

By John Boettger

THROUGH most of these last nine months the exponents of the New Deal have talked in a military—and sometimes militaristic—fashion about their War on the Depression. Members of the cabinet have discoursed over the radio and over banquet tables, and while receiving their first honorary degrees in erudition, about the operation of the New Deal. The nation has heard strong appeals to patriotism; the cry has been for a submerging of individual rights and of fundamental laws into a rallying behind the President, all on the ground that the emergencies of today have called for sterner action than those emergencies even of the great war.

The NRA, under its military-man commander, Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, has spread its control over industry, much as government control was spread in wartime. For that matter, one of Gen. Johnson's leading associates during a radio speech last night out at employers who resisted the advance of the Blue Eagle, and he termed them "slackers," and said that in wartime the women "would pin white feathers" on such.

In carrying out the analogy thus suggested by the generals of the New Deal, an inquiry has been

GENERALS OF THE ROOSEVELT NEW DEAL—THEIR WAR RECORDS

and was headed by Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes of Yale and Dr. Harry Pratt Judson of the University of Chicago.

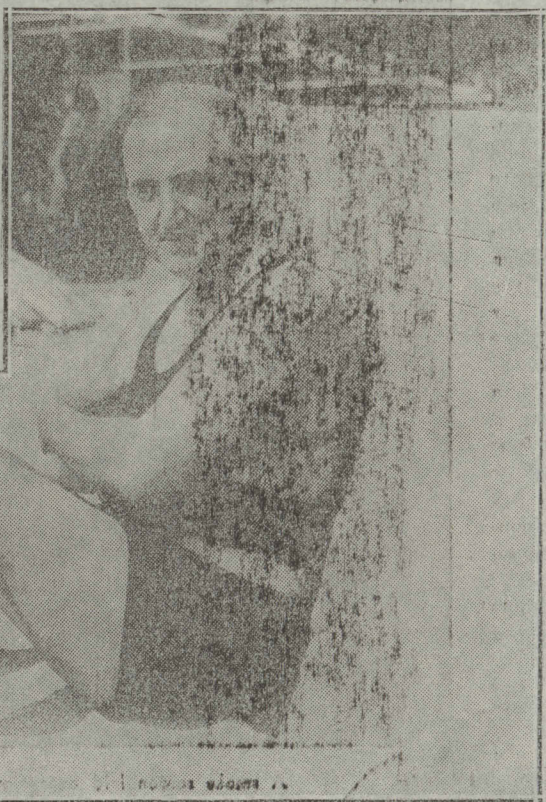
The services rendered by the union, as explained by Prof. Tugwell as well as by the sponsors of the organization, were in supplying information to American students as to courses and qualifications for degrees in European universities. The union facilitated the access of American students to British and French universities after their arrival in London and Paris. Similar information was made available to European

August and childless, was then an instructor in politics at Western Reserve university.

His war service was that of director of Americanization for the Ohio State Council of Defense. During the war he began the writing of "Lessons in American Citizenship" and he wrote also "The State Movement for Efficiency and Economy."

DIRECTOR DOUGLAS

HERE is one man—and seemingly only one—in the so-called Brains Trust, who was



"Much of the New Deal is Moley's" . . . Prof. Raymond Moley in an unprofessional pose at Palm Beach. (Acme photo.)

ever in any physical danger, and who was actually under fire of the enemy, and of whom it may truthfully be said he is politically modest on the subject. This is partly perhaps, because he has campaigned in Congress, and as the Roosevelt director of the budget, to cut off millions from the payments to disabled war veterans. He has refused to capitalize his own heroic service in any effort which might assuage the wrath against him of the organized veterans.

A reporter asked Lewis Williams Douglas about his war record, and mentioned two citations for heroic conduct. "What the hell was I cited for?" he demanded, and truly it appeared that he didn't know. The records at the war department disclose that Mr. Douglas won the order of the Purple Heart, a meritorious service citation certificate, and the order of the Silver Star, a citation by Gen. Pershing, for heroic conduct in the Meuse-Argonne offensive.

