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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CHARACTERS AND  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE TWO PRESIDENTS  
THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

By

AHMED A. RAYNER



Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College  
Prairie View, Texas

August, 1939



A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE CHARACTER  
AND ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE TWO PRESIDENTS,  
THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

by

AHMED ARABIA RAYNER

A Thesis in History Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the

Degree of

Bachelor of Arts

in the

Division of Arts and Sciences

Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College

Prairie View, Texas

August, 1939

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This writer is grateful to Mr. E. S. Shreve,  
Chairman of Social Studies, for the helpful  
suggestions and criticism given during the writing of  
this thesis.

**Dedicated**

to

**The Rayner Family**

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#### 4. Purpose of This Study

For this study, in which the similarities and dissimilarities between Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt are to be found out, there are four underlying purposes: (1) to ascertain characteristic conditions which surrounded their administrations; (2) to examine critically certain aspects of their foreign and domestic policies; (3) to appraise the two presidents in the light of their background, training, opportunities, and achievements; (4) to evaluate their foreign and domestic policies and indicate their influence upon internal and international relations.

To ascertain characteristic conditions which surrounded their administrations is aided by a study of the Spanish-American War, the Caribbean and Pacific Ocean Troubles, and the Boer Rebellion, which were difficulties to McKinley and later brought difficulties to Theodore Roosevelt, and



## CHAPTER I

### Introduction

#### A. Purposes of This Study

For this study, in which the similarities and dissimilarities between Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Delano Roosevelt are to be found out, there are four underlying purposes: (1) to ascertain characteristic conditions which surrounded their administrations; (2) to examine critically certain aspects of their foreign and domestic policies; (3) to appraise the two presidents in the light of their background, training, opportunities, and achievements; (4) to evaluate their foreign and domestic policies and indicate their influence upon internal and international relations.

To ascertain characteristic conditions which surrounded their administrations is shown by a study of the Spanish-American War, the Caribbean and Pacific Ocean Trouble, and the Boxer Rebellion, which were difficulties to McKinley and later brought difficulties to Theodore Roosevelt, and



the "Depression," Trouble in Asia, European Debt Situation, and World Court, which worried Hoover and met Franklin Roosevelt when he came into office.

Certain aspects of their foreign and domestic policies are to be examined critically by presentation of the Caribbean Policy, European Troubles, and Far Eastern Difficulties as far as their foreign affairs were concerned, and conservation, "Trust Busting," and Strikes and Labor as far as domestic affairs can be considered. The men were alike in their beliefs in the keeping of the Monroe Doctrine and neutrality, and really did much to aid the developing of the country as both were liberal in their views and acts.

By appraising the two presidents in the light of their background, training, opportunities, and achievements, it is to be noted how strikingly parallel their lives were until their nominations. Both were from New York, graduated from the same school, Assistant-Secretary of the Navy, connected with the Army, Governor of New York, and eventually President.

An evaluation, by a critical analysis of their foreign and domestic policies, should indicate their influence upon



internal and international relations. In spite of their coming from positions of wealth, this study is designated to show whether they remained popular because of the actions they fostered for the "common man." Recognition by "John Doe Public" for these two great men should be as high, if not higher, upon leaving the high office as it was when they entered, because of their performance of such humane acts.

#### B. Definition of Terms

Two terms in the title, "A Comparative and Critical Study of Certain Aspects of the Characters and Administrations of the two Presidents, Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt," may need definition: "comparative" and "certain aspects."

In this thesis, "comparative" involves, more or less, the examining of the characters and administrations of these two men to discover their similarities and dissimilarities. "Comparative" also involves analysis as well as appraisal, and the showing of favorable as well as unfavorable features; in other words, comparison as well as contrast and criticism.

The "certain aspects," as here treated, are several specific instances or phases of their lives and their administrations with their enveloping ideas and sentiments.



Theodore Roosevelt in this treatise will sometimes be called "Teeds," "Teddy," or "Roosevelt I." On the other hand, Franklin's nickname will be "Roosevelt III."

### C. Limitation and Scope

The study is limited to the main events of their lives from their births in 1858 and 1882, respectively, and restricted to certain aspects of their domestic and foreign policies. The selected aspects of their foreign policies include the Caribbean Diplomacy, European Troubles, and Far East Difficulties; and under domestic policies will be considered conservation, "Trust Busting," and Strikes and Labor. Although a correct estimate of the men, their efforts and their achievements would necessitate careful examination of the factors which fall outside the scope of this thesis, the critical appraisal is therefore restricted to the men in the light of the biographical details and administrative accomplishments presented. The conclusions will be tentative, the major criteria of this appraisal being: (1) Results of Foreign Policy (Was heightened respect or disrespect engendered? Could it be said that there was a danger of war or that peace was assured?);



(2) Feelings of the public toward government (Was there unity internally or class strife? Was the government centralized or decentralized?); and (3) Economic policies and social reconstruction (Was there an extension of economic democracy or plutocracy? Could regulation or Laissez-Faire be said to be the policy? Was government a social instrument or a Frankenstein?).

#### D. Methods Employed and Sources

In the gathering of the material, the writer used such reference books as the World Almanac, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Pageant of America Series, Chronicles of America. Biographies included James Morgan's Theodore Roosevelt, The Boy and the Man, My Son, Franklin, by Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Professional magazines, for example the American Historical Review, and pamphlets and periodicals on the order of News Week, Nation, Time, New York Times, and other furnished materials. Insight into the personalities and achievements came from letters and documents on the order of Theodore Roosevelt's Letters To His Children, edited by Joseph Bucklin, Messages and Papers of the President,



and On Our Way, by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, himself.

A further step involved evaluation or interpretation and consisted of applying the principles of external and internal criticism to the material read and gathered. In completing the process, the writer either selected or rejected materials.

The final selection of materials permitted the writing of the narrative according to the tentative outline, frequently and finally revised, and making of a synthesis, reflecting the sources as well as the writer.



## CHAPTER II

### A Short Study of the Presidents Themselves

#### A. Boyhood

Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, born of rich families and distant relatives, began life October 27, 1858 and January 30, 1882, respectively. Theodore was the son of James Roosevelt, 1831-1878, a direct descendant of Cloes Mortenzen Van Rosenvelt of Zeiland, Holland, who emigrated in 1649 to New Netherland with his wife Jannetze Samuels, who was collector of Port and Martha Bulloch, daughter of Major James Bulloch of Georgia. Franklin was the offspring of James Roosevelt, who died in 1900, and of Sara Delano, who was also a direct descendant of the Rosenvelt clan of the 1649's. As the expectant mother didn't go to the hospital in those days, "Teds," as he later called himself in his letters, made his appearance on the third floor of the house on Twentieth Street in New York City. Franklin was born on the family estate at Hyde Park, New York, on the East side of the Hudson River.

Early in life these two youngsters developed traits that were later used to describe them. Harold Howland uses the lines, of Browning in suggesting the epitaph for Theodore, "I was ever

\* "My Son Franklin", Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Good Housekeeping, July 1933, Vol. I CVL, page 30.

\* Harold Howland, Theodore Roosevelt, His Times, p. 2.



a fighter." <sup>1</sup> The Honorable Judge John E. Mack, in nominating Franklin for the Presidency in Chicago said: "He has courage, integrity ..... and he has the ability to get things done." <sup>2</sup>

"Franklin was, as a baby, small in build, but healthy, plump and pink." <sup>3</sup> Theodore was less fortunate, and throughout his childhood suffered because of minor ailments. Franklin was to incur his misfortune, as far as physical defects were concerned, later in life. To overcome his asthmatic troubles, "Ted's" father told him: "Theodore, you have the brains, but brains are of comparatively little use without the body; you have got to make your body, and it lies with you to do it." <sup>4</sup> In order to aid him in his fight, his wise father constructed an outdoor gymnasium, fitted with all the necessary paraphernalia. All through his childhood, the young Theodore kept up his fight for strength, and it was only in later life and after much hard fighting, (following Browning's "I was ever a fighter" motto), that he attained his goal of

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<sup>1</sup> Harold Howland, Theodore Roosevelt and His Times, A Chronicle of Progress Movement, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Democratic Trough at Chicago," Oswald Garrison, Nation, July 13, 1932, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> "My Son Franklin", Mrs Franklin D. Roosevelt, Good Housekeeping, July 1933, Vol. X CVI, page 20.

<sup>4</sup> Harold Howland, Theodore Roosevelt, His Times, p. 2.



perfect health.

As the families of each of the boys were among the "upper crust," they had both traveled around the world before they were of high school age. Letters written by them show how well they were educated, (both men were taught by tutors until they were past high school age), and how their philosophical parents had instilled their ideas into them; although in "F. D. R.'s case it was more the mother who did the philosophizing."<sup>5</sup>

Both owned their own pony until they were of age, at which time they received horses. Franklin's mother remarked how small he looked on his big horse. It was his only form of amusement, for his only real companions were his mother and father, and most of the time his father was away.

The two boys were very fond of nature and both became amateur taxidermists. "He (Theodore) never rested from his studies in Natural History. When not actually shooting birds, he ..... would seat himself ..... and skin and stuff the products of his sport."<sup>6</sup> Franklin was a crack shot, and had one stuffed bird of each kind he could find in the proximity of his home; whereas Theodore shot hundreds just for sport. Franklin's main interest

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<sup>5</sup> "My Son, Franklin," Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Good House-Keeping, January 1933, Vol. XCVI, No 1, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 129.



turned later to the sea, and his week-end visits to Maine became more and more dear to him. Theodore Roosevelt went there too, for his family owned a home there, but his main interest was hunting.

Franklin had a few playmates, but when he did have visiting friends, he was boss for the day. As he told his Mother, "If I didn't give the orders, nothing would be done."<sup>7</sup> Far from lonely was Theodore, who had two brothers and two sisters. Their Dresden Literary Club, whose motto was "We are no Asses," was the source of much delight in their early teens.

It seems odd that these two boys, rich as they were, (very few Presidents were from wealthy and noted clans as were these boys,) would be ordained to become the great men of position they did become; but on second thought, the writer feels they are entitled to the same chance any other men, regardless of position, have, and that is to become President. But as a rule, "rich men's sons don't become Presidents."<sup>8</sup>

#### B. School and Marriage

Theodore Roosevelt was graduated from Harvard two years, (1882), before Franklin Roosevelt was born and twenty-four years

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<sup>7</sup> Corrinne Roosevelt Robinson, My Brother, Theodore Roosevelt, p. 110.

<sup>8</sup> Dwight T. Dremond, Roosevelt to Roosevelt, p. 388.



before Franklin received his degree from the same institution.

Theodore was twentieth in his class and although he didn't excel in his classwork, he was brilliant, well-liked and very popular. His sister, of whom the writer can find no reference in the World Almanac, tells of the contents of the letters she received from him while he was away at school:

"I only came out second best in the sparring contest, (he loved to box for sport and for body building), "but I do not care very much for I have had uncommonly good luck in everything from studies to society .... I won't be home for Christmas; my Political Economy Professor wishes me to start a finance club." 9

"Teddy" loved sports; they, along with his "good - bad" habit of getting a good book and reading it until he finished, were the cause of his low grades. He went out for all the teams, but won little recognition because of his puny size. In spite of his shortcomings, everyone at the school respected his earnest, if somewhat irregular, devotion to scholarship.

"Frankie's school record was a little better than that of his illustrious cousin. After attending Groton Prep School, a very exclusive one, he entered Harvard. The entrance examinations contained a possible 16 points, all of which he earned when he took it.

He too liked sports, and went out for the football, baseball, and track teams, but the nearest he came to making any of

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<sup>9</sup> Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, My Brother, Theodore Roosevelt, p. 110.



them was when he became manager of the baseball team.

He also was very popular and noted for his greatness and reforming possibilities. He became President of the "Crimson" after serving as an editor. His extra-curricula activities didn't take up most of his time, though, and he finished well up in his class.

It was while F. D. R. was in his twenty-third year and a Sophomore in Columbia Law School that he married Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, a distant cousin. It was a surprise to his family, as they had no inkling that he was even in love. An amusing incident that Roosevelt II remembers quite well that happened during the wedding was related by his mother: <sup>10</sup>

"President Theodore Roosevelt, the brother of Anna Eleanor's father, was there and gave the bride away... after the ceremony, instead of everyone congratulating the lucky couple, they all went over and shook hands with the President, leaving the newly-weds stranded."

Roosevelt II's wife was very charming, a perfect hostess and a model wife for an up and coming man as he was. Five children have been born to these lucky parents. They are James, Elliott, Franklin D., Jr, John A., and Anna Eleanor.

