 | 57,212 | 1,385 |
| Utah | 4 | 801 | 631 | 124,371 | 59,497 | .... |
| Virginia | 11 | 1,704 | 1,866 | 230,378 | 95,556 | 162 |
| Washington | 8 | 2,881 | 1,885 | 254,962 | 121,133 | 3,570 |
| West Virginia | 8 | 2,347 | 1,940 | 428,849 | 277,086 | .... |
| Wisconsin | 12 | 2,927 | 2,789 | 754,532 | 360,876 | 53,423 |
| Wyoming | 3 | 676 | 488 | 45,675 | 28,646 | .... |
| Totals | 523 | 121,852 | 99,886 | 23,636,700 | 14,587,454 | 609,091 |

Won by Landon

8 ELECTORAL VOTES

| | Elec. Vote. | Total Dists. | Dists. Report. | Popular Vote. | | |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|------------|---------|
| | | | | Roosevelt. | Landon. | Lemke. |
| Maine | 5 | 633 | 621 | 124,593 | 166,969 | 7,315 |
| Vermont | 3 | 248 | 248 | 62,149 | 80,960 | .... |
| Totals | 8 | 881 | 869 | 186,742 | 247,927 | 7,315 |
| Grand totals | 531 | 122,733 | 100,737 | 23,822,442 | 14,835,381 | 616,406 |

Here's the Payoff On Straw Polls

Here is a comparison of the two leading national straw vote forecasts of the election results, by States, and Robert S. Allen's forecast in Sunday's Record, with the actual result. A question mark after the party abbreviation in the first two columns means doubtful, but favoring the party named. A question mark by itself means a straw vote so even that no choice was justified.

| STATE | Literary Digest | Inst. of Pub. Opinion | Robt. S. Allen | Real Vote |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------|-----------|
| Alabama | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Arizona | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Arkansas | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| California | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Colorado | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Connecticut | Rep. | ? | Rep.? | Dem. |
| Delaware | Rep. | Dem. | Rep.? | Dem. |
| Florida | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Georgia | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Idaho | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Illinois | Rep. | Dem.? | Dem. | Dem. |
| Indiana | Rep. | Dem.? | Dem. | Dem. |
| Iowa | Rep. | Dem.? | Dem. | Dem. |
| Kansas | Rep. | Rep.? | Rep.? | Dem. |
| Kentucky | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Louisiana | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Maine | Rep. | Rep. | Rep. | Rep. |
| Maryland | Dem.? | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Massachusetts | Rep. | Rep.? | Dem.? | Dem. |
| Michigan | Rep. | Dem.? | Dem.? | Dem. |
| Minnesota | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Mississippi | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Missouri | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Montana | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Nebraska | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Nevada | Rep.? | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| New Hampshire | Rep. | Rep. | Rep. | Dem. |
| New Jersey | Rep. | Dem.? | Dem.? | Dem. |
| New Mexico | Dem.? | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| New York | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| North Carolina | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| North Dakota | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Ohio | Rep. | Dem.? | Dem. | Dem. |
| Oklahoma | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Oregon | Rep.? | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Pennsylvania | Rep. | Dem.? | Dem.? | Dem. |
| Rhode Island | Rep. | ? | Rep.? | Dem. |
| South Carolina | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| South Dakota | Rep. | Rep.? | Dem. | Dem. |
| Tennessee | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Texas | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Utah | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Vermont | Rep. | Rep. | Rep. | Rep. |
| Virginia | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Washington | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| West Virginia | Rep. | Dem.? | Dem. | Dem. |
| Wisconsin | Rep. | Dem. | Dem. | Dem. |
| Wyoming | Rep. | Dem.? | Dem.? | Dem. |

Phila. Record, November 5th 1936

DELUGE OF CONGRATULATIONS POURS IN ON PRESIDENT



Thousands of telegrams congratulating President Roosevelt on his landslide victory were still arriving last night at his home in Hyde Park, N. Y. Here are just a few of the messages.



GARNER ACCEPTS ELECTION TRIUMPH CALMLY

Uvalde, Tex., Nov. 5.—(AP Wirephoto)—Vice President Garner failed to alter his daily routine for Tuesday's election, which swept him back into office with the Democratic landslide. He is shown reading the result at his home



REFRESHMENTS AFTER READING RETURNS
Hyde Park, N. Y., Nov. 5.—(AP Wirephoto)—President Roosevelt is shown enjoying a glass of milk at his home after wading through the mass of congratulatory messages he received following his re-election

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Part of Editorial from The Phila Evening
Ledger, November 5th 1936

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delphia and different representation in the National Committee. An endeavor to build a new organization out of the remnants of the old, combined with the Democrats who are not satisfied with the New Deal, is logical and expected.

Pennsylvania has repudiated the party leaders who have dominated its affairs for many years. The handwriting has been visible for four years. It had not been read by those in charge of Republican activities. Many who have been powerful have now been told by the voters to efface themselves. They can no longer hide behind their "stooges" in the Legislature and in places of party power. New, intelligent and courageous leadership is the need and the demand of Pennsylvania Republicans.

Republican

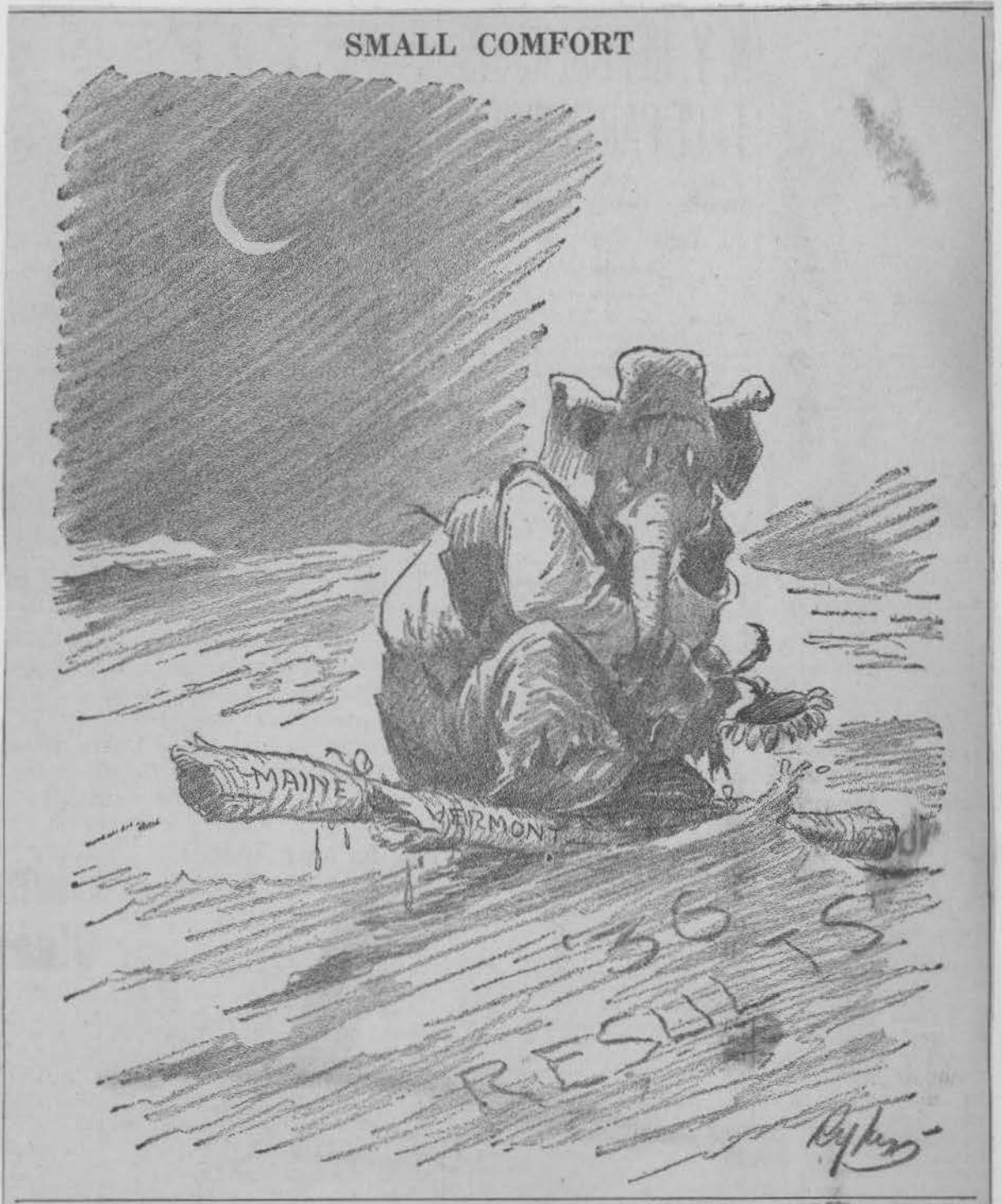


"OUCH!"

Phila. Evening Ledger, November 5th 1936

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SMALL COMFORT



PHILADELPHIA RECORD

INDEPENDENT

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PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER 5, 1936

ROOSEVELT IS RUINING THE COUNTRY

On Monday:

Financial bigwigs were crying that Roosevelt had "destroyed confidence";

Certain interests shrieked that investments would be doomed under Roosevelt;

Colonel Knox cried that "no savings account is safe; no insurance policy secure";

A few Big Business oracles roared that Roosevelt's defeat alone would remove the obstacles to recovery.

* * *

On Tuesday, the American people didn't believe any of that.

* * *

On Wednesday came the following press dispatches:

"New York, Nov. 4 (AP).—Stock Market industrials went through the roof today in a post-election buying whirl that pushed numerous issues up one to five points to new highs for the recovery.

"It was the fastest session in a month, with the ticker tape falling behind as much as four minutes at one time as blocks of several thousand shares changed hands."

"New York, Nov. 4 (AP).—Commodity prices were swept upward today in one of the broadest buying movements of the year. World markets for copper, rubber, cotton and other important staples felt a surge of demand as traders sought to interpret the Democratic victory at the polls yesterday.

"The post-election advance sharpened the contrast with low levels touched in 1932 and 1933."

* * *

So does Franklin Delano Roosevelt go on "ruining the country."

SOME PREDICTIONS: PROVING

Final 'Digest' Results Point to Landon Victory

Republican Gets 370 Electoral Votes and 32 States in Ballots of 2,376,523
Roosevelt Receives 161 Wins 'Solid South,' Utah, New Mexico and Maryland

The Literary Digest, which has accurately forecast all three Presidential elections since it started polling the country's voters in 1916, predicts Governor Roosevelt will win the election by 370 electoral votes for President Roosevelt and 161 for Governor Landon. The final results in tomorrow's election will be a 44 per cent of the popular vote for Roosevelt and 56 per cent for Landon.

Landon Will Win, Hamilton Says

Special to American Newspaper, Inc. WASHINGTON, Sept. 16.—Gov. Landon will win the Presidential campaign by a sweeping majority throughout the North and Western States, John D. Hamilton, president of the National Conference of the Press Club today said.

Hamilton said that every State east of the Mississippi River, except Ohio, will get 225 to 230 electoral votes in these States and will pick up enough in the Rocky Mountain States to assure election.

LANDON SWEEP OF STATE SEEN IN VOTE SURVEY

Republican Ticket Will Pile Up Big Lead Over 157,000 Plurality Received in 1932

Sweeney and Piola Assure of Victory as Jeffersonian Democrats Threaten Inroad Against New Dealers

Going into the home stretch of the Presidential campaign, Republican leaders are more confident than ever that the Landon-Knox ticket will carry Pennsylvania by a plurality considerably in excess of the 157,000 registered voters of the party candidates four years ago.

Reports of independent opinion polls surveys, most of which disclose that while Democratic chiefs are shouting their claims of victory there is nothing in the lay of the land to indicate they are within gunshot of a correct approximation of the probable result.

State Ticket to Win Also Not only will Landon

Smith Predicts Landon Will Win Election

We'll All Soon Be Out of Woods,' Ex-Governor Says on Visit to Albany

Speaks There Saturday But Declines to Reveal What He Plans as Topic

ALBANY, Oct. 16.—Gov. Landon was in Albany today on a visit to the father of the late Governor Alfred E. Smith, expressed confidence in the election of Governor Alfred E. Smith, Republican candidate for President.

LANDON ONLY

President Elect

Swearing In

Safe for

By ROBERT

WASHINGTON

There are no

month ago—a

London. In the

Two hundred

four years ago

the President's

13 Votes for

of three States

found in the room.

here by Ford about 3 A. M.

Carrying Suitcases.

When these guests left they were

first seen by an elevator operator

on the second floor, three floors below Ford's room, carrying two suitcases.

They apparently were not intending to use the elevator but stepped into it and continued to the main floor.

As they started to walk out of the hotel, one of the men identified himself as Ford. The hotel clerk asked if they wanted to settle the account but the men said they were going on a short trip and turned over the bags as security.

The bags contained clothing and a cardboard box in which was a radio set, all owned by Ford.

TWO GUESTS HUNTED IN STRANGLE KILLING

Victim Bound to Bed in Hotel and Garrotted With Neckties.

By Associated Press NEW YORK, Nov. 4.—Choked to

death with two neckties and a towel, the body of R. Walton Ford,

found today in a blood-spattered room of a midtown hotel.

Police sought two early morning guests, one of whom masqueraded

as the victim of the garroting as they fled from Ford's room.

After a floor maid discovered the body bound to a day bed, in a wildly disordered room, other

hotel employees recalled suspicious circumstances under which the two men left the premises at 4.30 A. M., several hours earlier.

Motive is Mystery. Authorities were unable to ascertain a motive for the crime, intensifying disbelief in a robbery theory.

Ford's arms were tied above the head with a floor lamp cord, a necktie and a section of radio wire.

around the neck were two neckties and a towel and more radio wire

and a belt secured the man's legs and a belt secured the man's legs

to the foot of the bed. Bed and floor were blood-stained. There was

deep gash in the forehead. An empty whiskey bottle and

three used drinking glasses were found in the room. Hotel employees

said the two men were brought here by Ford about 3 A. M.

As they started to walk out of the hotel, one of the men identified himself as Ford. The hotel clerk

asked if they wanted to settle the account but the men said they were going on a short trip and turned

over the bags as security. The bags contained clothing and a

cardboard box in which was a radio set, all owned by Ford.

CAPONE'S SON PAYS AUTO CRASH FINE

MIAMI BEACH, Nov. 4 (UP).

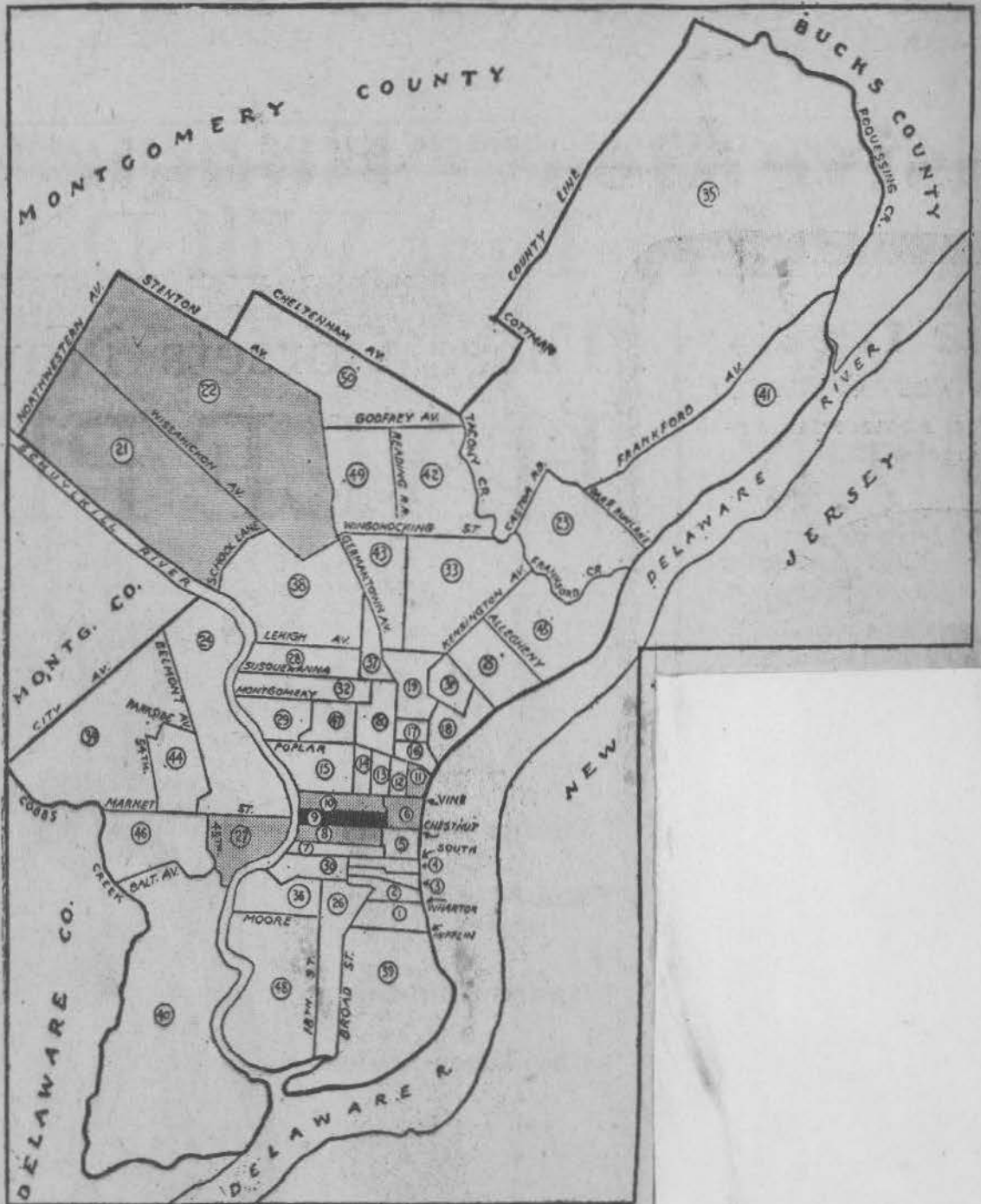
These pre-election headlines cast here presented, only that by

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WHAT F. D. R. DID TO MAP OF PHILADELPHIA



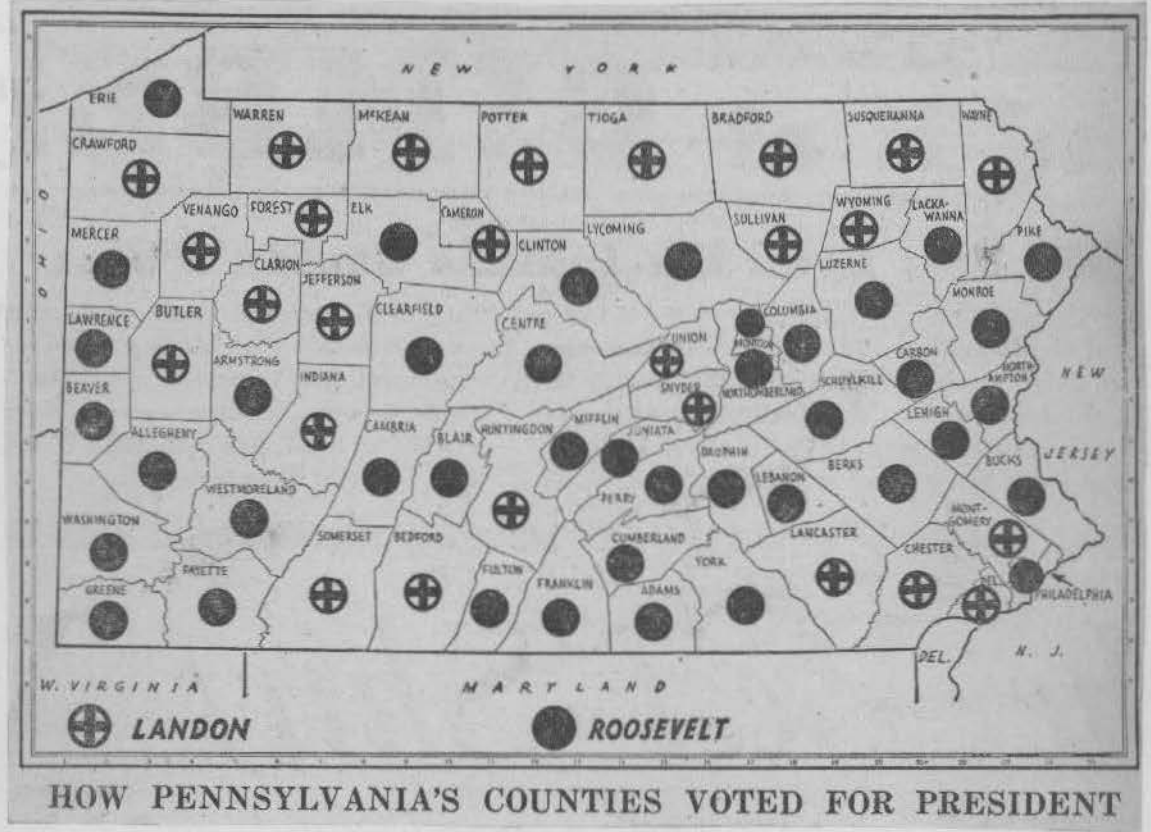
Shaded are the seven wards carried by Landon. The black, the 9th, was tied. All the rest, 42, are in the Roosevelt column.