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<sup>10</sup> Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, *My Son, Franklin*, Good Housekeeping, February 1933, Vol. XCVI, no. 2, p. 201.



Theodore, twice married, was also blessed with a large happy family. While twenty-six he became wedlocked to Alice Hathaway Lee who died four years later, (two years after F. D. R. was born). The only child, Alice, became wife of Longworth, Speaker of the House of Representatives. "The second Mrs. Roosevelt, whom he married in 1886 at London was Edith Kermit Carow." By this union there were five children -- Theodore, Jr., Kermit, Ethel Carow, Archibald, and Quentin.

Roosevelt I was also blessed with an energetic, gay, ambitious wife and a large happy family as was his following relative.

Thus as is used by Time, Roosevelt I and II, men of wealth and position, graduates of one of the leading law schools in the country, and happily married, faced their state and their nation, and pondered their next step. Did they sit down and live off the money that had been left to them? No; they entered politics and strove to become, not politicians, but statesmen.

### C. Early Political Activities to the Presidency

After a short trip through Europe, Theodore, with the faith which has overcome so many obstacles in his pathway, went into politics. "He who has not wealth, owes his first duty to the state,"

James Morgan, Secretary Roosevelt, the Boy and the Man, p. 26.

123  
Ibid, p. 22.



he once said. He has since said, "But he who has means owes his time to the state." He did not go into politics like some men of means whom he has since ridiculed and who 'get together in a big hall where they vociferously demand reform as if it were some concrete substance which could be handed out to them in slices and who then disband with a feeling of the most serene self-satisfaction.' He thought political conditions could be made better, but he did not call upon some one else to make them better; he, himself, undertook to do his share of the hard work. <sup>12</sup> After much hard work, he was elected to the State Legislature and remained there for from 1882--1884. "Teddy" was only twenty-three and the youngest man in the House when he took his seat. "It was not long before he was one of the most widely known members, for he showed fighting qualities from the start." <sup>12a</sup>

His main difficulties were with "Bosses," who were very powerful at that time. He won their respect and the approval of the people by continued fighting for the removal of a corrupt judge when the machine had ordered silence. He was elected leader of the minority in the House, and in 1884 received great

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<sup>12</sup> James Morgan, Theodore Roosevelt, the Boy and the Man, p. 38.

<sup>12a</sup> Ibid, p. 42.



recognition for the investigating the Roosevelt Committee did in New York City. A very short time afterward, he was selected Delegate-at-large and Chairman of the New York Delegation and Delegate-at-large in the famous National Convention of 1864. He opposed the Blaine nomination, but did not leave his party. He became ill and in a short time went West for his health. While he was on his way to the "wide open spaces" of North Dakota, Roosevelt II was celebrating his second birthday.

The year 1907, a jump of twenty-five years, found F. D. R. finishing Columbia Law School and being admitted to the bar of New York. He immediately went to work, for by then he had a family to support. He couldn't live on his Phi Beta Kappa key, and he was a little too proud to accept any money from his mother. He became associated with Carter, Ledyard, and Milburn, and in a short time, his energy and zeal earned a managing clerk's position. Later with Marvin, Hooker, and Roosevelt, "Franklin became, as judged by the standards of the times, a successful and highly respected citizen, giving much of his thought and attention -- which he has always contended as a duty -- to civic problems." <sup>13</sup>

Unlike his predecessor, Franklin had to be induced to go

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<sup>13</sup> Review of Reviews, May, 1933.



into politics, but when nominated, it took a twenty-four hour debate with himself. He accepted and began a most serious fight.

He and a friend, Richard Cornell, were both trying for Congress; so, together, they rode the countryside in a red car, (this was unusual, for buggies were the thing for traveling in those days), making speeches. (Roosevelt went from door to door in his district.) With the aid of the "red pull," as the car was called, even though it did cause them to make four speeches in Connecticut, Franklin received the majority of votes and was elected.

"Big Tim" Sullivan, "Boss at Tammany Headquarters," remarked, "You know these Roosevelts ..... This fellow is young... Wouldn't it be safer to drown him before he grows up .... If you don't, he'll cause trouble sure as shootin' when he does grow up."<sup>14</sup> Murphy's prediction did not take long to materialize, for when chance came for Tammany to replace a U. S. Senator with Billy Sheehan, a typical "machine" product, Roosevelt II, like Roosevelt I, led the fight until another man got the post.

At the end of his term, F. D. R. had planned to return to private life, and to his practice until "Boss" Murphy expressed thanks for his leaving, because he would oppose his re-election

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"My Son, Franklin", Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Good House-keeping, March, 1933, Vol. XCVI, No. 3, p. 44.



and keep him from getting the job anyhow. This made Roosevelt II angry, and he came back more determined than ever to regain his position; and he did return, thanks to his gaining recognition through a mistake, with a larger majority than before.

Franklin became instrumental at the Convention in 1916 in the nomination and election of Wilson, because of his interest in his ideas; (Wilson was the nominee that defeated Theodore Roosevelt and Taft because of their split ballot.)

He was much interested in working in Washington after his senatorship period ended, and it was not until some one suggested the Navy Department that his love for ships made him accept the assistant Secretaryship of Navy.

Upon returning from the "Wooly West," a stronger man mentally as well as physically, "Teddy" found himself a candidate for the Mayor of New York City. (His first knowledge of his nomination was the reading of it in a newspaper on the train.) After a brisk battle, he found himself really defeated for the first time. He was happy because he really had put up a good fight. He hadn't gone from ward to ward for nothing. It was practically understood that the Democrats had the election won before a vote was made. It was during the year of 1886 that he married the second time.



After a several month's trip to Europe, Theodore Roosevelt returned to New York to begin again his literary work, and to renew his political connections. Three years, (1886-1889), were spent in writing. This relaxation came to an abrupt end; he was called to Washington to act as a member of the United States Civil Service Commission.

"He took up the work of the new system in Washington with such zeal that he soon drew the fire of all its opponents. He was never the head of the Commission, but, while he remained on it, he was the favorite target for all criticism which its work incurred..... Roosevelt was one of the chief enemies of the Patronage or Spoils System ..... The Commission was looked upon by everybody as being a Roosevelt Commission." <sup>15</sup>

It might be added that he was really a fighting member, "pitching battles" with postmasters and collectors, representatives and senators, and even a Cabinet officer. A good example is the way he crossed Senator Platt who thought he could order him around.

Feeling that he had done his duty along the line of Civil Service, "Teddy" returned to New York to see what good he could do there. Offered a job as Street Cleaning Commissioner by the newly elected independent mayor, he refused, but readily accepted the Presidency of the Board of Police Commissioners. Mr. Roosevelt was only one of four members of the Board, (He was appointed

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<sup>15</sup> James Morgan, Theodore Roosevelt, the Boy and the Man, p. 84.



by Mayor Strong in May, 1895 and resigned April, 1897), but through his reforming acts even overshadowed the popularity and publicity of the Mayor and brought him to national fame as Dewey of New York City is today, famed and well-known.

Theodore Roosevelt found himself wrestling with one of the most corrupt bodies in the world, but jeers of his opponents turned to cheers when the people were made to realize their mistake in differing with his principles. "Roosevelt I stopped blackmail and political influence, enforced the Sunday liquor law, and siezed unfit tenement houses."<sup>16</sup> The height of diplomacy occurred when he really frightened a Jewish agitator out of town by giving him Jewish police protection.

The bosses of the party decided that Theodore Roosevelt was raising a little too much trouble and offered him posts until he finally accepted the appointment of Assistant-Secretary of the Navy on April 19, 1897, after having felt that he had done all he could in the way of reform in New York City. The leaders of the Republican Party felt "he could do no harm" in such an "in-the-corner" office, but it was not long before he was heard of again. "No office, however obscure, could bury a man of his restless spirit."<sup>17</sup> He gave the men a chance to shoot. He saw to it that

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 85.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p. 105.



the men were issued plenty of ammunition and given plenty of target practice which had not been the custom before him.

It was not long before he saw the coming war and suggested to President McKinley a way to avoid it. He was laughed at, but had his plan been tried, war might have been averted.

Through his much needed assistance and aid in preparing the Navy, Roosevelt won his signal victory at Manila at the start of the Spanish-American War. Again Mr. Roosevelt felt his work done, and turned to another field of endeavor. He adopted a plan recruiting a regiment among the men of his old "Wild West." Many difficulties arose, including the mishandling of funds and orders, but his heroism shown in the Battle of San Juan will live in history long after the wrongness of the War Department is forgotten.

Returning to New York, amid glory, Roosevelt was immediately nominated for Governor of the State by the bosses in order to save the party from defeat at the polls. Boss Platt, his arch enemy, realized that new policies and new men must be fostered in order to keep the Republicans in control. An active campaign was conducted by the first Roosevelt, and he was easily elected. In six weeks' time, he made the "Bosses" regret ever having put him in office for he truly "bit the hand that fed him," by passing



laws which hindered the very corporations which had paid his campaign funds. After about a year and a half of headaches, the "Bosses" decided they must get rid of him some other way; against his will they had him nominated for Vice-President. "Teddy" didn't want the position, but felt it best to accept, mainly because there was nothing he could do about it, and because he didn't want to break his party ties. At last Wall Street and Platt thought "The Great Reformer" was buried.

Roosevelt I's popularity and speaking ability really carried McKinley, the presidential nominee, to the White House, but less than thirteen months after his nomination, June 21, 1900, "Teeds" took the highest seat in the nation. Roosevelt took the reigns of the country on September 14, 1901 on the death of McKinley caused by his assassination. No Vice-President before him had won the confidence of these United States; what was the future to hold for him? Look at the way Johnson fought Congress after he replaced Lincoln in the highest office.

While Roosevelt I was taking his solemn oath, Roosevelt II was attending school. Shortly after Roosevelt I's defeat for a third term, he was found working as an assistant to the Navy's Secretary, just as the first of the great family had done. Franklin Roosevelt kept the Navy assistant's job for about six



years during the time from 1913 to 1918. During this time he inspected the United States Naval forces in European waters during the Great War and contracted a severe cold, which forced him to return to Hyde Park and a short retirement. An interesting incident which F. D. R. says he will long remember came during those trying months of preparation for war. He had proposed a bill demanding so much money for his department that President Wilson was forced to remark, "I am sorry, Mr. Secretary, but you'll have to divide with the Army."<sup>18</sup> Wilson liked Franklin and prophesied a great future for him. Franklin made the nominating speech for Wilson, and Wilson got him the desired position on his staff.

After the short retirement from the Navy, which owes much of its modern methods and equipment to him, F. D. R. returned to Europe in 1919 in charge of much talked of demobilization, a job which took much administrative ability for there were millions of dollars in food and supplies to be dispersed. After a very short rest, during which illness was completely subdued, the second great Roosevelt jumped into the middle of a campaign with himself as nominee for the Vice-President of the United States and Cox as his running mate. The public was a

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<sup>18</sup> "My Son, Franklin," Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, p. 218.



little sick of Democrats, in spite of a brisk and hard-fought program, and the ticket went down in defeat, (1920). Since there were no more fields to conquer at the time, he returned to private life and as he couldn't become Vice-President of the United States, he became Vice-President of the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland, in charge of the New York office. His energy, eagerness, and experience, as far as administration was concerned, caused him to put affairs in such shape that he was able to have many outside interests, through which he became very popular. As chairman of the committee to raise funds for the establishment of peace, President of the Harvard Union Club, and as an active participant in the Boy Scout Movement of New York, he became a prominent state figure. It was also during this time that he contracted infantile paralysis, which kept him from public life for some time. Carelessness while on a fishing trip in Maine robbed the public of his service, except for a small amount of "string pulling" at Warm Springs, Georgia, where he convalesced, until 1928, when he was nominated for Governor of New York against his will.

Franklin did not really feel himself prepared for the job because his physical strength had not completely returned; so he



dodged the nomination until finally Al Smith, a leading Democrat, and nominee for the Presidency, prevailed upon him to accept it. He was elected whereas Smith failed to carry his own state. Roosevelt participated heartily, for he wanted the job, as he felt he could do good there and was elected by a large majority.

"During these four years, he proved a capable governor and a very shrewd politician. He met the depression in the state by fostering and getting passed a bill which increased income taxes one hundred percent and used the money for direct relief." <sup>19</sup>

Both descendants of the versatile Rosenvelt clan contributed a little to society other than through their political genius. Their literary qualities were so overshadowed by their worthy abilities as statesmen that some mention of their writings should be made here. Theodore's works include: "Of Winning the West" (1888); and "Autobiography" (1910); while Franklin's are "Whither Bound" (1926); "The Happy Warrior" (1928); "Looking Forward" (1933); and "On Our Way" (1934).