City Vote for President

| Ward. | Landon | Roosevelt | Lemke |
|--------|--------|-----------|-------|
| 1 | 4463 | 10127 | 68 |
| 2 | 3808 | 5180 | 52 |
| 3 | 2527 | 3321 | 21 |
| 4 | 1943 | 3390 | 8 |
| 5 | 1505 | 2716 | 12 |
| 6 | 330 | 211 | 4 |
| 7 | 5051 | 6072 | 57 |
| 8 | 3456 | 2890 | 22 |
| 9 | 468 | 468 | 7 |
| 10 | 2062 | 1725 | 35 |
| 11 | 977 | 806 | 7 |
| 12 | 1246 | 1683 | 7 |
| 13 | 2682 | 2723 | 15 |
| 14 | 2563 | 3467 | 22 |
| 15 | 6300 | 10152 | 492 |
| 16 | 1104 | 2549 | 31 |
| 17 | 1397 | 2875 | 84 |
| 18 | 3179 | 5582 | 233 |
| 19 | 5927 | 11994 | 592 |
| 20 | 6770 | 12025 | 98 |
| 21 | 10141 | 9493 | 378 |
| 22 | 30031 | 22127 | 1091 |
| 23 | 10204 | 13586 | 425 |
| 24 | 8588 | 15076 | 486 |
| 25 | 5913 | 11699 | 633 |
| 26 | 7890 | 17561 | 352 |
| 27 | 5729 | 5235 | 144 |
| 28 | 6496 | 15823 | 414 |
| 29 | 5401 | 9429 | 293 |
| 30 | 4100 | 9666 | 162 |
| 31 | 4816 | 7020 | 356 |
| 32 | 6041 | 15410 | 330 |
| 33 | 8783 | 19852 | 901 |
| 34 | 15215 | 27575 | 958 |
| 35 | 13783 | 16639 | 669 |
| 36 | 6638 | 15151 | 477 |
| 37 | 3832 | 6259 | 162 |
| 38 | 12220 | 21167 | 1057 |
| 39 | 7163 | 20479 | 217 |
| 40 | 17818 | 30667 | 1455 |
| 41 | 7661 | 11016 | 380 |
| 42 | 9127 | 15473 | 358 |
| 43 | 8417 | 15405 | 817 |
| 44 | 5471 | 14584 | 424 |
| 45 | 4276 | 9937 | 316 |
| 46 | 16822 | 28308 | 788 |
| 47 | 4762 | 8944 | 249 |
| 48 | 4211 | 7983 | 239 |
| 49 | 10570 | 16921 | 288 |
| 50 | 10722 | 12273 | 573 |
| Totals | 330689 | 540714 | 17259 |

| Vote for PRESIDENT by Counties | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| County. | Landon | Roosevelt |
| Adams | 8,374 | 8,394 |
| Allegheny | 176,663 | 361,961 |
| Armstrong | 14,194 | 18,943 |
| Beaver | 20,212 | 37,240 |
| Bedford | 9,032 | 8,823 |
| Berks | 26,281 | 55,256 |
| Blair | 25,194 | 26,739 |
| Bradford | 16,500 | 8,076 |
| Bucks | 24,035 | 24,238 |
| Butler | 17,209 | 16,431 |
| Cambria | 23,963 | 45,990 |
| Cameron | 1,801 | 1,538 |
| Carbon | 12,018 | 14,191 |
| Center | 9,753 | 11,690 |
| Chester | 29,368 | 26,611 |
| Clarion | 8,479 | 8,401 |
| Clearfield | 14,462 | 20,677 |
| Clinton | 6,484 | 8,342 |
| Columbia | 9,745 | 14,195 |
| Crawford | 14,461 | 12,774 |
| Cumberland | 14,915 | 19,178 |
| Dauphin | 39,060 | 42,778 |
| Delaware | 74,743 | 64,959 |
| Elk | 5,487 | 9,033 |
| Erie | 25,613 | 32,742 |
| Fayette | 22,074 | 48,352 |
| Forest | 1,760 | 1,159 |
| Franklin | 13,576 | 15,592 |
| Fulton | 2,059 | 2,416 |
| Greene | 6,248 | 11,962 |
| Huntingdon | 8,434 | 6,316 |
| Indiana | 16,694 | 14,835 |
| Jefferson | 11,786 | 10,781 |
| Juniata | 3,588 | 3,872 |
| Lackawanna | 51,249 | 77,894 |
| Lancaster | 42,215 | 38,440 |
| Lawrence | 15,471 | 22,056 |
| Lebanon | 12,912 | 13,669 |
| Lehigh | 25,839 | 35,534 |
| Luzerne | 81,660 | 105,272 |
| Lycoming | 18,327 | 19,374 |
| McKean | 11,570 | 9,486 |
| Mercer | 18,498 | 20,969 |
| Mifflin | 6,858 | 8,551 |
| Monroe | 5,707 | 8,337 |
| Montgomery | 66,627 | 67,861 |
| Montour | 2,352 | 3,536 |
| Northampton | 22,915 | 37,174 |
| Northumberland | 21,740 | 31,925 |
| Perry | 5,779 | 5,780 |
| Philadelphia | 330,689 | 540,714 |
| Pike | 2,304 | 2,395 |
| Potter | 5,165 | 3,550 |
| Schuylkill | 44,631 | 54,255 |
| Snyder | 5,552 | 3,004 |
| Somerset | 17,063 | 15,928 |
| Sullivan | 2,120 | 1,740 |
| Susquehanna | 9,744 | 6,542 |
| Tioga | 12,490 | 5,349 |
| Union | 5,588 | 3,946 |
| Venango | 17,262 | 9,123 |
| Warren | 9,509 | 8,478 |
| Washington | 23,963 | 63,067 |
| Wayne | 9,347 | 4,864 |
| Westmoreland | 26,662 | 65,112 |
| Wyoming | 5,319 | 3,269 |
| York | 29,293 | 45,232 |
| TOTALS | 1,681,323 | 2,324,924 |

Evening Ledger, November 5th 1936



Pennsylvania Vote by Counties

| Counties. | Districts | | Landon Roosevelt | | Missing Districts |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| | Total | Heard From | | | |
| Adams | 42 | 42 | 8374 | 8394 | 0 |
| Allegheny | 959 | 959 | 176663 | 361961 | 0 |
| Armstrong | 70 | 70 | 14194 | 15948 | 0 |
| Beaver | 105 | 105 | 20212 | 37240 | 0 |
| Bedford | 42 | 42 | 9032 | 8823 | 0 |
| Berks | 202 | 197 | 26281 | 55256 | 5 |
| Blair | 115 | 115 | 25194 | 26739 | 0 |
| Bradford | 73 | 73 | 16500 | 8076 | .. |
| Bucks | 104 | 104 | 24035 | 24238 | .. |
| Butler | 85 | 85 | 17209 | 16431 | 0 |
| Cambria | 171 | 168 | 23963 | 45990 | 3 |
| Cameron | 10 | 10 | 1801 | 1538 | .. |
| Carbon | 63 | 63 | 12018 | 14191 | 0 |
| Centre | 64 | 64 | 9758 | 11690 | 0 |
| Chester | 130 | 130 | 29368 | 26611 | 0 |
| Clarion | 52 | 52 | 8479 | 8401 | 0 |
| Clearfield | 110 | 110 | 14462 | 20667 | 0 |
| Clinton | 39 | 39 | 6484 | 8342 | 0 |
| Columbia | 61 | 61 | 9745 | 14196 | .. |
| Crawford | 65 | 65 | 14461 | 12774 | 0 |
| Cumberland | 68 | 68 | 14915 | 19178 | 0 |
| Dauphin | 138 | 138 | 39080 | 42778 | .. |
| Delaware | 242 | 242 | 74743 | 64959 | .. |
| Elk | 29 | 29 | 5487 | 9033 | 0 |
| Erie | 113 | 113 | 25613 | 32742 | .. |
| Fayette | 120 | 120 | 22074 | 48352 | 0 |
| Forest | 18 | 18 | 1760 | 1159 | .. |
| Franklin | 69 | 69 | 13576 | 15592 | 0 |
| Fulton | 12 | 12 | 2059 | 2416 | 0 |
| Greene | 47 | 47 | 6248 | 11962 | 0 |
| Huntingdon | 68 | 53 | 8434 | 6316 | 15 |
| Indiana | 77 | 76 | 16694 | 14835 | 1 |
| Jefferson | 75 | 75 | 11786 | 10781 | 0 |
| Juniata | 20 | 20 | 3588 | 3872 | 0 |
| Lackawanna | 249 | 249 | 51249 | 77894 | .. |
| Lancaster | 142 | 142 | 42215 | 38440 | .. |
| Lawrence | 93 | 92 | 15471 | 22056 | 1 |
| Lebanon | 47 | 46 | 12912 | 13669 | 1 |
| Lehigh | 102 | 102 | 25839 | 35534 | .. |
| Luzerne | 404 | 404 | 81660 | 105272 | .. |
| Lycoming | 94 | 94 | 18327 | 19374 | .. |
| McKean | 53 | 53 | 11570 | 9486 | .. |
| Mercer | 97 | 97 | 18498 | 20969 | 0 |
| Mifflin | 31 | 31 | 6858 | 9551 | 0 |
| Monroe | 32 | 32 | 5707 | 8337 | .. |
| Montgomery | 183 | 183 | 66627 | 57861 | 0 |
| Montour | 14 | 14 | 2352 | 3536 | .. |
| Northampton | 125 | 125 | 22915 | 37174 | .. |
| Northumberland | 108 | 108 | 21740 | 31925 | 0 |
| Perry | 33 | 33 | 5779 | 5780 | 0 |
| Philadelphia | 1291 | 1291 | 330689 | 540714 | .. |
| Pike | 14 | 14 | 2304 | 2396 | 0 |
| Potter | 34 | 34 | 5165 | 3550 | 0 |
| Schuylkill | 205 | 205 | 44631 | 54865 | 0 |
| Snyder | 23 | 23 | 5552 | 3004 | .. |
| Somerset | 67 | 67 | 17083 | 15925 | 0 |
| Sullivan | 16 | 16 | 2120 | 1740 | .. |
| Susquehanna | 58 | 58 | 9744 | 6542 | .. |
| Tioga | 45 | 45 | 12667 | 5412 | 0 |
| Union | 22 | 22 | 5588 | 2946 | 0 |
| Venango | 77 | 77 | 17703 | 9649 | 0 |
| Warren | 52 | 45 | 9509 | 8478 | 7 |
| Washington | 185 | 185 | 23963 | 53067 | 0 |
| Wayne | 47 | 47 | 9347 | 4864 | .. |
| Westmoreland | 234 | 176 | 26662 | 55112 | 58 |
| Wyoming | 29 | 29 | 5319 | 3269 | .. |
| York | 146 | 146 | 29293 | 45232 | .. |
| Totals | 8010 | 7919 | 1682754 | 2326169 | 91 |

THE PRESIDENTIAL VOTE BY STATES

These detailed results have been compiled from unofficial returns. They represent the latest available figures on the Presidential balloting.

Popular vote (about 1-7 of 122,778 precincts not reported) 41,124,794
 Roosevelt's vote " 24,847,332
 Landon's vote " 15,476,078
 Estimated total vote of Nation..... 45,000,000

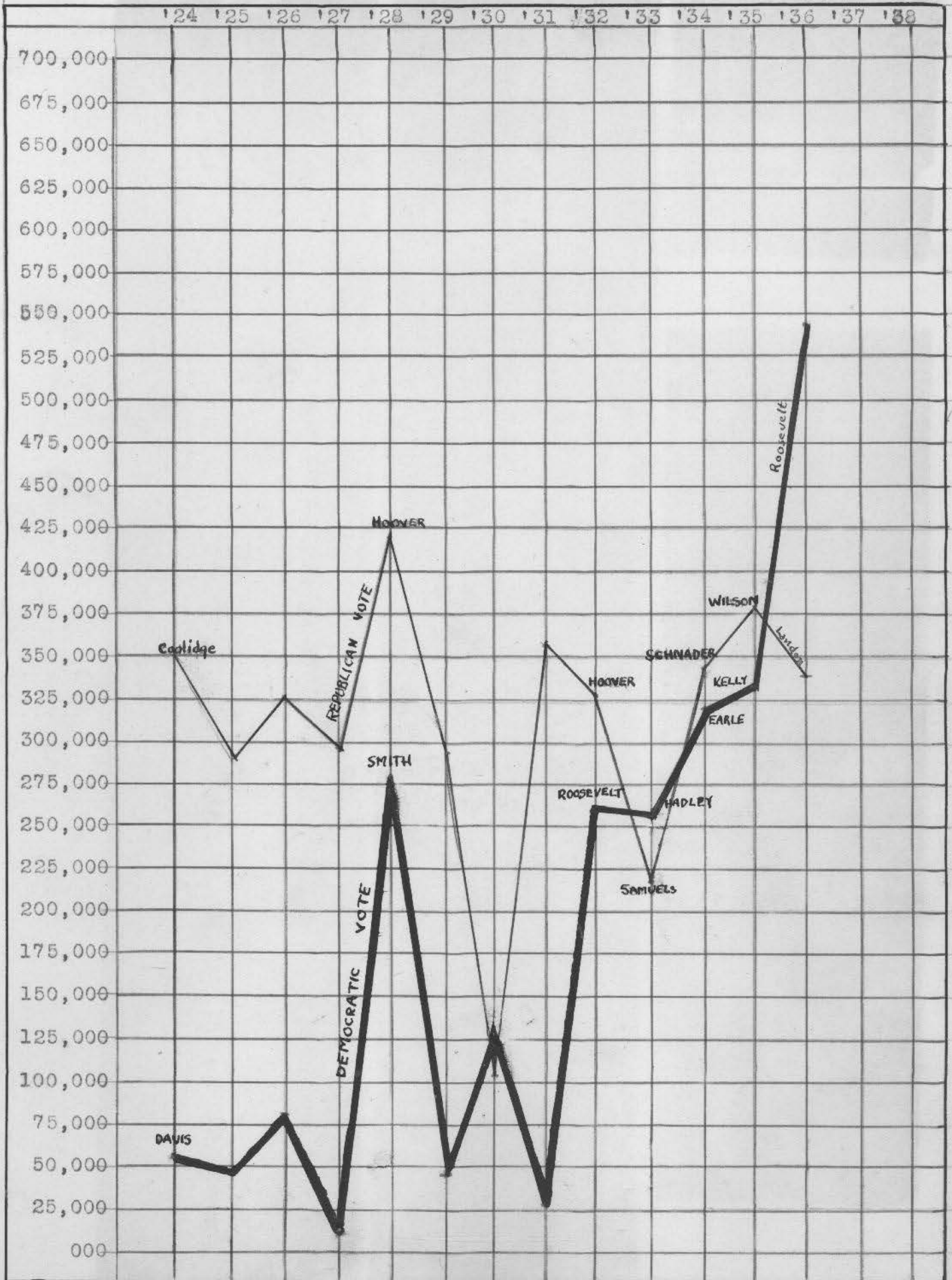
Total electoral vote, 531. Necessary to choice, 266. Roosevelt's electoral vote, 523. Landon's electoral vote, 8.

| Electoral Vote | State | Total Districts | Districts Reported | Popular Vote | | | Electoral Vote | | Popular Vote, 1932 | |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|------------|-----------------------------|----------------|--------|--------------------|------------|
| | | | | Roosevelt | Landon | Plurality Subject to Change | Roosevelt | Landon | Roosevelt | Hoover |
| 11 | Alabama | 2,200 | 1,160 | 149,023 | 22,980 | 126,063 | 11 | ... | 207,910 | 34,765 |
| 3 | Arizona | 443 | 424 | 83,258 | 32,326 | 50,930 | 3 | ... | 79,264 | 36,104 |
| 9 | Arkansas | 2,156 | 971 | 74,042 | 16,291 | 57,751 | 9 | ... | 189,602 | 28,467 |
| 22 | California | 11,716 | 9,572 | 1,391,882 | 656,057 | 735,825 | 22 | ... | 1,324,157 | 847,902 |
| 6 | Colorado | 1,520 | 1,222 | 209,911 | 135,339 | 74,572 | 6 | ... | 250,877 | 189,617 |
| 8 | Connecticut | 169 | 169 | 381,374 | 278,110 | 94,264 | 8 | ... | 281,632 | 288,420 |
| 3 | Delaware | 232 | 232 | 69,966 | 54,409 | 15,557 | 3 | ... | 54,319 | 57,073 |
| 7 | Florida | 1,322 | 1,131 | 213,219 | 68,530 | 144,689 | 7 | ... | 206,307 | 69,170 |
| 12 | Georgia | 1,766 | 1,574 | 228,666 | 33,978 | 194,688 | 12 | ... | 234,118 | 19,863 |
| 4 | Idaho | 793 | 735 | 120,098 | 64,760 | 55,338 | 4 | ... | 109,479 | 71,312 |
| 29 | Illinois | 7,912 | 7,805 | 2,244,342 | 1,527,566 | 716,776 | 29 | ... | 1,882,304 | 1,432,756 |
| 14 | Indiana | 3,840 | 3,745 | 902,369 | 666,789 | 235,600 | 14 | ... | 862,054 | 677,184 |
| 11 | Iowa | 2,442 | 2,328 | 579,096 | 457,699 | 121,397 | 11 | ... | 598,019 | 414,433 |
| 9 | Kansas | 2,690 | 2,611 | 419,789 | 366,970 | 52,819 | 9 | ... | 424,204 | 349,498 |
| 11 | Kentucky | 4,299 | 3,747 | 461,184 | 318,143 | 143,041 | 11 | ... | 580,574 | 394,716 |
| 10 | Louisiana | 1,584 | 180 | 73,625 | 7,545 | 66,080 | 10 | ... | 249,418 | 18,853 |
| 5 | Maine | 623 | 621 | 124,593 | 166,969 | 42,376 | ... | 5 | 128,907 | 166,631 |
| 8 | Maryland | 1,453 | 1,447 | 387,125 | 229,125 | 158,000 | 8 | ... | 314,314 | 194,184 |
| 17 | Massachusetts | 1,765 | 1,765 | 941,701 | 769,214 | 172,487 | 17 | ... | 800,148 | 736,959 |
| 19 | Michigan | 3,469 | 3,326 | 965,964 | 669,838 | 296,126 | 19 | ... | 871,700 | 738,894 |
| 11 | Minnesota | 3,724 | 2,900 | 539,148 | 275,153 | 263,995 | 11 | ... | 600,806 | 363,959 |
| 9 | Mississippi | 1,659 | 147 | 21,683 | 713 | 20,970 | 9 | ... | 140,168 | 5,180 |
| 15 | Missouri | 4,357 | 4,310 | 1,098,090 | 687,758 | 410,334 | 15 | ... | 1,025,406 | 564,713 |
| 4 | Montana | 1,237 | 468 | 79,531 | 29,042 | 50,489 | 4 | ... | 127,296 | 78,078 |
| 7 | Nebraska | 2,031 | 2,001 | 336,265 | 238,324 | 97,941 | 7 | ... | 359,082 | 201,177 |
| 3 | Nevada | 256 | 203 | 20,307 | 8,110 | 12,188 | 3 | ... | 28,756 | 12,674 |
| 4 | New Hampshire | 295 | 295 | 106,221 | 103,626 | 2,595 | 4 | ... | 100,680 | 103,629 |
| 16 | New Jersey | 3,581 | 3,581 | 1,081,972 | 714,928 | 367,044 | 16 | ... | 806,630 | 775,684 |
| 3 | New Mexico | 914 | 723 | 90,757 | 51,377 | 39,380 | 3 | ... | 95,089 | 54,217 |
| 47 | New York | 8,950 | 8,926 | 3,257,349 | 2,149,033 | 1,108,316 | 47 | ... | 2,534,959 | 1,937,963 |
| 13 | North Carolina | 1,860 | 1,312 | 465,541 | 132,695 | 332,846 | 13 | ... | 497,566 | 208,344 |
| 4 | North Dakota | 2,245 | 764 | 65,877 | 30,527 | 35,350 | 4 | ... | 178,350 | 71,772 |
| 26 | Ohio | 8,690 | 8,596 | 1,764,959 | 1,128,507 | 636,452 | 26 | ... | 1,301,695 | 1,227,679 |
| 11 | Oklahoma | 3,421 | 2,874 | 416,830 | 200,291 | 216,539 | 11 | ... | 516,468 | 188,165 |
| 5 | Oregon | 1,625 | 1,225 | 154,080 | 78,623 | 75,457 | 5 | ... | 213,871 | 136,019 |
| 36 | Pennsylvania | 8,010 | 7,919 | 2,324,934 | 1,681,323 | 643,611 | 36 | ... | 1,295,948 | 1,453,540 |
| 4 | Rhode Island | 245 | 245 | 166,667 | 124,816 | 41,851 | 4 | ... | 146,604 | 115,266 |
| 8 | South Carolina | 1,272 | 700 | 83,987 | 1,346 | 82,641 | 8 | ... | 102,347 | 1,978 |
| 4 | South Dakota | 1,958 | 1,248 | 103,952 | 82,945 | 21,007 | 4 | ... | 183,515 | 99,212 |
| 11 | Tennessee | 2,295 | 2,036 | 308,312 | 131,510 | 176,802 | 11 | ... | 259,817 | 126,806 |
| 23 | Texas | 254 | 215 | 420,484 | 57,212 | 363,272 | 23 | ... | 760,348 | 97,959 |
| 4 | Utah | 801 | 756 | 143,659 | 63,912 | 79,747 | 4 | ... | 116,750 | 84,795 |
| 3 | Vermont | 248 | 248 | 62,149 | 80,960 | 18,811 | ... | 3 | 56,266 | 78,984 |
| 11 | Virginia | 1,704 | 1,680 | 233,391 | 96,723 | 136,668 | 11 | ... | 263,979 | 89,637 |
| 8 | Washington | 2,881 | 1,885 | 254,962 | 121,133 | 133,829 | 8 | ... | 353,260 | 208,645 |
| 8 | West Virginia | 2,347 | 1,940 | 428,849 | 277,086 | 151,763 | 8 | ... | 405,124 | 330,731 |
| 12 | Wisconsin | 2,927 | 2,789 | 754,532 | 360,876 | 393,656 | 12 | ... | 107,410 | 347,741 |
| 3 | Wyoming | 676 | 488 | 45,675 | 28,646 | 17,029 | 3 | ... | 54,370 | 39,583 |
| 531 | | 122,778 | 105,332 | 24,847,332 | 15,476,078 | 9,371,254 | 523 | 8 | 22,821,857 | 15,761,841 |