In retrospect, two boys were playing. One was holding club meeting with his two sisters and two brothers. That was in 1860. The other was sailing boats on the Hyde Park estate. That was 1900. These boys were Roosevelts and future

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<sup>19</sup>

Dwight T. Dremond, Roosevelt to Roosevelt, p. 388.



Presidents. They were building the qualities that would later carry them to the highest seat in the United States. Fighters, reformers, and believers in themselves, they remained so even after becoming President. Only it doesn't seem odd that these two boys were to be what they became, in spite of their wealth and position; for just as most mothers dream that someday their sons will become President, the secret yearning must have been in these two mothers. They became Presidents, good Presidents: Presidents that seem destined to be remembered for their kind treatment of the common man. Presidents may come and go, but the "square deal" and the "new deal" have been assured a lasting place in history.

#### 1. The Spanish-American War

The blowing up of the Maine, an American battleship in Havana Harbor, really started the Spanish-American War. Inflamed by the yellow newspapers of Hearst, who had interests in the Caribbean, the people forced Congress to ride McKinley

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<sup>1</sup> Note: (These islands are proving useful today as naval bases.)



### CHAPTER III

## Conditions Surrounding the Administration of the Two Roosevelts

### A. The Administration of Theodore Roosevelt

Roosevelt became President upon the assassination of McKinley, as quiet a man, although he was popular, as he was a weak man. McKinley had been literally dragged into a war, forced to take some islands that were then utterly useless,<sup>1</sup> and shown what should be done about the Boxer Rebellion, by a head-strong Congress led by a head-strong group of citizens. Thus the Roosevelt administration inherited the Spanish-American War, along with the Caribbean and Pacific Ocean Trouble and the Boxer Rebellion, (discussed briefly in the first half of this chapter).

#### 1. The Spanish-American War

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<sup>1</sup> Note: (These islands are proving useful today as naval bases.)



until, "overwhelmed by such pressure and the taunt Roosevelt flung at him, 'you have no more backbone than a chocolate éclair,' the President surrendered such Pacific intentions as he had entertained and sent a militant message to Congress April 11, 1898, declaring ..... the issue was in the hands of Congress." <sup>2</sup> The Legislature quickly voted in favor of war. From the time the Spanish let the little island of Cuba get out of hand and begin "destroying the \$50,000,000 invested there by Americans and hurting the \$100,000,000 lucrative trade we had with her each year, \* to the time of the signing of the surrender with only three hostile months, Spain asked France to ascertain peace terms from the United States." <sup>3</sup> The final treaty, signed on December 10, 1898, "transferred Cuba to the United States for temporary occupation, preliminary to insular independence. It ceded us Puerto Rico and Guam in lieu of War indemnity, and the Philippines, with whom we had to fight for a short while to get control, on payment of \$20,000,000. The civil and political rights of the native inhabitants of the ceded islands were to be divided by Congress. <sup>4</sup>

Beside contracting a "\$200,000,000 debt," <sup>5</sup> the United States

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<sup>2</sup> David S. Muzzey, History of the American People, pp. 565-606.

<sup>3</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, Political and Social Growth of the U. S. (1852-1933), p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 303.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 302.

\* Note: (The American investors were locking out for their capital, as would any investors.)



marked a different and not wholly welcome innovation in her policy by the taking of the Philippines. America now had on her hands four headaches; what should she do with them?

## 2. The Caribbean and Pacific Ocean Troubles

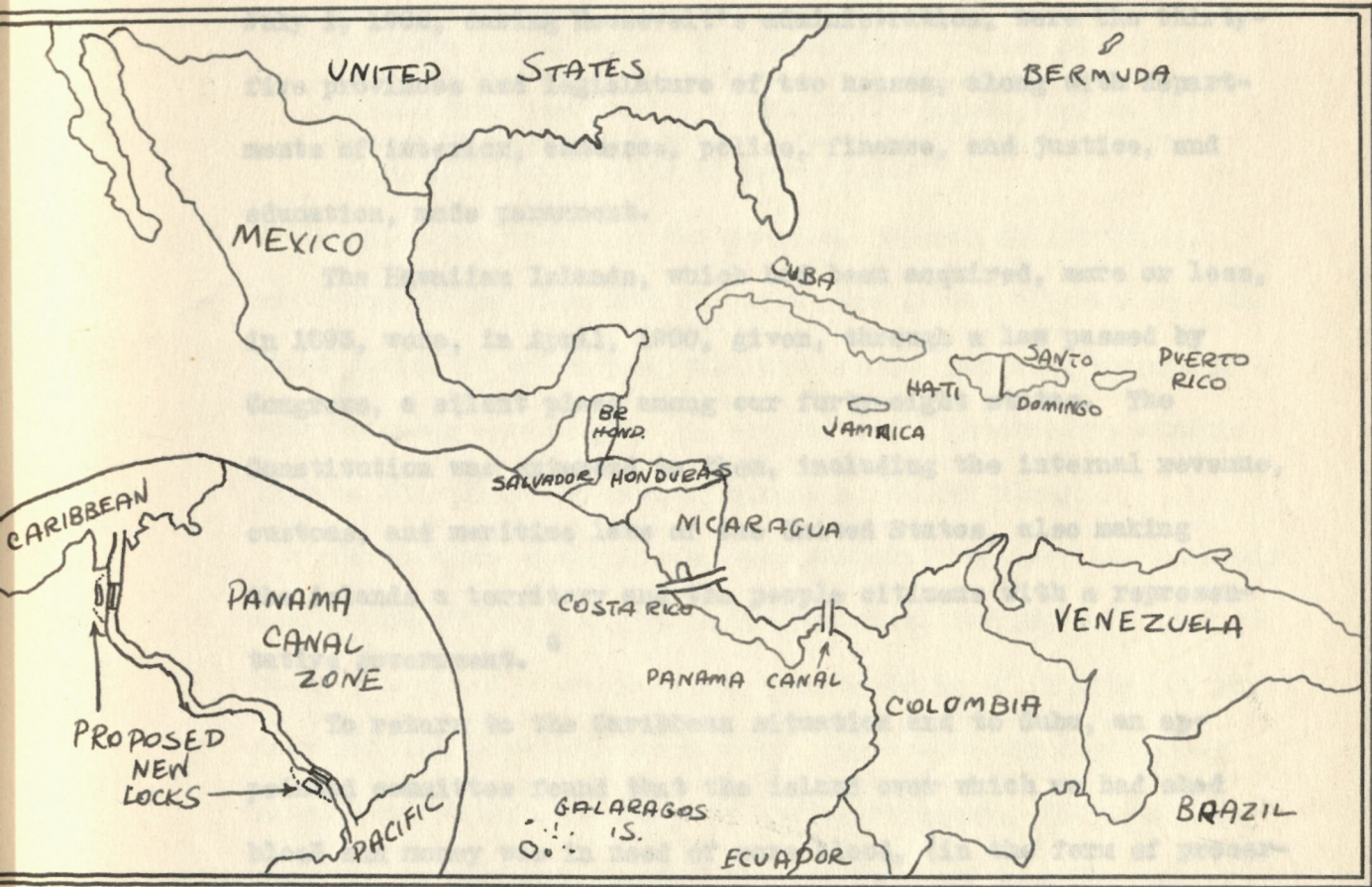
In the long run, possession of these four islands became "ideal," for they made excellent air bases for forced application of our Monroe Doctrine, and they aided in the protection of our Pacific coast, though at the time that imperialistic step of our government was disliked by many.

In the first place, it took the United States forces three years to put down an insurrection, led by Agrienaids, even after the Philippines were bought and paid for; in the second place, what good were a bunch of dirty islands thousands of miles away? A commission was sent over to study the people and their country with Schurman at the head and Admiral Dewey as a member. Schurman's report advised not allowing self-government at once, and a semi-permanent commission with William H. Taft as chairman was appointed.

"Local governments were established as seemed advisable; suffrage was granted the most capable, and it was announced that a central civil government would be created as soon as a working local government was established."<sup>6</sup>

It was a big job and not until the Philippines Act of





LATIN AMERICA

tion), and many. The committee also discovered that the situa-  
 tion there was one that could never be self-governed with-  
 out some external assistance.  
 Then, under Chief Counsel John H. Brooke and in December, 1900,  
 under General Leonard Wood. (As can be seen, the Chinese were,  
 after a fashion, under martial rule.)

The number of commissions, composed of Americans and lead-  
 ing Chinese, was appointed to raise the legal and judicial

John Spencer Newell, A Short History of the United States,  
 (1892-1929), p. 211.



July 1, 1902, during Roosevelt's administration, were the thirty-five provinces and legislature of two houses, along with departments of interior, commerce, police, finance, and justice, and education, made permanent.

The Hawaiian Islands, which had been acquired, more or less, in 1893, were, in April, 1900, given, through a law passed by Congress, a silent place among our forty-eight states. The Constitution was extended to them, including the internal revenue, customs, and maritime laws of the United States, also making the islands a territory and the people citizens with a representative government. <sup>6</sup>

To return to the Caribbean situation and to Cuba, an appointed committee found that the island over which we had shed blood and money was in need of more blood, (in the form of preservation), and money. The committee also discovered that the situation there was one that could never uphold self-government without some informal education. The "great benefactor" tutored them, under first General John R. Brooke and in December, 1899, under General Leonard Wood. (As can be seen, the Cubans were, after a fashion, under marital rule.).

"A number of commissions, composed of Americans and leading Cubans, were appointed to raise the legal and judicial

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<sup>6</sup> John Spencer Passett, A Short History of the United States, (1492-1929), p. 811.



systems to a higher standard, to organize city governments, to reform the methods of taxation, and to investigate the prisons. The educational system of the island and the sanitary conditions of Havana and other cities were improved in a remarkable degree, and on the whole, the transformation of the island in two or three years was little short of marvelous." <sup>7</sup>

A constitution, much like the American Federal Constitution, was being passed, February 21, 1901, and it was followed by the Platt Amendment which gave Cuba her freedom provided she doesn't start another revolution. It was not until Roosevelt's administration that their government became a reality though.

Porto Rico, small as she was, welcomed the American soldiers and government's protection with open arms, for she felt that it meant the end of oppression and the beginning of liberty, of which they had the slightest conception. Porto Rico was immediately annexed and taught the rules of self-government. Civil government was established in Porto Rico on December 3, 1900, and

"although the inhabitants were granted such liberties as they had never known before, they were bitterly disappointed: they had fondly imagined that their island would be at once made into a full fledged state in the American Union . . . The United States were extremely liberal, as much as possible, and acted with kindness as well as with discretion. Even the temporary imposition of a tariff duty of fifteen per cent on Porto Rican goods brought into the Union, a step roundly condemned at the time as an act of oppression, was only an assertion of the principle on the part of Congress. The duty, (which was soon made unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in May 1901) did not while it existed

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7. Henry William Elson, History of the United States of America pp. 883-884



perceptibly interfere with trade; and the sum of money collected by it was presented to Porto Rico, and has since been of welcome service for internal improvements."<sup>8</sup>

Guam and Tutuila were mere coaling stations, suitable for naval purposes and they have so few inhabitants that the problem of ruling them was a simple one. (They have since proven very valuable as a guard to the Panama Canal).

After the Spanish American War, America, in spite of the nice treatment given the helpless islands, "had become a colonial power in the fullest sense of the word!"<sup>9</sup>

### 3. The Boxer Rebellion

As an answer to Secretary of State Hay's "Open Door Policy", in which the Chinese had had nothing to say, (and they were then land and resources) Prince Tuan, heir to the Chinese throne, couldn't quite let the "foreign devils" flood his country railways, banks and businesses. To keep them out, he and his society of "the Patriotic Harmonious Fists" - better known as the "Boxers" - prepared to fight the invading Westerners.

"Anti-foreign demonstrations occurred in the spring of 1900. Early in the summer the legations at Peking were in a state of seige, surrounded by armed Boxers, and the cables reported murders of foreigners. A joint expedition composed of European, Japanese and American troops was assembled at Tientien, whence they started for Peking (August 4, 1900). The defenses of the imperial city were taken by storm (August 14). But more than a year passed before a

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8. Archibald Cary Coolidge, The United States as a World Power pp. 143-144

9. Ibid., p. 140



✓  
proctocal was signed on September 7, 1901, one week before McKinley died and Roosevelt became President." <sup>10</sup>

The concessions granted China were to a certain degree liberal, although the United States got \$24,000,000, whereas all damages were estimated at \$11,000,000. (Later, under Roosevelt's guidance the excess was paid back.) It was put into a fund for maintaining Chinese students in American Universities.

## B. The Administration of Franklin Roosevelt

The administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt had its dramatic beginning against a background of national depression and seeming world-wide chaos, to be discussed in the light of the effect they will have upon Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration. Through supplementary reading, the reader will no doubt get a much better picture of the situation, for it would be an impossibility to include all phases of such a subject.

### 1. The "Depression"

In the late part of 1928 and early part of 1929 our country was in a form of foolishness, then, lavish prosperity.

"Everywhere the nation basked in the sunshine of unexampled opulence. The expansion of the radio, motion picture, automobile, rayon, chemical, electrical, and construction industries surpassed even the fondest hopes of their expenses; while other forms of business showed a comparable development. Real estate booms overspread the country; a fever of installment buying was taking place, and buying on the credit plan

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<sup>10</sup> Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, A History of the American People, p. 1015.



infected untold millions, causing them to spend beyond their means; shop-girls and washerwomen wore fur coats and drove their own cars to work. At the same time expenditures by governmental agencies, municipal, state, and federal, vastly increased . . . In 1928-1929 values in the stock market soared to heights out of rational relationship to earnings present or prospective." <sup>11</sup>

The new "Economic Era" as the business men called it, had begun. Speculation overran itself and before anybody was aware of it good and bad securities tumbled like houses of cards. The great depression had come.

Prices fell lower; business fell off more, factories and mines shut down; agriculture lay prostrate "commerical and bank failures during the year totaled over 26,000 with liabilities of more than \$668,000,000."<sup>12</sup> This all began in October and before winter over 5,000,000 men were out of work tromping the streets, bread lines were forming, with charities trying their hardest to keep unfortunates from want and woe.

The following summer of 1930 brought the hardest want of the whole period. A long drawn out drought, the worst ever recorded in the nation's history, brought sad crops from the mid-western states.

Hoover and his "Laissez-Faire" and "Prosperity is just around the corner" slogan did little to relieve the pressure. The stage was set for the Hyde Park hero, Franklin Roosevelt.

11. Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Political and Social Growth of the United States, p. 478

12. Ibid, p. 479



## 2. European Debt Situation

"The loans of \$4,277,000,000 to Great Britain, \$3,404,818,000 to France, \$1,648,034,000 to Italy, \$379,087,000 to Belgium, and \$192,601,000 to Russia were in the nature of financial assistance to allied nations engaged in a common undertaking and for rehabilitation work; but, of the three billion post Armistice loans, much went to the new nations created by the Versailles settlement, some to the recent enemy nations"<sup>13</sup>

(In other words the costs of the war to American taxpayers had scarcely begun when the Armistice was signed) Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and other small nations received over 353 millions for their recuperation program.

In 1922, Congress created a World War Foreign Debt Commission to arrange terms of settlement between the United States and its debtors without reference to the question of German reparations. (Germany was at the root of the "ruckus". The allies couldn't see the payment of our debts until Germany, who couldn't buy a turkey gobble, payed them theirs.)"

"The commission decided that all debts were to be paid by 1947 at an interest rate of  $4\frac{1}{4}$  per cent per year. When France refused to even listen to such terms, the commission was forced to make important modifications in the arrangements with Great Britain which were ratified by Congress. Payment was extended over a 62 year period and the interest rate was modified to reduce the total amount to slightly less than \$10,000,000,000"<sup>14</sup>

whereas before it was \$10,350,490,000.

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13, Dwight Dremond, Roosevelt to Roosevelt, the United States in the Twentieth Century, p. 240

14. Ibid, p. 241



All the nations, except Russia, agreed to the terms by 1930, but nobody seemed willing to follow it through by paying much. When Franklin Roosevelt came into office, America was attempting to get Germany on its feet (by lending to her) with the Young Plan, tried after the Dawes Plan. It was a ticklish situation. We lend to Germany, so she can pay our debtors, who in turn can pay us. It sounds rather silly, doesn't it?

### 3. The World Court

"An attempt to bring the internationalism of business in cooperation with the nationalism of politics, (which is a rather difficult thing to do) was the movement for America's entering the World Court."<sup>15</sup>

Both President Harding and President Coolidge had committed themselves in favor of our joining. Coolidge pressed the matter on Congress, and after a short debate, the Senate voted 76-17 in favor of accepting the jurisdiction of the court, with the proviso that the court should not without the consent of the United States, give an opinion in "any dispute or question in which the United States has any claim or interest".<sup>16</sup> The signers of the protocol, which had created the court, refused to accept this proviso (1926). The Root formula, which said that the proviso should be included, but that the United States might withdraw

15. Nathaniel W. Stephenson, A History of the American People, p. 1125

16. Ibid, p. 1125



from membership in the court without prejudicing its interest or giving any offense. The World Court members and the Department of State were both satisfied with the compromise, but when President Hoover referred it to the Senate in 1929, it found a pigeon-hole for its home.

When Theodore Roosevelt came into office he found the spoils of war were to cause headaches directly and the panic of 1907 indirectly. A rising Asia with Japan taking the lead was also to confront him. Franklin D. Roosevelt's task was more difficult. A world wide "depression" with all its problems was a situation he could not dodge as was the defaulting of the war debts by our European friends, the World Court disagreement and the rising East with Japan still at the helm was also to be faced.

The Columbia Senate rejected the proposal. President Roosevelt flew into a rage saying the Columbians were stalling for time, so they could confiscate the \$40,000,000 worth of property belonging to the French Company.

How comes what is known by many as Roosevelt's big mistake. What were the ins and outs Colombian politics may have been, the nation had, of course, a perfect right to delay as long as it wished, though as a matter of fact, it apparently intended to make it an our home.



## CHAPTER IV

### Foreign Affairs Under the Two Roosevelts

#### A. Caribbean Diplomacy

The reader is now ready for an examination of selected aspects of the country's foreign affairs and a comparison and contrast of the policies of the two Roosevelts in handling them.

##### 1. Columbian Situation and the Panama Canal

"In 1903, the Hay-Herran Convention agreed upon terms which would pay Columbia \$10,000,000 in cash and an annuity of \$250,000 for a lease of a strip of land six miles wide across the isthmus. Objection was raised to the treaty because the United States failed to secure full governmental control over the Canal Zone, but it was considered the best and ratified by the Senate March 17."

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<sup>1</sup> John H. Latone, A History of American Foreign Policy, p. 531.



Columbia also intended to collect \$10,000,000 from the French and were trying to put the deal through.<sup>2</sup> To make a long story short, with Roosevelt's indirect aid, a revolution was staged in Panama; the province seceded; American war vessels prevented Colombian troops from landing to quell it. We made a treaty with her, ratified by the Senate February 23, 1904, by which we leased the "Canal Zone" in perpetuity. Such an imperialistic method was rather raw. (A letter written by Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor of Review of Reviews, by Theodore Roosevelt, said before Panama revolted, "privately, I say to you that I should be delighted if Panama were an independent state, or if it be made so at this moment; but for me to say so publicly would amount to an instigation of a revolt, and, therefore, I cannot say it.")<sup>3</sup> Such an act beat almost anything that Europe had been guilty of and anything which the worst of our "christian men" might have attempted in the business world. It hurt our reputation until eighteen years later the United States made partial amends to the pride of Columbia by granting her \$25,000,000 or two and a half times the amount we might have had to pay for the Canal Zone in Roosevelt's time with honor had we waited. Thanks to Colonel

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<sup>2</sup> James T. Adams, The Epic of America, p. 357.

<sup>3</sup> John Latone, A History of American Foreign Policy, p. 534.



...the post-hole was closed out and in two years, 1914, the canal was ready for use.

There were some talk and plans were made for the government to buy the canal and the Panama Canal Company.

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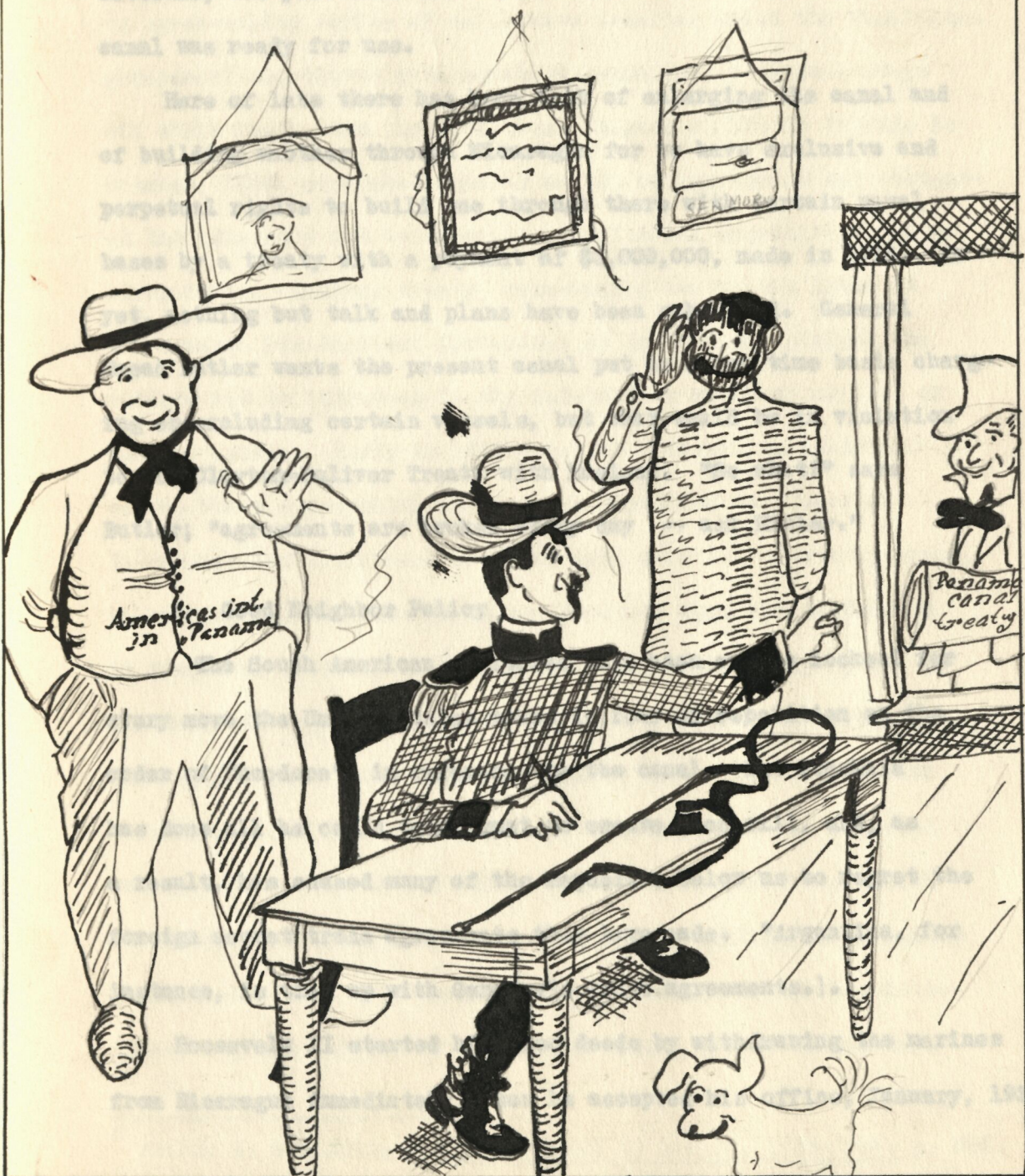
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From a cartoon *The New Governor of Panama*, by McCrecheon in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews*, Dec. 1903, reproduced from the pages of *America*.



Gottbals, the pest-hole was cleared out and in ten years, 1914, the canal was ready for use.

Here of late there has been talk of enlarging the canal and of building another through Nicaragua for we have exclusive and perpetual rights to build one through there with certain naval bases by a treaty with a payment of \$3,000,000, made in 1914. As yet, nothing but talk and plans have been submitted. General Smead Butler wants the present canal put on a war time basis charging or excluding certain vessels, but that would be in violation to the Clayton-Buliver Treaty with England. "So what!" says Butler; "agreements are broken every day -- ask Hitler."

## 2. Good Neighbor Policy

The South American countries have been on the lookout for every move the United States makes in fear of repetition on the order of Theodore's in reference to the canal. But Franklin has done all he could to attempt to create good will, and, as a result, has caused many of the Republics below us to regret the foreign secret trade agreements they have made. "Argentina, for instance, is tied up with Germany's trade agreements.)

Roosevelt II started his good deeds by withdrawing the marines from Nicaragua immediately after he accepted his office, January, 1933.