Roosevelt's electoral vote in 1932—472. Hoover's electoral vote—59. Total popular vote in 1932—39,816,522. Hoover's electoral vote in 1928—444. Smith's electoral vote—87. Hoover's popular vote in 1928—21,392,190. Smith's popular vote—15,016,443. Total popular vote in 1928—36,879,414. Coolidge's electoral vote in 1924—382. Davis' electoral vote—136. LaFollette's electoral vote—13. Coolidge's popular vote—15,725,016. Davis' popular vote—8,885,586. LaFollette's popular vote—4,822,856. Total popular vote in 1924—29,022,261.

**PRESIDENTIAL VOTE SUMMARY
FOR F. R., LANDON AND LEMKE**

| State | Total Dists. | Dists. Reptg. | Popular Vote | | Lemke | Indicated Elec. Vote | |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|----------|--------|-------------------------|-----|
| | | | Roosevelt | Landon | | Rv. | Ln. |
| Alabama | 2200 | 1160 | 149023 | 22960 | 56 | 11 | .. |
| Arizona | 443 | 424 | 83256 | 32326 | 3070 | 3 | .. |
| Arkansas | 2156 | 971 | 74042 | 16291 | 5 | 9 | .. |
| California | 11716 | 9572 | 1391882 | 656057 | .... | 22 | .. |
| Colorado | 1520 | 1222 | 209911 | 135339 | 2795 | 6 | .. |
| Connecticut | 169 | 169 | 381374 | 278110 | 23002 | 8 | .. |
| Delaware | 232 | 232 | 69966 | 54409 | .... | 3 | .. |
| Florida | 1322 | 1131 | 213219 | 68530 | .... | 7 | .. |
| Georgia | 1766 | 1574 | 228666 | 33987 | 109 | 12 | .. |
| Idaho | 793 | 735 | 120098 | 64760 | 3702 | 4 | .. |
| Illinois | 7912 | 7805 | 2244342 | 1527566 | 69572 | 29 | .. |
| Indiana | 3840 | 3745 | 902369 | 666769 | 11212 | 14 | .. |
| Iowa | 2442 | 2328 | 579096 | 457699 | 15593 | 11 | .. |
| Kansas | 2690 | 2611 | 419789 | 366970 | .... | 9 | .. |
| Kentucky | 4299 | 3747 | 451184 | 318143 | .... | 11 | .. |
| Louisiana | 1584 | 180 | 73625 | 7545 | .... | 10 | .. |
| Maine | 633 | 621 | 124598 | 166969 | 7315 | .. | 5 |
| Maryland | 1453 | 1447 | 387125 | 239125 | .... | 8 | .. |
| Massachusetts | 1765 | 1765 | 941701 | 769214 | 120733 | 17 | .. |
| Michigan | 3469 | 3326 | 965964 | 669638 | 58214 | 19 | .. |
| Minnesota | 3724 | 2900 | 539148 | 275153 | 53666 | 11 | .. |
| Mississippi | 1659 | 147 | 21683 | 713 | .... | 9 | .. |
| Missouri | 4357 | 4310 | 1098090 | 687756 | 8736 | 15 | .. |
| Montana | 1237 | 468 | 79531 | 29042 | 1214 | 4 | .. |
| Nebraska | 2031 | 2001 | 336265 | 238824 | 12240 | 7 | .. |
| Nevada | 256 | 302 | 20307 | 8119 | .... | 3 | .. |
| New Hampshire | 295 | 295 | 106221 | 108626 | 3523 | 4 | .. |
| New Jersey | 3581 | 3575 | 1079916 | 711206 | .... | 16 | .. |
| New Mexico | 914 | 723 | 80757 | 51377 | 30 | 3 | .. |
| New York | 8950 | 8926 | 3257349 | 2149033 | .... | 47 | .. |
| North Carolina | 1885 | 1312 | 465541 | 132695 | .... | 13 | .. |
| North Dakota | 2245 | 764 | 65877 | 30527 | 11840 | 4 | .. |
| Ohio | 8600 | 8515 | 1695645 | 1100200 | 123625 | 26 | .. |
| Oklahoma | 3421 | 2874 | 416830 | 200291 | .... | 11 | .. |
| Oregon | 1625 | 1225 | 154380 | 78623 | 12673 | 5 | .. |
| Pennsylvania | 8010 | 7919 | 2324934 | 1681323 | 48266 | 36 | .. |
| Rhode Island | 245 | 245 | 166687 | 124816 | 18201 | 4 | .. |
| South Carolina | 1272 | 700 | 83987 | 1346 | .... | 8 | .. |
| South Dakota | 1958 | 1248 | 103952 | 82945 | 2536 | 4 | .. |
| Tennessee | 2295 | 2036 | 308312 | 131510 | 168 | 11 | .. |
| Texas | 254 | 215 | 420484 | 57212 | 1385 | 23 | .. |
| Utah | 501 | 756 | 143659 | 63912 | 438 | 4 | .. |
| Vermont | 248 | 248 | 62149 | 80960 | .... | .. | 3 |
| Virginia | 1704 | 1860 | 233391 | 96723 | 162 | 11 | .. |
| Washington | 2881 | 1885 | 254962 | 121133 | 3570 | 8 | .. |
| West Virginia | 2347 | 1940 | 429849 | 277086 | .... | 8 | .. |
| Wisconsin | 2927 | 2789 | 754532 | 360876 | 53423 | 12 | .. |
| Wyoming | 676 | 488 | 45675 | 28646 | .... | 3 | .. |
| Totals | 122772 | 105251 | 24778018 | 15447771 | 671384 | 523 | 8 |



Excitement Noted In Election Battles Of This Section

Voters in Feverish Expectancy Until Final Returns Were Received

SPIRITED BALLOTING

Democrats Elect Congressman and District's Councilmanic Candidate

In one of the most momentous election battles ever held in the United States, the section served by The Suburban Press, comprised of the 21st and 38th Wards of Philadelphia, and a portion of Lower Merion Township of Montgomery County, participated in the heat and excitement of the great contest.

Never before this latest election had so many individuals taken part in an election. All previous registration records, of both major parties, were broken. And there was also quite a number of Royal Oak voters, and those from other mushroom parties to be taken into consideration.

Voters went to the polls, from early in the morning until closing time at 7 P. M., heated not alone by current campaign issues, but with personal grievances against local candidates, or with enthusiasm for their friends who were up for election, or re-election.

The 21st Ward, long a Republican stronghold—usually by turning in majorities of 5000 or more—only gave Landon slightly over 600 more votes than it did for Roosevelt. The 38th Ward, is now recognized as being Democratic, and the voters there literally swamped the followers of Landon.

In the heaviest balloting in the history of local politics, long lines of voters were standing at the polling places when they opened up at 7 o'clock in the morning. By noon more than half of the registered voters had cast their ballots.

Director of Public Safety, Andrew J. Emanuel, who hasn't been late for anything since Hector was a pup, arrived right on the dot of 7 at his polling place—your editor's own—the 43rd Division of the 38th Ward, at Indian Queen lane and Cresson street. But being on time wasn't quite enough on Tuesday. There were 40 persons ahead of him when he appeared with Mrs. Emanuel.

Sheriff William J. Hamilton's own 25th Division of the 21st Ward came through with a surprising 235 Roosevelt vote, with Landon, however, being higher with 463 and "Brother Bob," the Legislator being tops with 487.

After voting at 8 A. M. in the

Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, at Conrad street and Midvale avenue, State Secretary of Revenue John B. Kelly, the Democratic City Committee Chairman, began a tour of the city to see that party workers were on the job. Kelly's own division, in the Warden Drive section, as usual went Republican, the figures being Landon 479 and Roosevelt, 201. When victory was assured, at night, Kelly delivered an address from the top of the stairs at the Union League, at Broad and Sansom streets.

Boies Penrose, Jr., Republican candidate for Congress, who only recently established a residence in the 38th Ward, voted early at the 28th Division on Oak Road.

The first division in the 21st Ward to send in returns to the 13th District Police Station; where Acting Captain Toner was in charge; was the 9th Division, at 155 Fountain street, the precinct that was once that of the late William Hamilton, Sr. The vote was 418 for Roosevelt: 199 for Landon. The returns arrived at 7:28 P. M.

Second to arrive at the police station, were the returns of the 6th Division, at 140 Conarroe street, at 7:30 P. M. The figures read: Roosevelt, 491; Landon, 194.

The first Republican division of the 21st Ward to appear was the 11th, at 7:45 P. M., with 317 votes for Landon and 278 for Roosevelt.

The 23rd Division of the 21st Ward (Alden Park Manor) had 682 voters registered, 83 of whom were Democrats. In the election of Tuesday, Landon received 540 votes and Roosevelt got 123. (Hey, there, some of those chauffeurs, maids and cooks, etc., must have kidded the bosses a little.)

State Legislator "Bob" Hamilton's 1st Division of the 21st Ward gave Roosevelt a majority of 17 votes.

Of the thirty divisions in the 21st Ward, Roosevelt carried 13 and Landon 17.

Strangely enough, the last 21st Ward returns to come in, came from Dupont's voters, of the 7th Division, at 194 Dupont street. We thought the Duponts were for Landon.

Of the nine East Falls divisions of the 38th Ward, seven went for Roosevelt, the highest count coming from the 37th Division at 35th and Allegheny avenue, where the count was Roosevelt, 605; Landon, 174.

Stanley Hart Cauffman, Democratic candidate for the State Legislature, received the highest Democratic vote ever cast for a 21st Ward resident, in all time. Roosevelt's 9512 was the highest Democratic vote ever polled by any candidate in the 21st Ward.