At once the Latin-Americans took notice; but when he followed with an epoch-making series of collective treaties which the Washington government negotiated with southern republics, they were swept off their feet. The first of these, signed at Rio de Janeiro in October, 1933, condemned wars as an act of aggression and obligated the adherents not to recognize territorial acquisitions gained by force. Another treaty, consummated two months later at the seventh Pan-American Conference at Montevideo, pledged the nations not to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another nation. Early in 1936 President Roosevelt, desiring to cap these agreements, invited the republics to a special Inter-American Conference of Peace and, when all twenty accepted, he voyaged 12,000 miles to Buenos Aires to open the conference in person on December 1. <sup>4</sup> All the delegates readily agreed to proclaim all acquisitions made by force illegal. The delegates also agreed that their countries should stick with one another on measures for maintaining peace. This proposal was rejected mainly because the Latins couldn't quite understand the sudden "good neighbor" outburst, was a proposal by Hull for a permanent consultative body. By another pact it was agreed to consult together for the purpose of adopting a common course as neutrals

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<sup>4</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, The New Deal in Action, 1933-1937, p. 538.



should armed conflict break out between any two or more of them.

"The policy of the 'good neighbor' as President Roosevelt has defined the phrase, Secretary Hull declared, means respect for one's own rights as well as the rights of others or absolute independence, unimpaired sovereignty, the perfect equality, and political integrity of each nation, large or small . . . . Thus the Theodore Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine by which we claimed the right to intervene in Latin-America is replaced by collective intervention when the failure of the orderly processes of government affects the other nations of this continent."

### 3. Mexican Troubles

The latest difficulty of any consequence, which has occurred in the Southern part of our hemisphere, has been the seizure of oil property belonging to United States investors by President Lázaro Cardenas and his government. "The former N. R. A. head, Donald Richberg, was sent to Mexico City as legal emissary for seventeed American and British oil firms to open negotiations with the President." <sup>6</sup> Cardenas, after an hour and a half chat with Richberg, issued a communique stating that an accord was "hoped for" within a week. The expropriation, which occurred March 18, 1938, has been the source of many headaches, and the Mexican Government has since promised to pay for lands

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<sup>5</sup> John Holladay Latane, A History of American Foreign Policy, p. 675.

<sup>6</sup> "Mexican Rumblings," Newsweek, March 20, 1939, p. 24.

Note: Before Mexico can sell any oil, she must first find some customers.



and property taken when they sell the oil.

## B. European Troubles

### 1. German Differences and Venezuela

"The attention of Europe and America was drawn to Venezuela when in 1902 Germany made a carefully planned and determined effort to test the Monroe Doctrine and see whether we would fight for it. In that year, Germany, England, and Italy made a naval demonstration against Venezuela for the purpose of forcing her to recognize the validity of certain claims of their subjects which she had persistently refused to settle." <sup>7</sup>

After negotiations, which lasted about a year, (Dec. 1903), and in which notes were exchanged, the Germans with the aid of England and Italy formed a formal blockade. When the crisis was at the highest point, President Roosevelt got England and Italy to retire and decide the price their debtors really owed, and report it, and promised that something would be done. Germany refused to accept any arbitration whatsoever, and it was only when the President threatened to send Dewey down there to "break up that blockage that Germany decided to have the Kaiser "change his mind."

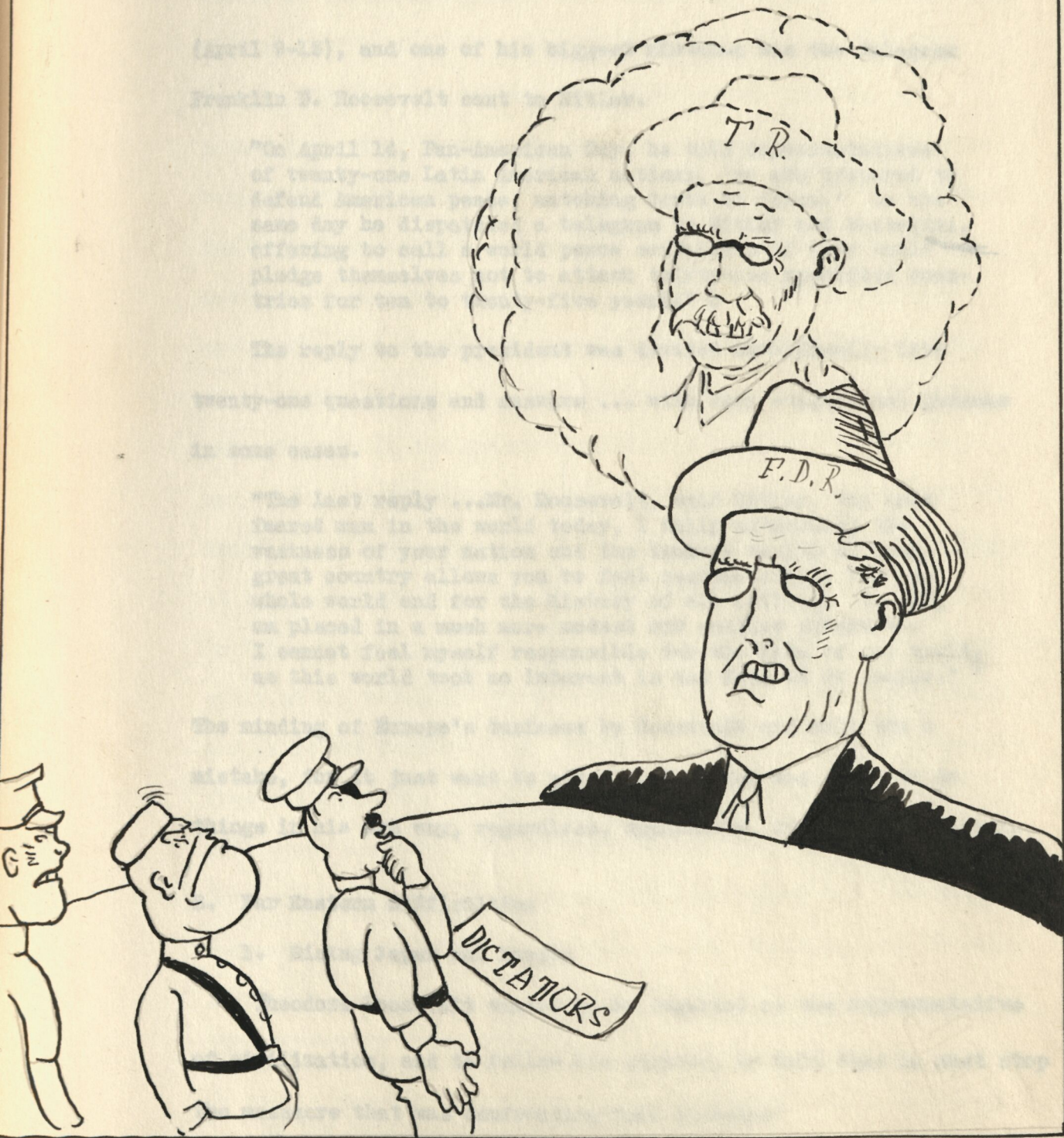
Franklin Roosevelt has had a little trouble with Germany. Happening during one of the Presidents' most hectic weeks,

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<sup>7</sup> "Administration Warns World Against Presuming U. S. Course," NewsWeek, September 9, 1933.



# Showing their Teeth



Taken From the Houston Chronicle

May 10, 1939



(April 9-15), and one of his biggest mistakes was the telegram Franklin D. Roosevelt sent to Hitler.

"On April 14, Pan-American Day, he told representatives of twenty-one Latin American nations, 'we are prepared to defend American peace, matching force to force.' On the same day he dispatched a telegram to Hitler and Mussolini, offering to call a world peace conference if they would pledge themselves not to attack thirty-one specified countries for ten to twenty-five years." <sup>8</sup>

The reply to the president was divided methodically into twenty-one questions and answers ... with very enigmatical phrases in some cases.

"The last reply ... Mr. Roosevelt, said Hitler, the most feared man in the world today, I fully understand the vastness of your nation and the immense wealth of your great country allows you to feel responsibility for the whole world and for the history of all nations. I, sir, am placed in a much more modest and smaller sphere ... I cannot feel myself responsible for the fate of the world, as this world took no interest in the fate of my people." <sup>9</sup>

The minding of Europe's business by Roosevelt and Hull was a mistake, for it just went to prove that Hitler was going to do things in his own way, regardless, apparently, of the consequences.

## B. Far Eastern Difficulties

### 1. Rising Japan and Russia

Theodore Roosevelt wanted to be regarded as the representative of civilization, and to follow his purpose, he felt that he must stop the massacre that was confronting Tsar Nicholas'

<sup>8</sup> "President's Plea to Dictators Hastens Showdown in Congress," NewsWeek, April 24, 1939, p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Danger Spot Shifts to Poland in Wake of Hitler's Address, NewsWeek, May 8, 1939, p. 16.



forces in the Russo-Japanese War. Japan was winning victory after victory, but because of a lack of funds, they had to take up Roosevelt's plea for peace. Roosevelt at once promptly approached the Tsar through the American Ambassador in St. Petersburg with the message, "If Russia will consent to such a meeting the President will consent to such a meeting, and will try to get Japan's consent, acting simply on his own initiative and not saying that Russia had consented."<sup>10</sup> With the Kaiser's and (Wilhelm II had grown to like this spunky youngster), the Tsar came to terms in the summer of 1905 at Portsmouth, New Jersey, and a world conflict was avoided. After a bit of debating it was decided that the peace committees should meet aboard the Mayflower at the Portsmouth "Navy Yard." "Two-thirds of the terms proposed by Japan were promptly accepted by Russian envoys. But an irretrievable split on the remainder seemed inevitable."<sup>11</sup> Japan wanted money and an Island Russia owned. Roosevelt took a hand in the proceedings and urged the Japs to yield, which, after much argument, they did; peace was made. Shortly afterwards, true to human nature, both sides, Russia and Japan, said Theodore Roosevelt, had made peace with the nations really come too soon to allow them to make clear-cut agreement.

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<sup>10</sup>Louis M. Sears, A History of American Foreign Relations, p. 479.

<sup>11</sup>Harold Howland, Theodore Roosevelt and His Times, A Chronicle of the Progressive Movement, p. 174.



To prove he was a peace-maker, the Hohenzollern menace to the peace of the world was averted through his tact and diplomacy the following years.

At present, Franklin has had a chance to do his duty, because Russia and Japan have sprung at each other's throats again, and should war begin this time, more attention would be called to it, and many more nations would be surely dragged into the conflict. \*\*

Of more worry to Roosevelt II at present is the undeclared almost inhuman war between Japan and China which began with the invasion of China by Nipponese troops, July, 1937. It has kept Roosevelt from exercising the neutrality provisions given him by Congress and the Nye Committee May, 1937.

"In a speech at Chicago on October 5, 1937, he called on 'the peace-loving nations to make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of human instincts which are breeding a state of internationality anarchy, against which mere isolation of neutrality stood helpless.'" <sup>12</sup>

At once the League Committee on Far Eastern Affairs, which had a non-voting American member, pronounced Japan the aggressor and breaks and called for a conference of the nine

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<sup>12</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, The New Deal in Action, 1933-37, page 536.

\*\* Note: (This next World War will be due to past methods of travel on land and in air and the ability of there ships to get around, go across .. and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for that matter.



powers which had pledged themselves at Washington in 1922 to respect Chinese independence and the "Open Door."

"The next day the League ratified the committee's action and from Washington the State Department indicated its concurrence, declaring Japan an infringer also of the Kellogg peace pact . . . . Whether this moral arraignment would keep hurting or hindering or helping the matter remains to be seen." <sup>13</sup>

It certainly didn't hurt, because the war, undeclared, is still being waged. No matter what happens, or what did happen, it was certain that Franklin had shown the true Theodorian spirit by facing the isolationists in Congress with a gesture which showed that America should follow the principles of being responsible for the preserving of world peace.

### C. The Philippine Islands

After Roosevelt and Congress had spent \$170,000,000 pacifying the islands, they settled down to the tutelage of the Filipinos.

"In July 1901, just before Roosevelt became President, the military government gave way to an American and civil commission of five headed by governor-general Taft, the future President, and enlarged a few months later to include three appointed native members." <sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 536.

<sup>14</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, Political and Social Growth of the United States, p. 376.



July 1, 1902 marked the date of the Organic Act which declared the inhabitants citizens of the Philippine Islands and entitled to protection of the United States. By 1901 the islands had behaved so well that the commission became the Upper House, and the Lower House was chosen by the people. The Islands, in the meantime, were beginning to show life. With the aid of American capital, agriculture made rapid strides; order was assured through a sole native constabulary; education also made much progress; the population grew, but independence, the thing striven for, was still lacking.

"On March 2, 1934, President Roosevelt reopened the question when he urged Congress to revive the Hawes-Cutting Bill. Amendments were to be included which should remove the American military reservations from the islands and by saying nothing about the economic and immigration sections of the old bill. The Tydings-McDuffie Bill was adopted and okayed by the Philippine Legislature on May 1, 1934. It gave the islands a final freedom, until 1946, after which time they were to be absolutely free and independent. This sounded good to the Philippines, but by 1938, they looked to the future with frowns for beside the presence of the Japanese, but their withdrawal from the American Customs Union, (they said no, if only, import duties) seemed to promise only economic collapse. What is to be done to provide for these things. But it all ends up to the evidence that the Philippines don't want absolute independence if they can't see their, sugar, coconut oil, copra, hemp, and minerals sold to somebody." 15



#### D. Desire for Peace as Described in Foreign Policy

Both men were lovers of peace, as was exemplified by their training and their sticking their noses across the oceans to prevent war or to aid peace. Both meant business, as far as they could, for neither had forces to back their bluffs up, (America has never gone into a war prepared); although Theodore did put a scare into either the Kaiser or his American Ambassador. Both, through somewhat similar methods and policies have backed the Monroe Doctrine to the utmost, even to the point where they got in serious trouble. All in all though, their attitudes are to be respected and it depends on who is read to get different opinions of their policies.

In his first speech to Congress, he spoke of conservation of our natural resources. The Reclamation Act of 1902, by which proceeds of the sale of public land of sixteen states in the West should go to a special irrigation fund instead of into the public treasury, the Carey Act of 1894 was bolstered, allowing states in arid regions to be improved by irrigation and then turned over to the

Footnote: [Theodore Roosevelt's definition of "New Deal" was the same as Theodore's definition for the "Square Deal."]



## CHAPTER V

### Domestic Affairs Under the Two Roosevelts

The major domestic affairs that have gained prominence under both of these men can be divided into Conservation, "Trust Busting," and Strikes and Labor. Many others could be included but those most important are "Square Deal," under Theodore Roosevelt and "New Deal," under Franklin Roosevelt.<sup>1</sup>

#### A. Conservation

"Critics have differed as to the wisdom of Theodore Roosevelt's extension of the Monroe Doctrine, the sincerity of his crusade against the trusts, and the justice of his acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone; but there is only one opinion on the value of his conservation policy ..... Said Senator LaFollette, Sr., 'He did many notable things, but that his greatness lies in his inspiring and actually beginning a world movement for staying territorial waste and saving for the human race the things on which alone a peaceful, progressive, and happy life can be founded.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Note: (Franklin D. Roosevelt's definition of "New Deal" was the same as Theodore's definition for the "Square Deal.")

<sup>2</sup> David Muzzey, History of the American People, p. 540.



farmer for agricultural use. Several dams were built, the Roosevelt Dam completed in 1911 on the Salt River in Arizona being the largest, at a cost of \$120,000,000.

"After his message to Congress in 1901, he lost no occasion to preach the gospel of conservation until the masses came to understand the relationship between public land policy and national welfare. His actions suited his words. Where his predecessors had set aside 47,000,000 acres of timberland, Roosevelt increased the area by 148,000,000 acres, and through Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the Division of Forestry, began systematic efforts to prevent forest fires and to retimber denuded trees and tracts."<sup>3</sup>

In order to safeguard mineral wealth, "Teddy", with his demonstrative characteristic vigor and impressiveness, withheld from sale a total of 64,000,000 acres, containing oil, coal, and other subsurface riches.<sup>4</sup>

The waterways presented another problem. The railroads were consuming most of the freight but there was still a need for the lakes and rivers to be made navigable for there were certain commodities which surely could not be shipped in trains in bulk, as coal, iron ore, lumber, grain. In March 1907, Roosevelt appointed an Internal Waterways Commission, with a view to making the rivers and canals a great arterial system in the commercial life of the country. By request of the Commission he called a conference of governors of the states and territories to discuss the conservation of our natural resources. The meeting began May 13, 1908, and lasted

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<sup>3</sup> Arthur Schlesinger, Political and Social Growth of U. S., p. 329.

<sup>4</sup> Dwight T. Dumond, Roosevelt to Roosevelt, p. 79.



three days during which time a National Conservation Committee was formed, as were forty state conservation committees.

Disregarding an amendment to the civil service bill which made it unconstitutional for any bureau to do outside work for the President, Roosevelt was backed by the Supreme Court.

President Franklin Roosevelt was also an "advocate of conservation of natural resources."<sup>5</sup> This was after the C. C. C., which, besides meaning Civilian Conservation Corps, meant Commodity Credit Corporation, had been made an institution by an act of Congress, (only after a long debate), on March 31, 1933.

"This was one of the first agencies for public works established by the Roosevelt administration whose purpose was to restore the nation's forests .... Secretary Perkins and Senator Robert Wagner devised the plan for emergency conservation work, and, although President William Green objected strenuously to what he called regimentation of labor in peace time, three hundred and fifty thousand young men found jobs in such camps by the middle of 1933."<sup>6</sup>

The Department of Interior supervised all works in national parks, Indian reservations, etc. The Department of Agriculture was responsible for reforestation and erosion control. Among the types of work undertaken were the building of ..... erosion control dams, reservoirs, diversion dams, planting of trees, fighting forest fires, etc.

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<sup>5</sup> "Message to Congress Urging Action of Conservation of Our Natural Resources," Vital Speeches, February 11, 1935.

<sup>6</sup> Dwight Dumond, Roosevelt to Roosevelt, p. 453.



In eighteen months, 5,000,000 acres of forest lands were added to the national forests and 67,000 acres to national parks; 15,000,000 trees were planted; 23,000 miles of firebreaks; 609,000 soil erosion dams were constructed, and between 200,000 and 500,000 boys sent \$22 home monthly to their needy parents. <sup>7</sup>

Although such a program brought disapproval from many pressure groups, especially labor unions, when the President said "This enterprize is an established part of our national policy. It will conserve our precious natural resources; it will pay dividends to the present and future generations. It will make improvements in national and state domains which have been largely forgotten in the past few years of industrial development." <sup>8</sup>

Congress, which had rubberstamped like clockwork the modification of the Volstead Act, the A. A. A., followed with this bill.

As Roosevelt admitted later, the main purpose of the act was not so much to conserve our land as it was to relieve enforced idleness of young men, to bring these young men a spiritual and moral stability, and to relieve the unemployment situation. Regardless of the motive behind the act, it has done more for conservation than any act of any other president, except Roosevelt I, for such a needy situation.

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<sup>7</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt, On Our Way, p. 42.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 453.



## B. Trust Busting

James T. Adams best describes the coming of the trusts in Chapter XII of his book, "The Age of the Dinosaurs."<sup>9</sup>

"In the Jurassic period of geological history of the earth, there were suddenly developed in the course of animal evolution, a vast number of high reptiles which numbered among their species the largest animals ever known .... In the same way, there appeared in the early 1900's, a combination of elements suddenly brought into existence in our social and economic world huge business combinations in the form of corporations of the hitherto undreamed of size, which seemed destined, like the dinosaurs of old, to rule the land. It seemed that nothing could oppose them. On every hand the ordinary American was looking for leadership against the "trusts."<sup>10</sup>

"There were, broadly speaking, three attitudes toward the trust problem which were strongly held by different groups in the United States. At one extreme was the threaten-growl of big business, 'Let us alone!' At the other pole was the shrill outcry of William Jennings Bryan and his fellow exhorters, 'Smash the trusts!' In this golden middle ground was the vigorous demand of Theodore Roosevelt for a square deal."<sup>11</sup> Roosevelt's attitude toward the trusts was that they were the result of economic development and that some were good and should be allowed to exist under Government regulation; while others were bad and should be destroyed."<sup>11</sup>

The capitalists wanted no honest motives and laughed when Roosevelt brought James J. Hill before the Supreme Court and with his great Northern monopoly, for they knew that the Knight case years before had taken the teeth from the Sherman

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<sup>9</sup>James T. Adams, The Epic of America, p. 342.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 343-350.

<sup>11</sup>Harold Howland, Theodore Roosevelt and His Times, p. 85.



Anti-Trust Act, the very tool Roosevelt was planning to use. Much to the "trusts" dismay, the highest court voted 5-4 in favor of dissolving the Northern Securities. The monopolists laughs turned to moans, for with the highest tribunal on Theodore Roosevelt's side, they asked, "Where will he strike next?" Very soon, Roosevelt was heard from again in the case of the Standard Oil Company. Before he left office, the man who "spoke softly and carried a big stick" in domestic as well as foreign affairs had tried 42 cases in seven and one-half years and won most of them; while in the decade the Sherman Act had been in sway before his arrival on the scene only eighteen cases had been tried, and all were lost.

The two foremost trials were those of the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company. Although they weren't settled until Taft's administration, they put the brakes on all holding concerns that were bogus.

Though backed by the largest majorities in Congress, Franklin D. Roosevelt did not obtain the expected response of his trumpet call for new reform. The early general trend among the democratic followers was that the Democrats would tax the "rich" for all they were worth.



It was with the Republicanistic view that Hoover condemned Senator Norris' resolution that passed Congress the second time in 1930. It asked for the completion and operation of the Muscle Shoals in order to measure the rates which were being administered, and to make the plant a laboratory to determine the actual cost of the manufacture and distribution of electricity. This proposed bill the power interests fought very bitterly.

"For every bit of ten years the plant stood idle as the cost of a universal public service soared and the architects of utility holding companies peddled their worthless stocks. Said McNinch, of the New Federal Power Commission, created in 1930, 'The Holding Company dynasty, with its absentee ownership and management, its sovereignty over far-flung dominions in many states, but subject to the direct jurisdiction of none, its fees being taxation without representation of the operating companies, is a grave economic and social peril.' Governor Roosevelt had said in 1930 that control of holding companies and super-utilities had proven so difficult as to be impracticable and advocated federal control." <sup>12</sup>

Few people expected Franklin D. Roosevelt to make the drastic "yardstick" attack he made, for he hit the power utility company from at least five directions. They were: (1) The Tennessee Valley Authority Act (May 18, 1933); (2) the Public Works Program; (3) the creation of the Electric Home and Farm Authority; (4) the Electric Rate Investigation Resolution and (5) the Wheeler-Rayburn Act.

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<sup>12</sup>Dwight T. Dumond, Roosevelt to Roosevelt, p. 347.



"The T. V. A. Act created the Tennessee Valley Authority, \*\* to maintain and operate Muscle Shoals and to develop the water power resources of the Tennessee Valley region and raise the economic and social level of the valley." 13

According to President Roosevelt, in an extraordinary message to Congress on April 29, 1938, in 1935 one-tenth of 1 per cent of all the corporations reporting the Bureau of Internal Revenue owned fifty-two percent of all the corporate wealth of the nation, and less than five percent of them owned eighty-seven percent of all the corporate assets. As regards income in the same year, one-tenth of one percent of the corporations earned fifty percent of the net corporate income, (under the Morgan sphere of influence are banks, financial institutions, insurance companies and corporations which represent, says Anna Rochester, in her Rulers of America, 1936, nearly one-fourth of American corporate wealth or \$61,200,000,000.), and less than four percent of the manufacturing corporations earned eighty-four percent of all the net income. 14

This combination in ownership represented the monopoly stage of capitalism's growth. 15

Before the famous speech to Congress asking for more

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<sup>13</sup>Dwight T. Dumond, Roosevelt to Roosevelt, p. 348.

<sup>14</sup>Louis M. Hacker, A Short History of the New Deal, p. 174.

\*\* Note: (Roosevelt meant to use this more for a "yardstick" by which he could measure the electric rates, and has regretted it, because of the scandal it has brought, ever since.)



legislation, the President had urged the passing of the Holding Company Bill. "The President declared that the great holding utility companies were responsible, in a large degree, for the high cost of electric power. The Senate agreed to this suggestion that a 'death sentence' be pronounced on needless holding companies." <sup>15</sup> After much argument, the House agreed to a compromise and the law passed is framed to curb, if not destroy, the useless companies that are doing an interstate business. (By an investigation of Congress, it was disclosed that the utility companies had spent \$300,000 lobbying against the measure. From one community, hundreds of telegrams sent to members of Congress were paid for by utility companies) <sup>16</sup>

"After forty years of experience, the relations between government and business, particularly Big Business, were as ill defined as in the beginning ... The reformism of the Square Deal of Theodore Roosevelt had been without avail in finding a solution to this vexing problem, and the reformism of the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt was, little, if any, more successful." <sup>17</sup>

### C. Strikes and Labor

"In industrial relations, as in the relations between business and the community, Theodore Roosevelt believed in the square deal. The rights of labor and the rights of capital must, he firmly held, be

<sup>15</sup> Louis M Hacker, American Problems of Today, p. 180.