The Democratic sweep in the staid old Quaker City was almost complete yesterday morning when the final figures for the 7th Congressional District, which includes the 21st Ward, showed that George P. Darrow, Republican veteran of 22 years service in the United States Congress had been defeated by Dr. Ira Drew, Democrat, by the following figures: Drew, 73,497; Darrow, 70,215.

In the 4th Congressional District, of which East Falls is a part, the

Democrat, J. Burrwood Daly triumphed over Boies Penrose, Jr., the Republican candidate who only recently established a residence in the 38th Ward. The incompleting figures gave Daly 66,711 votes against Penrose's 36,001.

Plenty of precedents were broken. One of these was in Pennsylvania, which for the first time since 1856 went Democratic in a Presidential election.

Lower Merion Township,

Montgomery County, in which West Manayunk is located, went Republican by two to one, the vote being Landon, 12,481; Roosevelt, 6,113.

Suburban Press 11/5/36

Thos. Z. Minehart First Democrat In City Council

Sixth District Representative Breaks Into Republican Stronghold

SURPRISING RESULT

Prior to Tuesday He Was Not Conceded a Chance of Winning

With the latest available returns at hand, prior to going to press, it appears as though Thomas Z. Minehart, youthful Germantown attorney, aspiring to the Sixth District, City Council position left vacant by the death of Samuel Emlen, had been swept into office in the Democratic landslide, as the first of his party to occupy a seat in that body, since the change of the city charter in 1919.

He defeated Theodore D. Starr, Republican, of Chestnut Hill, in the special election held in the 21st, 22nd, 38th, 42nd, 49th and 50th Wards.

Prior to Tuesday Minehart was not even conceded a chance by any of the political dopesters.

The winner, who was married five days after his nomination, which was made at a caucus of his party's leaders, is the son of a former member of Philadelphia two-chambered Council.

The vote in the six wards was Minehart, 92,509 and Starr, 83,818.

Veteran Lost



GEORGE P. DARROW

7th District Congressman, who after serving 22 years at Washington, was swept out of office in the Democratic avalanche of Tuesday.

Happy City Leader



JOHN B. KELLY

East Falls resident, State Secretary of Revenue and chairman of the Democratic City Committee, who on Tuesday night, after telephoning Franklin D. Roosevelt, at Hyde Park, the Philadelphia results of the election, received the following message from the President, "I wish I could be there."

Hamilton And Kilroy Returned To Legislature

Incumbents From 21st and 38th Wards Roll Up Large Majorities

RESULT ANTICIPATED

Single Ward, in Each Case, Composes the Entire Legislative District

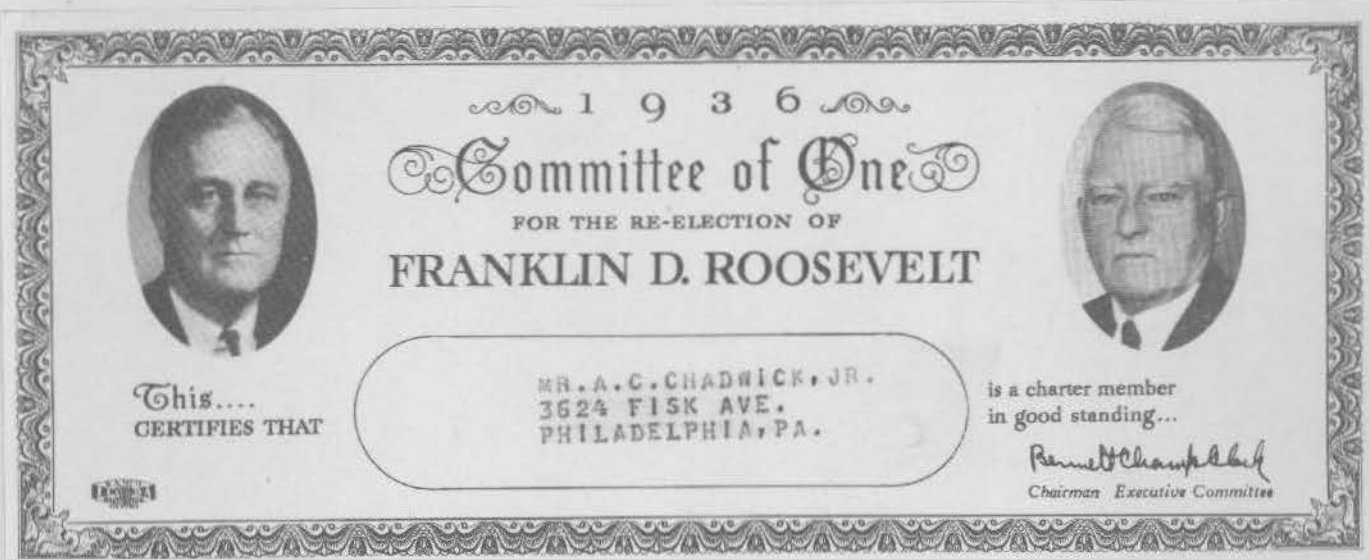
Robert S. Hamilton, Republican candidate for the State Legislature for the 14th District, which is comprised solely of the 21st Ward, who has already served two terms at Harrisburg, was returned for a third time in the balloting on Tuesday, but he had to run ahead of his ticket to do so.

Hamilton won out by a 3000 majority.

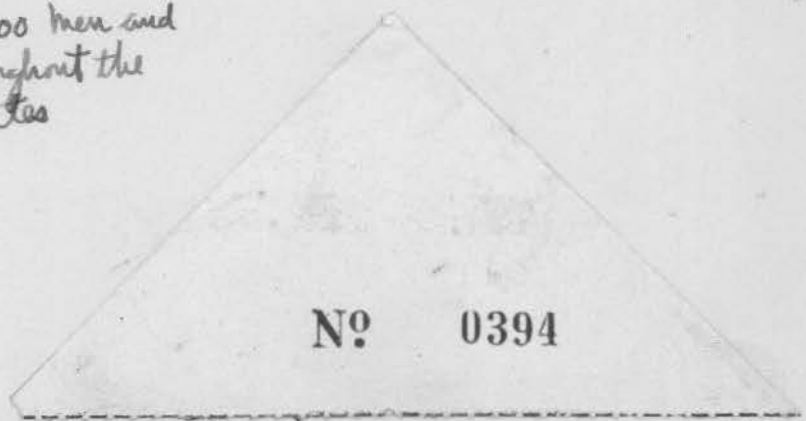
Hamilton's victory was a foregone conclusion before the election on account of the unusually strong G. O. P. registration rolled up by the coalition of independent and organization Republican forces prior to the election.

Stanley Hart Cauffman made a vallant fight, and the Democrats of Roxborough, Wissahickon and Manayunk more than stood united behind his candidacy. Cauffman ran far ahead of the Democratic registration figures.

In the 38th Ward Elmer Kilroy, Democrat, had little difficulty in being returned to the State Capitol as a Legislator; polling a large vote against Emil Esslinger, his Republican opponent. This ward—Democratic City Committee Chairman John B. Kelly's Own—has been a Democratic stronghold since 1932.



→ one of 927,000 men and women throughout the United States



↑ Stub of Ballot, cast for Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Straight Democratic Ticket, on Nov. 3rd, 1936, in 43rd Div. 38th Ward, at Cresson St and Indian Queen Lane.

11/5/36

67

Results of Tuesday's Election

21ST WARD

| DIV. | PRESIDENT | | CONGRESS | | STATE LEGISLATURE | | CITY COUNCIL | |
|--------|-----------|-----------|----------|------|-------------------|----------|--------------|---------|
| | Landon | Roosevelt | Darrow | Drew | Hamilton | Cauffman | Starr | Mmehart |
| 1 | 329 | 346 | 349 | 307 | 441 | 236 | 355 | 306 |
| 2 | 166 | 427 | 165 | 429 | 197 | 394 | 165 | 423 |
| 3 | 157 | 455 | 172 | 424 | 212 | 399 | 168 | 441 |
| 4 | 179 | 497 | 206 | 442 | 292 | 408 | 208 | 464 |
| 5 | 127 | 420 | 139 | 201 | 241 | 231 | 137 | 398 |
| 6 | 194 | 491 | 200 | 459 | 233 | 439 | 193 | 462 |
| 7 | 193 | 365 | 197 | 349 | 220 | 327 | 198 | 343 |
| 8 | 267 | 349 | 269 | 345 | 300 | 315 | 270 | 337 |
| 9 | 199 | 418 | 206 | 406 | 221 | 398 | 205 | 402 |
| 10 | 177 | 336 | 176 | 324 | 235 | 295 | 185 | 317 |
| 11 | 317 | 278 | 318 | 262 | 332 | 252 | 319 | 258 |
| 12 | 380 | 374 | 399 | 356 | 435 | 341 | 386 | 384 |
| 13 | 249 | 309 | 250 | 308 | 297 | 271 | 255 | 296 |
| 14 | 459 | 317 | 479 | 287 | 491 | 292 | 474 | 299 |
| 15 | 352 | 359 | 353 | 342 | 369 | 326 | 354 | 337 |
| 16 | 431 | 391 | 433 | 359 | 491 | 359 | 430 | 402 |
| 17 | 337 | 466 | 351 | 428 | 399 | 410 | 346 | 416 |
| 18 | 482 | 251 | 482 | 251 | 500 | 229 | 486 | 244 |
| 19 | 444 | 250 | 447 | 235 | 469 | 224 | 448 | 233 |
| 20 | 364 | 194 | 374 | 185 | 391 | 165 | 373 | 184 |
| 21 | 386 | 310 | 394 | 312 | 449 | 259 | 398 | 298 |
| 22 | 467 | 280 | 468 | 256 | 502 | 238 | 472 | 259 |
| 23 | 540 | 123 | 541 | 123 | 545 | 119 | 542 | 120 |
| 24 | 319 | 224 | 318 | 216 | 320 | 216 | 317 | 219 |
| 25 | 463 | 235 | 465 | 226 | 497 | 214 | 464 | 225 |
| 26 | 358 | 191 | 362 | 181 | 390 | 161 | 364 | 183 |
| 27 | 416 | 240 | 414 | 226 | 451 | 207 | 416 | 225 |
| 28 | 591 | 192 | 589 | 189 | 611 | 192 | 594 | 192 |
| 29 | 409 | 157 | 402 | 160 | 418 | 142 | 408 | 148 |
| 30 | 389 | 248 | 396 | 240 | 415 | 224 | 394 | 236 |
| Totals | 10141 | 9493 | 10302 | 8826 | 11344 | 8253 | 10324 | 9051 |

EAST FALLS (38TH WARD)

| DIV | | | PENROSE | DALY | ESLINGER | KILROY | | |
|--------|------|------|---------|------|----------|--------|------|------|
| 28 | 404 | 201 | 406 | 192 | 416 | 185 | 408 | 198 |
| 37 | 174 | 605 | 180 | 587 | 186 | 597 | 178 | 592 |
| 38 | 160 | 438 | 168 | 410 | 236 | 407 | 160 | 488 |
| 40 | 286 | 445 | 311 | 414 | 319 | 415 | 312 | 423 |
| 41 | 391 | 469 | 391 | 458 | 393 | 457 | 394 | 464 |
| 42 | 479 | 201 | 481 | 197 | 492 | 192 | 485 | 199 |
| 43 | 310 | 434 | 314 | 414 | 328 | 413 | 316 | 426 |
| 44 | 189 | 524 | 189 | 515 | 197 | 518 | 188 | 527 |
| 45 | 357 | 402 | 362 | 392 | 368 | 390 | 363 | 397 |
| Totals | 2750 | 3719 | 2802 | 3579 | 2935 | 3564 | 2810 | 3714 |

Results of Tuesday's Election

21ST WARD

| Div. | President | | | | | | | |
|--------|-----------|-----------|--------|------|----------|----------|-------|----------|
| | Landon | Roosevelt | Darrow | Drew | Hamilton | Cauffman | Starr | Minehart |
| 1 | 329 | 346 | 349 | 307 | 441 | 236 | 355 | 306 |
| 2 | 166 | 427 | 165 | 429 | 197 | 394 | 165 | 423 |
| 3 | 157 | 455 | 172 | 424 | 212 | 399 | 168 | 441 |
| 4 | 179 | 497 | 206 | 442 | 292 | 408 | 208 | 464 |
| 5 | 127 | 420 | 139 | 201 | 241 | 231 | 137 | 398 |
| 6 | 194 | 491 | 200 | 459 | 233 | 439 | 193 | 462 |
| 7 | 193 | 385 | 197 | 349 | 220 | 327 | 198 | 343 |
| 8 | 267 | 349 | 269 | 345 | 300 | 315 | 270 | 337 |
| 9 | 199 | 418 | 206 | 406 | 221 | 398 | 205 | 402 |
| 10 | 177 | 336 | 176 | 324 | 235 | 295 | 185 | 317 |
| 11 | 317 | 278 | 318 | 262 | 332 | 252 | 319 | 258 |
| 12 | 389 | 374 | 389 | 356 | 435 | 341 | 386 | 384 |
| 13 | 249 | 309 | 250 | 308 | 297 | 271 | 255 | 296 |
| 14 | 459 | 317 | 479 | 287 | 491 | 282 | 474 | 299 |
| 15 | 352 | 359 | 353 | 342 | 369 | 326 | 354 | 337 |
| 16 | 431 | 391 | 433 | 359 | 481 | 359 | 430 | 402 |
| 17 | 337 | 486 | 351 | 428 | 399 | 410 | 346 | 416 |
| 18 | 482 | 251 | 482 | 251 | 500 | 229 | 486 | 244 |
| 19 | 444 | 250 | 447 | 235 | 469 | 224 | 448 | 233 |
| 20 | 364 | 194 | 374 | 185 | 391 | 165 | 373 | 184 |
| 21 | 386 | 310 | 394 | 312 | 449 | 259 | 398 | 298 |
| 22 | 467 | 280 | 468 | 256 | 502 | 238 | 472 | 259 |
| 23 | 540 | 123 | 541 | 123 | 545 | 119 | 542 | 120 |
| 24 | 319 | 224 | 318 | 216 | 320 | 216 | 317 | 219 |
| 25 | 463 | 235 | 465 | 226 | 487 | 214 | 464 | 225 |
| 26 | 358 | 191 | 362 | 181 | 390 | 161 | 364 | 183 |
| 27 | 416 | 240 | 414 | 226 | 451 | 207 | 416 | 225 |
| 28 | 591 | 192 | 587 | 187 | 611 | 172 | 594 | 192 |
| 29 | 409 | 157 | 402 | 160 | 418 | 142 | 408 | 148 |
| 30 | 389 | 248 | 396 | 240 | 415 | 224 | 394 | 236 |
| Totals | 10141 | 9493 | 10302 | 8826 | 11344 | 8253 | 10324 | 9051 |

EAST FALLS (38TH WARD)

| Div. | President | | | | | | | |
|--------|-----------|-----------|---------|------|-----------|---------|-------|----------|
| | Landon | Roosevelt | Fenrose | Daly | Esslinger | Killroy | Starr | Minehart |
| 26 | 404 | 201 | 406 | 192 | 416 | 185 | 408 | 198 |
| 37 | 174 | 605 | 180 | 587 | 186 | 587 | 178 | 592 |
| 38 | 160 | 438 | 168 | 410 | 236 | 407 | 166 | 488 |
| 40 | 286 | 445 | 311 | 414 | 319 | 415 | 312 | 423 |
| 41 | 391 | 469 | 391 | 458 | 393 | 457 | 394 | 464 |
| 42 | 479 | 201 | 481 | 197 | 492 | 192 | 485 | 199 |
| 43 | 310 | 434 | 314 | 414 | 326 | 413 | 316 | 426 |
| 44 | 189 | 524 | 189 | 515 | 197 | 518 | 188 | 527 |
| 45 | 357 | 402 | 362 | 392 | 366 | 390 | 363 | 397 |
| Totals | 2750 | 3719 | 2802 | 3579 | 2935 | 3564 | 2810 | 3714 |



CLEANING UP AFTER THE POLITICAL HALLOWEEN PARTY.

—By Jerry Doyle.

Form SS-4
 TREASURY DEPARTMENT
 INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

U. S. SOCIAL SECURITY ACT No.

EMPLOYER'S APPLICATION FOR IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

1. City County State

2. Business name of establishment

3. Address
(Street and Number or P. O. Box)

4. Approximate number of persons now employed
(Means all persons receiving salaries, wages, or commissions, including executives)

5. Describe fully the exact nature of your business

6. (a) If a manufacturing concern, state principal products

(b) If a nonmanufacturing concern, state principal goods or services sold

7. If this establishment is a branch or a subsidiary company, give name and address of headquarters.

Date (Signed)
 Official position

(Detach along this line) 16-5502 ***

Form SS-5
 TREASURY DEPARTMENT
 INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

U. S. SOCIAL SECURITY ACT
 APPLICATION FOR ACCOUNT NUMBER

TO EMPLOYEE

Read carefully all instructions in this folder before starting to fill out form. -Treasury Regulations require completion and return of this form to your local postmaster not later than December 5, 1936.

1. EMPLOYEE'S FIRST NAME (WHOLE NAME) (LAST NAME)

2. STREET AND NUMBER 3. (POST OFFICE) (STATE)

4. (BUSINESS NAME OF PRESENT EMPLOYER) 5. (BUSINESS ADDRESS OF PRESENT EMPLOYER)

6. (AGE AT LAST BIRTHDAY) 7. (DATE OF BIRTH) (MONTH) (DAY) (YEAR) (SUBJECT TO LATER VERIFICATION) 8. (PLACE OF BIRTH)

9. (FATHER'S FULL NAME) 10. (MOTHER'S FULL MIDDLE NAME)

11. SEX: MALE FEMALE 12. COLOR: WHITE NEGRO OTHER
(CHECK (✓) WHICH) (CHECK (✓) WHICH) (SPECIFY)

13. IF REGISTERED WITH THE U. S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, GIVE NUMBER OF REGISTRATION CARD

14. IF YOU HAVE PREVIOUSLY FILLED OUT A CARD LIKE THIS, STATE (PLACE) (DATE)

15. (DATE SIGNED) 16. (EMPLOYEE'S SIGNATURE, AS USUALLY WRITTEN)

DETACH ALONG THIS LINE

SOCIAL SECURITY ACT
 ACCOUNT NUMBER

530-10-1775

HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED FOR

DATE OF ISSUE EMPLOYEE'S SIGNATURE

ity in Your Old Age" is to be handed to employes with the application blanks and this will give the detail of the plan. One section is entitled "What the Act Means to You."

Egg-Bound Egg

A Sussex, England, hen has laid an egg nine inches long and seven and one-half inches in circumference. The egg weighed five ounces. Inside the main body was another complete egg, and inside this there was a third egg.

RAINCO

\$10 Ladies' Sil

MEN'S & WOMEN'S TWEEDS &

To Two D



Social Security forms to be filled out by employer and employe in application for identification number. All must be turned over to the local postmaster the employer by November 21, and employe not later than December 5. The lower form is a card which identifies the employe by number.

Sign Off, Father Coughlin

The Rev. Charles E. Coughlin is through as a power in America.

That is one of the more gratifying results of Tuesday's election.

His candidate, William Lemke, polled about three-quarters of a million votes throughout the nation.

That vote is tiny when it is remembered that there always are disgruntled voters, ready to plump for a third party and that Lemke also had the support of the Townsend planners.

The Lemke debacle can only be explained in terms of the discrediting of Father Coughlin.

Father Coughlin has not been "exposed." He has not even been generally attacked. His downfall, like his rise, he owes entirely to himself.

When, in the midst of President Roosevelt's successful fight for recovery, Father Coughlin turned against him, the radio priest probably lost half of his supporters.

When he called the President of the United States a "liar and betrayer" he lost more. When he allied himself with the political heirs of Huey Long he lost more. When he imitated Hearst in using the Red scare against Roosevelt he lost more. And when it was all over, this man who had swayed millions turned out to have virtually no political following.

Father Coughlin always spoke as an individual. The people judged him as an individual and found him wanting in judgment, in fairness, and in respect for the common amenities of political sportsmanship.

Father Coughlin, as a politician, never represented his church and it is one of the most unfortunate aspects of his career that some unthinking men and women have connected his church with his activities.

For his own sake, for the sake of his church and of American unity and intelligent political discussion, we suggest that Father Coughlin sign off—permanently.

During the campaign he said that if Lemke did not receive 9,000,000 votes he never would make another radio speech. We hope that is one promise Father Coughlin finds it advisable to keep.

Veteran Illiberals Will Be Missing In 75th Congress

**Chest-Thumping Reactionaries of Both
Parties Fall Before New Deal Flood of
Votes; Hastings Among Unmourned.**

Record's Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Nov. 7.

OVER 700 years of accumulated Congressional service was swept into the political junkpile by the Roosevelt ballot typhoon last Tuesday.

As a result, numerous old and familiar faces, most of them reactionary Republicans, will be missing when the 75th Congress convenes January 5.

The carnage among G. O. P. leaders in both houses was awful, though the lopping-off of Old Guard Democratic heads, particularly in the House, was not without significance.

In the Senate the Democrats captured six Republican seats while losing one, thus boosting their already topheavy majority to 75 against 17 for the almost decimated G. O. P. Two Farmer-Laborites, one Progressive and one Independent complete the membership.