<sup>16</sup> Henry W. Elson, History of U. S., p. 1107.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 1007.



respected by each other -- and the rights of the public by both." <sup>18</sup>

Roosevelt put a great deal of faith in trade unions, as was shown by his position during the Anthracite Coal Strike. In May, 1902, nearly 150,000 anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania went on a strike, after John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers, had tried in vain to get the mine operators to consent to a hearing and arbitration of the grievances of the workers. As the summer grew old, coal prices rose, and there was real danger of a fuel shortage for the winter. Roosevelt, in his sympathy for the strikers, who certainly were not getting a fair deal, remembered his square deal policy, and, although he had no authority as President to interfere, invited representatives of the workers and operators to the White House for a conference. When the operators showed no signs of weakening, whereas the miners were ready to go back to work if their grievances were settled, Roosevelt took the matter into his own hands and appointed a committee to investigate matters. A plan of arbitration was reached, and the miners returned to work with a ten percent increase in wages, and a recognized union, with a board of conciliation representing the operators. Under this pleasing

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<sup>18</sup> Harold Howland, Theodore Roosevelt and his Times, p. 111.



policy there were no more troubles until after the World War.

During this term of President Roosevelt "a good law protecting the lives and health of miners in the Territories," was passed; and laws were enacted for the District of Columbia, providing for the supervision of employment agencies, for safeguarding the workers against accidents and for child labor.

A workmen's compensation law for government employees, inadequate but at least a beginning was put on the statute books. A similar law for workers on interstate railways was declared unconstitutional by the courts; but a second law was passed and stood the test. <sup>19</sup>

When asked of his position on the Capital-Labor question, he answered, "While I am President I wish the labor man to feel he has the same right to access to me that the capitalist has; that the doors swing open as easily to the wage worker as to the head of a big corporation -- and no easier." <sup>20</sup>

Theodore Roosevelt favored the trade unions, mainly because the A. F. of L. was a small group of less than 1,000,000 members, and Samuel Gompers gave him no trouble; but when Franklin Roosevelt had been in office five years, "there were two labor organizations fighting each other with a combines

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<sup>19</sup>Note: (Read Chapter VIII, A Square Deal for Labor, Harold Howland, Theodore Roosevelt and His Times, p. 11.



membership of over 7,500,000.<sup>21</sup> If the C. I. O. (Committee on Industrial Organization) and the A. F. of L. (American Federation of Labor) could come to some sort of an agreement and stop tearing at each other's throats, there would be some advance along the labor front.

F. D. R. had Congress to rubberstamp the N. I. R. A. (National Industrial Recovery Act), on June 13, 1933, and administered the N. R. A. "The codes of fair competition should be established through the business world; employees should have the right to organize and to bargain collectively, and that employers should not coerce their employees in the matter of joining labor organizations and should conform to maximum wages and minimum hours."<sup>22</sup> The Act ran smoothly for two years when in 1935 the Supreme Court took a step "back toward the horse and buggy days" by declaring the law unconstitutional.

"Labor, confronted by shrinking opportunities of employment was forced to sell its services cheaply and to even debase its standards. Sweated industries once more had begun to flourish; child labor had increased; women had resumed homework. To make it possible for the workers to participate once more in the economic life of the nation, the following devices were employed: (1) the establishment

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<sup>21</sup> Harold Howland, Theodore Roosevelt and His Times, p. 121.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p. 122.





From a cartoon "Will You Please Hush" by W.A. Rogers in the New York Herald Feb. 23, 1908



of minimum wages and maximum hours in the codes of fair competition; (2) the abolition of child labor in the same codes; (3) the recognition of collective bargaining so that through self-help the same purposes might be achieved; (4) the passage of the Wages and Hours Act of 1938." 23

Since the C. I. O. has come into existence through the laxity of the A. F. of L., and has gained much through its somewhat new "sitdown" strike method, labor has been given a new weapon. By this new weapon in 1936, the General Motors Corporation was, after a forty-day shutdown involving some 126,000 workers in twenty-five cities, brought to its knees. Later, General Motors signed an agreement recognizing the U. A. W. A. as the bargaining agency for its members in all the country's plants, establishing an hourly wage scale in place of the prevailing, and creating grievance committees in the shops. As a result of short strikes, all other automobile companies except the Ford Motor Company, quickly fell into line and also signed agreements.

When the C. I. O. invaded the steel industry, it encountered the bloodiest of the 4,740 strikes which occurred during 1937.

"These strikes were not as effective as the auto strikes because they weren't as well organized. On May 30, as a result of a clash between Chicago police and pickets moving on the Republic Steel works in South Chicago, shots were fired by the

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<sup>23</sup> Henry Elson, History of the United States, p. 996.



police and ten workers were fatally injured." <sup>24</sup>

The A. F. of L. was comparatively quiet during this period, making most of its noise in protesting to the National Labor Relations Board's so-called preference to the C. I. O. <sup>25</sup>

While the A. F. of L. was trying to get its members back into the folds, the C. I. O. was having immeasurable success in the shipping industry and with the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee.

There is no doubt as to whether the Roosevelts were in favor of legislation to aid the worker, but as Franklin Roosevelt had a Congress which, for a while, was in a rubber-stamping "mood," he got much more legislation through; <sup>26</sup> Then, too, Congress was giving the trial and error method a chance with the Supreme Court, the faithful umpire, checking the hasty Democrats whenever they stepped out of line. Had Roosevelt a chance with the Supreme Court to choose his aids, rather than continue with McKinley's, the story might have been different. Regardless of what they did, it is known that they had a fair attitude along the lines of labor as well as conservation and "Trust Busting."

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<sup>24</sup> Louis Hacker, American Problems of Today, p. 202.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p. 303.

<sup>26</sup> Note: The N. L. R. B., which got its power from the Act of April, 1937, gave trade unions a method of meeting. Congress was, beside following the party platform, lending to the whims of pressure groups.



## CHAPTER VI

### Critical Appraisal of Policies and Influences of the Two Roosevelts

When Theodore Roosevelt prepared to leave his office, did he leave conditions much in the same manner as will Franklin D. Roosevelt who is now nearing the end of his allotted time? How did the public feel toward them and their governments? What was the result of Theodore Roosevelt's economic and social reconstruction and reform program, and what will be the result of Franklin D. Roosevelt's? This last chapter is designed to answer this question by a critical appraisal in a more or less personal summary form.

#### A. Results of the Foreign Policy

As far as foreign policy was concerned, the Roosevelts' administrations saw some trying issues and literally swam through some ticklish situations. Did they heighten respect or disrespect for our government in the eyes of other governments?



1. Heightened Respect or Disrespect?

Is there any doubt in the mind of the historian as to whether Theodore Roosevelt, "who walked softly, but carried a big stick," made the United States shine in the eyes of the other nations of the world? Were the management of our newly acquired colonies, his peace proposals, and the results of them, and his guarding of the Monroe Doctrine outstanding achievements in the history of our country? Of course, it can be said that his methods were a little unethical, but regardless of that, he knew what he wanted and he got it. America became a world power under Theodore Roosevelt, and the world respected him and his policies.

Has the story been a little different under Franklin Roosevelt? With the world in its present condition, a little more tact and diplomacy could be used. In other words, he should keep his nose out of Europe. His Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, is to be commended on the splendid way he handled the Panay incident in China, but he should advise his chief to put on the brakes a little, if his words means much. His act of sending a telegram to Hitler which in itself was too frank and too brutal, could have been replaced by some other



method of request, but then too, the Roosevelts, who are lovers of the limelight, must do something to keep in the public's eyes. He has almost made himself the laughing stock of the world, by his curt peace proposal and from now on, strict neutrality should be his theme song, in order to avoid further embarrassment.

## 2. Danger of War or Was Peace Assured?

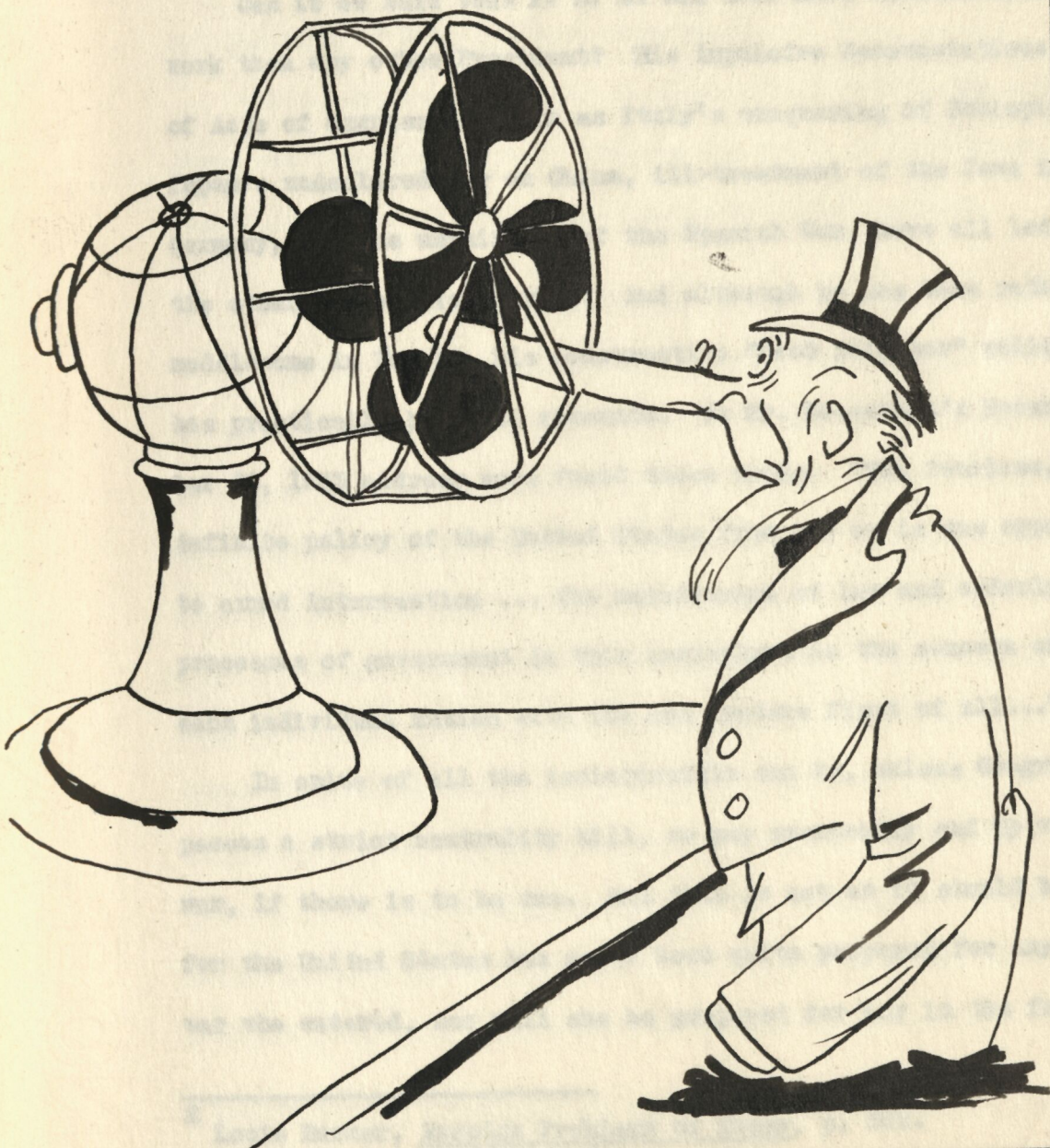
Said T. Roosevelt in his "Autobiography," "When I left the Presidency, I finished seven and a half years of administration, during which time not one shot had been fired against a foreign foe. We were at absolute peace, and there was no nation with whom a war cloud threatened; no nation in the world whom we had wronged, or from whom we had anything to fear." <sup>1</sup>

Through this, no doubt, we can see that the ideal nation's foreign policy is seldom permanent. Less than a decade later, we found ourselves on the side of the democracies in the great World War. Theodore Roosevelt's tack is exemplified by his handling of Germany in the Venezuela affair. It was a good bluff and it worked; but sometimes war results from such a step. Had Theodore Roosevelt been allowed to put his "big

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<sup>1</sup>Note: (Had Venezuela been a little closer to Germany the Kaiser would have declared war and Theodore Roosevelt would not have been able to make this statement, part of which is untrue.)





*Wouldn't It be Awful If Someone Started It*

(Reproduced from Newsweek, April 24,



stick" method into action, the Spanish-American War might have been avoided.

Can it be said that F. D. R. has done more constructive work than any other President? His impulsive denunciations of Acts of aggression, such as Italy's conquering of Ethiopia, Japan's undeclared war on China, ill-treatment of the Jews in Germany, and the unfairness of the Spanish War, have all led the other democracies" cries. And although he has been rather meddling in Europe, his constructive "Good Neighbor" policy has practically balanced accounts. In Mr. Roosevelt's December 28, 1933 address were found these words: "The fearless, definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention ... The maintenance of law and orderly processes of government in this hemisphere is the concern of each individual nation with its own borders first of all..."<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all the isolationists can do, unless Congress passes a strict neutrality bill, we may eventually end up with war, if there is to be one. But this is not as it should be, for the United States has never been quite prepared for any war she entered, nor will she be prepared for any in the future.

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<sup>2</sup> Louis Hacker, Foreign Problems of Today, p. 202.



Mr. Roosevelt is still in office; will he still be there when the next war will be declared? <sup>3</sup>

## B. Feelings of Public Toward Government

Was there internal unity or class strife during the time these men were Presidents? And was the trend of government and its policies toward centralization or decentralization?

### 1. Internal Unity or Class Strife?

As far as the country was concerned internally, it can be said that Theodore Roosevelt's administration was hampered as far as unity among classes was concerned, whereas Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration has been very fortunate in not having organized groups with which to deal. Theodore found much of his popularity in the way he gave his "square deal." Capitalists and laborers were treated alike, and only that legislation which would aid both groups would he permit to be passed. Class strife was prevalent during the administration of T. R. and through his diplomatic ability he averted much bitter feeling between the different groups under his control. <sup>4</sup> Franklin Roosevelt's troubles with these two groups have been

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<sup>3</sup> Note: (A war is coming but no historian will predict anything.)

<sup>4</sup> Note: (A good example was his action concerning the Anthracite Coal Strike.)



more regular and with fierceness. The Steel Strike in Chicago and the General Motor's 'Sitdown' Strike were of much concern to his administration. The methods by which such strikes occurred were more systematized than those under T. R., and were much more deadly, but they were organized. On the whole, both men treated all groups with the same fairness as exemplified in their deals "New" and "Square."

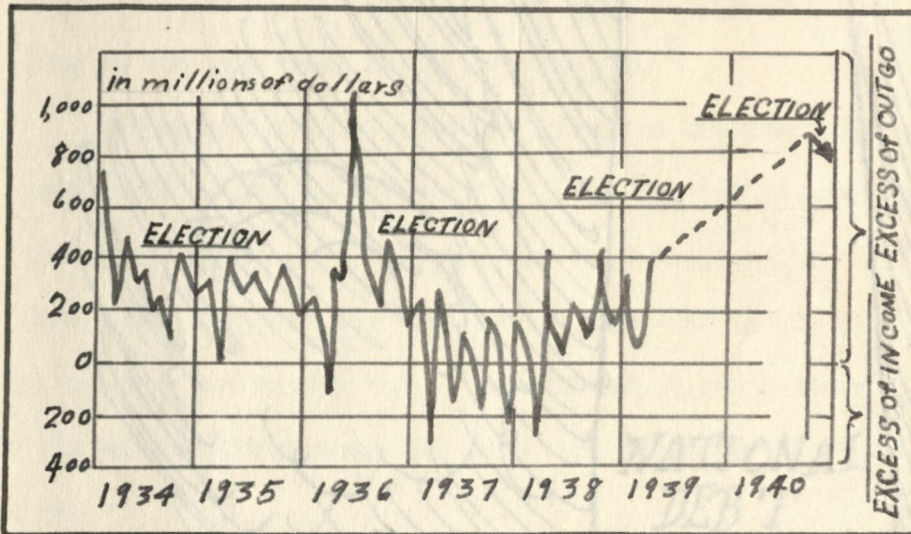
## 2. Centralization or Decentralization?

Although two departments were added to the government during Theodore Roosevelt's seven years and a half in office, his government was far from centralized. Corruptness which was slowly being extinguished by Civil Service, still held much sway and was the root of much evil which kept the government from getting grip on situations it deserved.

Through many laws such as the Neutrality bill, more power has been put into the hands of the executive department from 1932 until the present. As a result, government has come more together, and, as a matter of fact, is taking many of the powers held by the states and other agencies, most of which are private. The writer believes such moves are for the betterment

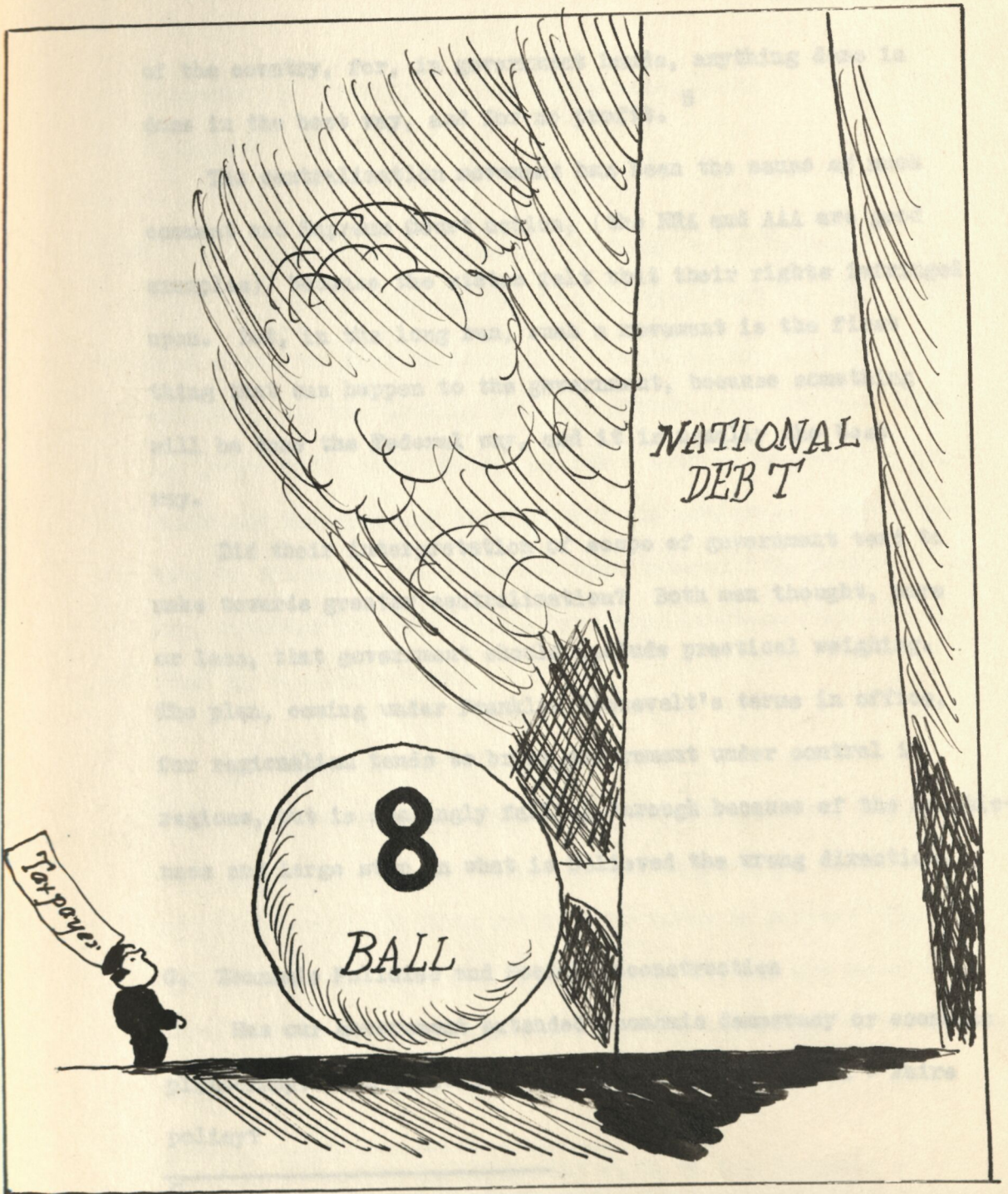


SPENDING, LENDING, ELECTIONEERING



As in 1934, 1936, and 1938, the New Deal hopes to reach a pump-priming peak just before the 1940 election. The dotted line running from April, 1939 to September-October, 1940 points upward to the theoretical peak and is not intended to represent actual fluctuations of the spending curve, which, of course, will include some billions of regular outgo, as well as the \$870,000,000 in the President's latest request.





(Reproduced from Newsweek--May 22, 1939)



of the country, for, in government hands, anything done is done in the best way, and for no profit.<sup>5</sup>

The centralization movement has been the cause of much comment and Supreme Court action, (the NRA and AAA are good examples), because the states felt that their rights infringed upon. But, in the long run, such a movement is the first thing that can happen to the government, because something will be done the Federal way, and it is usually the best way.

Did their interpretation of scope of government tend to make towards greater centralization? Both men thought, more or less, that government should include practical weighing. The plan, coming under Franklin Roosevelt's terms in office, for regionalism tends to bring government under control in regions, but is seemingly falling through because of the drasticness and large step in what is believed the wrong direction.

### C. Economic Policies and Social Reconstruction

Has our government extended economic democracy or economic plutocracy? Has it followed a regulation of Laissez - Faire policy?

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Note: The Late Hatch Bill, will lower the possibility of the mixture of government and politics and promote still better work for the taxpayer.



Theodore and Franklin agreed along these lines -- or did they disagree?

1. Extension of Economic Democracy or Plutocracy?

As was said before, the "Square Deal" and the "New Deal" have stood for justice for all. <sup>6</sup> Legislation, like the Food and Drug Act, the Housing Act, the Hipburn Act, and the Wages and Hours Bill, have really created a balance between the producer and consumer and the employer and employee. Exploitation by the money class has not been tolerated by either of the men, although pressure groups have kept Congress from giving them the necessary time.

2. Regulation or Laissez-Faire?

As was stated in answering the last question, has government stuck its hand in the pie as far as business was concerned under both F. D. R.'s and T. R.'s terms in office? The TVA, Boulder Dam Project, and the Roosevelt Dam are providing power that should be private industries, according to the Laissez-Faire Method, but are now government projects.

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<sup>6</sup> Note: (It might be added that F. D. R. has fostered a "soak the rich" program which has not been too successful. Although much has been said about economic royalists, little has been done.)



Had Franklin D. Roosevelt waited for prosperity to "come from around that corner," as Hoover did, would we still be in an awful depression? The first Roosevelt's advocations were not as strong as those of his following relative, mainly because such steps would be too drastic against the Laissez-Faire principle with which we were confronted at the beginning of this country.

All in all, the government's changing attitudes and functions have been raised since John Doe Public took such an active part in the political life of the country, and they have raised Mr. Public to a much higher position than that of his grandfather, and in the future, if war and the "isms" will permit, his grandchildren will live in practically a Utopia.

Elson and his fluent English best express the future of the United States and the people who are Americans when he says:

"What of the future of America?"<sup>7</sup> The question can be answered only through the unfolding of the years and the centuries. As a people we are, no doubt, on the upgrade. Our system of universal education, the unselfish work of the church and of many civic and benevolent organizations are molding the minds and hearts of millions. As a whole, the American people are intensely patriotic and there is no doubt that the great majority love justice and mean well, and if so, the future is safe. We have great problems

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<sup>7</sup> Note: (Herbert Hoover, ex-president and powerful fighter of "New Deal" policies in his book American Ideals vs the New Deal, says, F. D. R's administration is a flop.



yet to be solved, and we shall perhaps be no more exempt in the future from blunders and relapses and discouragements than we have been in the past. But we are making progress, and, as a whole, we are steadily advancing in intelligence and in civic and moral virtue, and herein lies the hope for the future. If the people are capable of seeing what is wrong, when things go wrong, the future is safe." <sup>8</sup>

Sources:

1. *Speeches of F. D. Roosevelt*, Vol. 1, p. 1027.
2. *Speeches of F. D. Roosevelt*, Vol. 2, p. 1027.
3. *Speeches of F. D. Roosevelt*, Vol. 3, p. 1027.
4. *Speeches of F. D. Roosevelt*, Vol. 4, p. 1027.

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<sup>8</sup> Henry Elson, History of the United States, p. 1027.

Note: (If either FDR, TR, or the writer had a speech to make on the future of our great country, the writer feels it would be much like that stated above.)



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