How the Mighty Have Fallen

Particularly devastating to the Republicans was the defeat of Senators Jesse H. Metcalf, of Rhode Island; Daniel O. Hastings, of Delaware; Lester J. Dickinson, of Iowa; Robert D. Carey, of Wyoming, and W. Warren Barbour, of New Jersey. All were swept into discard and probably political oblivion by the New Deal avalanche.

Metcalf, with 12 years' service, was one of the Republican veterans of the Senate. He was ranking minority member of the Committee on Manufacturing and a member of the important Finance and Naval Affairs Committees. In Rhode Island the millionaire textile manufacturer and newspaper owner was considered unbeatable, but he went down before Governor Theodore F. Green, a Democrat.

Hastings, one of the most virulent Roosevelt haters in Congress and chief breast-thumper for the G. O. P., had served eight years as the mouthpiece of the duPonts and other big business interests.

He was ranking minority member of two Senate committees, Elections and Expenditures of Executive Departments.

No less desirable a loss was the defeat of Lester J. Dickinson,

Hastings, one of the most virulent Roosevelt haters in Congress and chief breast-thumper for the G. O. P., had served eight years as the mouthpiece of the duPonts and other big business interests.

He was ranking minority member of two Senate committees, Elections and Expenditures of Executive Departments.

No less desirable a loss was the defeat of Lester J. Dickinson, expounder of the famous "Dog Food" address last winter and member of the powerful Appropriations, Rules and Military Affairs Committees in the Senate. Dickinson served one term of six years and was as cordially disliked by Republican colleagues as Democrats.

'The Mute' Steps Out

Carey and Barbour, though less in evidence rhetorically, nevertheless were active reactionary members of the important Finance and Banking Committees, where they regularly opposed all liberal measures.

Also missing from the next Congress, after 17 years in the Senate, will be Henry Keyes, of New Hampshire, known in the cloak-rooms as "The Mute." The husband of Frances Parkinson Keyes, woman's magazine writer, the beefy New Englander in all the years of his Congressional service never once made a speech or cast a liberal vote. Faced with a three-cornered nomination fight, Keyes voluntarily withdrew.

Democratic victims of the New Deal tornado included Senators Thomas P. Gore, of Oklahoma, and Marcus A. Coolidge, of Massachusetts. Gore has had 20 years' service in the Senate, although not successively. He was defeated in a hot primary fight by Representative Josh Lee, a New Deal Democrat. Gore in his early years was an ardent liberal, but in his last term he became a caustic reactionary, voting consistently against New Deal measures.

Coolidge withdrew last spring when confronted with the threat of a primary fight with Governor James Curley. No relation to the late Republican President, Coolidge had a good legislative record and was chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration.

Also retiring after one term were Senators Edward P. Costigan, of Colorado, and Mrs. Rose McConnell Long, of Louisiana. Mrs. Long served but one year to fill the unexpired term of her late husband.

Slaughter in the House

So complete was the Democratic sweep that the tiny Republican Senate minority has been left with only 10 members with more than a single term of experience. Seven of these are either liberal or definitely hostile to Old Guard reactionism.

Even greater slaughter occurred among Republican House veterans, where a list of the victims of the Roosevelt tornado reads like a G. O. P. headquarters rollcall.

Similar havoc was wreaked among anti-New Deal Democrats, reducing the known Old Guard contingent in the House to less than 100.

Picking up 17 House seats, the Democrats now hold the staggering majority of 335 to 88, almost 4 to 1. Seven Progressives and five Farmer-Laborites complete the membership.

Worst hit were Republican leaders from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where a number of high-placed reactionary veterans were completely wiped out.

Roosevelt lightning struck and demolished the Congressional careers of veteran Pennsylvania Republicans George F. Darrow, Harry C. Ransley, Isaac H. Doutrich and C. Murray Turpin, all defeated by "rookie" Democrats.

Darrow served 22 consecutive years in the House, representing the 7th Philadelphia district, and was the former chairman of the

House Naval Affairs Committee.

Ransley Served 18 Years

Ransley, another Philadelphian and a bitter anti-New Dealer, served 18 years and was ranking minority member on the House's powerful Military Affairs and Rules Committees.

Doutrich, member for 10 years from Harrisburg, was former chairman of two House committees and a violent New Deal opponent, while Turpin, a veteran of eight years' service, was ranking Republican member of the Committee on Roads.

No less cataclysmic was the sweep in New Jersey. Here the veteran Old Guarders, Isaac Bacharach, Frederick Lehlbach and Charles Eaton, were "plowed under" with dramatic effectiveness, promoting to Republican leadership of the State delegation a "dean" of only four years' service.

Bacharach, a crony of the late Speaker Nick Longworth, was the ranking G. O. P. member on the all-important Ways and Means Committee.

Another 11-termer, Lehlbach, held minority leadership on the Rules and Merchant Marine Committees, while Eaton, after 12 years in the House, served as principal floor spokesman for Tory opposition to the President.

A fourth New Jersey Republican, Randolph Perkins, was ousted after 16 years' service. All four were replaced by Democrats in the landslide.

Other veteran Republican Old Guarders will be missing—though not missed—when the roll is called next January.

Democratic Reactionaries Fall

Chief among Democratic reactionaries who were lopped off were:

George Huddleston, of Alabama, who after 22 years in the House was soundly defeated in the Democratic primary this spring following his bitter attack on the utility holding company bill and the Administration measure. Huddleston once was a devoted follower of the elder Senator La Follette, but in recent years he became a bitter Tory.

Thomas L. Blanton, of Texas, No. 1 "Red-baiter" of Congress, who was retired in a smashing primary defeat after 22 years' service.

Other nationally known figures pushed into political limbo—at least temporarily—include burly, aggressive Governor James Curley, of Massachusetts, and Governor Ben Ross, of Idaho.

Curley failed in his attempt to replace Senator Marcus Coolidge, whom he defeated in the primaries. He was edged out by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., the Republican aspirant.

Ross was unsuccessful in his race against Senator William E. Borah, who was supported by Democrats as well as Republicans.

The Man on The Street

TODAY'S QUESTION:

*Who Will Win the
Election?*

We hope the Man on the Street will forgive our Inquiring Reporter for passing him by this week to bring forth from the files some memorable predictions by the stalwarts of the C. O. P.

Henry L. Mencken (March, 1936).—The Republicans begin to grasp the fact that if they can beat Roosevelt at all, which seems most likely, they can beat him with a Chinaman or even a Republican.

John D. M. Hamilton (June 17).—We are going to carry everything from Kansas straight eastward, Nebraska and Oklahoma, several of the Mountain States, and two or possibly all of the Pacific Coast States. . . . Sentiment in the West is all afire for Landon and Knox. . . . I would like to have Mr. Farley name six States that the Democrats are sure to carry, even with their Southern bloc.

John D. M. Hamilton (June 25).—Governor Landon will break into the Solid South. . . . It might happen that we will carry all 48 States. . . . The West is in the bag.

Father Coughlin (July and August).—The National Union for Social Justice can produce at least 10,000,000 votes for Lemke, and throw the election into the House of Representatives. . . . I am positive that Mr. Roosevelt will not be re-elected. Lemke will carry Rhode Island and Massachusetts; he will take Pennsylvania and Michigan. . . . Lemke will get more votes in Rhode Island than Landon. . . . I will discontinue radio broadcasting if I do not swing at least 2,000,000 votes to Lemke. (Pledge later withdrawn.)

William Randolph Hearst (Aug. 9).—The race will not be close at all. Landon will be overwhelmingly elected, and I'll stake my reputation as a prophet on it. He will not only carry New York State, but Pennsylvania, Illinois and California.

Republican national committeemen, at a meeting in Chicago, Sept. 14.—The popularity of Governor Landon has swept North Dakota from one end to the other. . . . Oregon is going to Landon and Knox. . . . We have got a chance to give the electoral vote of Tennessee to the Republican ticket. . . . Utah is headed for Landon and Knox; the swing is at a remarkable rate. . . . New Mexico will go Republican. . . .

Indiana will go Republican. . . . Wyoming is headed for Governor Landon.

William Lemke (Sept. 23).—I will carry Oregon, North and South Dakota, New Mexico, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Maine. (Ed. note—These 11 States have a combined total of 113 electoral votes.) And Ohio and Texas are battlegrounds.

Governor Landon (Sept. 24).—There are now seven fat years ahead. They will be Republican years.

John D. M. Hamilton (Sept. 29).—I am not worried about a single State.

Herbert Hoover (Oct. 1).—The Republican party is making progress all the way across the country.

William Lemke (Oct. 12).—I will be elected President.

Colonel Knox (Oct. 13).—Landon will carry North Carolina, and Virginia is a 50-50 battleground.

Governor Nice, of Maryland (Oct. 13).—Maryland will be carried by the Republican party.

George Harding, Republican national committeeman from Illinois (Oct. 15).—Illinois will go to Landon by a majority of 400,000.

Colonel Knox (Oct. 17).—We are safe in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan.

"Grass Roots" Poll, conducted by some 3000 country newspapers (final result, Oct. 21).—Twenty-six States, with 367 electoral votes, for Landon; 14 States for Roosevelt; eight States uncounted.

Colonel Knox (on many occasions in the latter part of October).—We will carry every State East of the Mississippi and North of the Ohio.

David Lawrence, writer of widely syndicated Washington column (Oct. 22).—Pennsylvania will go Republican by a minimum of 250,000 and it may go as high as 400,000.

William Lemke (Oct. 28).—The election will be thrown into Congress, where I will win.

Representative Joseph W. Martin, Republican Eastern campaign manager (Oct. 31).—New York will be for Landon by more than 250,000. There is no question of an emphatic Landon majority in New Jersey. Pennsylvania will be carried by Landon by at least 200,000 and it would not surprise me if it were twice as large. Delaware will be safe and we will carry West Virginia by a good majority. . . . I firmly believe Governor Landon will have more than 300 votes in the electoral college. This is a conservative statement and not to be classified with the ballyhoo statements which are quite common.

Literary Digest Poll (final result, Oct. 31).—Landon, 370 electoral votes; Roosevelt, 161.

John D. M. Hamilton (Nov. 1).—I unhesitatingly predict the election of Landon and Knox. My absolute minimum is 320 electoral votes for the Republican ticket.

John D. M. Hamilton (Nov. 2).—I have had a flood of protests that my claim was too conservative.

P. S.: As a footnote to the above, we present one man who was right:

James A. Farley (Nov. 1).—It is my confident prediction

that President Roosevelt will be re-elected by a greater plurality than he had in 1932. In only two States, Maine and Vermont, have the Republicans any right to be hopeful. The other 46 States are being swept by a wave of Roosevelt sentiment that will carry the President back into the White House by the greatest popular and electoral vote in the country's history.

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Victory!

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