The records also show that those certificates, which most men would hang with justifiable pride on the walls of home or office, are yellowing, un-called for, in the files of the department of war. Director Douglas also won the Belgian War Cross, but almost with irritation he says "It was for something very innocuous that I don't remember now."

"I remember vaguely having been cited by Gen. Pershing for something or other," he replies to insistent queries.

But for all his reticence about it, the records show that he spent most of his time overseas, between July 19, 1918, and the Armistice, under fire. He participated in at least two offensives, the Argonne and the Lys-Escourt. Shot at many times, and giving as good in return, he refuses to recall the death of any man at his hand. He was 22 years old, and unmarried when war was declared.

HENRY MORGENTHAU JR.

CLOSEST advisers to the President on the monetary front of the Roosevelt Brains Trust are Henry Morgenthau Jr., acting secretary of the treasury, and the two professors who are credited with being the administration's gold doctors.

Mr. Morgenthau was 25 years old when the United States joined the war; he was married and had one child. But he volunteered four times for military service, in army, navy and marine corps, and was rejected each time because of defective eyesight.

He was turned down in the draft. But through his father, ambassador to Turkey at the time and an influential man in the administration, young Henry finally entered his way into the navy, on Sept. 3, 1918, with the rank of lieutenant, junior grade. But because of his poor eyesight he was stationed in the office of the naval overseas transportation service, in New York, during the remaining two months of the war.



"Only one . . . who was actually under fire" . . . Lewis Williams Douglas, director of the budget.

PROFESSOR ROGERS

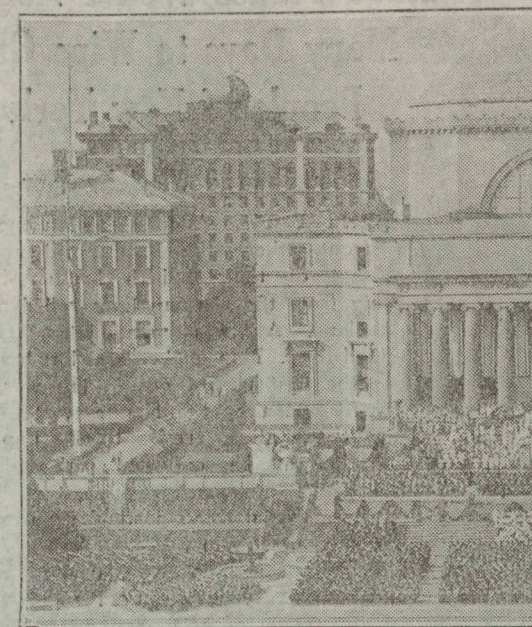
JAMES HARVEY ROGERS, the second of the President's professional monetary advisers, says that his war record was "exactly nothing." But he was in uniform for "virtually" the duration of the struggle, some thirteen months. He spent the whole time in the ordnance department at Washington in scientific work, which he explains consisted mainly in making estimates of American artillery needs.

Prior to his being commissioned a first lieutenant in the army he was a technician for the Council of National Defense. He was 30 years old at the time.

JAMES WARBURG

THE PRESIDENT formerly headed the counsel of James Paul Warburg, of the New York banking family of Washington, especially on financial matters; but Mr. Warburg effectively read himself out of the Brains Trust last Nov. 22 with the delivery of a speech in which he condemned strongly the Roosevelt-Warren-Rogers money policy.

Mr. Warburg, incidentally, was born in Ham-



"Brain center of the Brains Trust, Columbia University." (Associated Press photo.)

burg, Germany, being brought to the United States during his infancy. Eighteen days after the American entry into the world war, when he was 20 years old, Mr. Warburg joined the navy. For a time he was stationed at the naval observatory in Washington, later serving at Rockaway Beach, L. I., and Newark, N. J., in connection with the installation of aviation instruments.

He was commissioned a lieutenant, junior grade in the naval reserve flying corps in October, 1918, and had temporary duty at Dayton, Ohio. He did not get overseas, and according to naval record was not an actual pilot because of had eyesight, although he did engage in flying in connection



"Closest adviser to the President on the monetary front" . . . Henry Morgenthau Jr., acting secretary of the Treasury. (Associated Press photo.)

with the installation of aviation instruments in planes. He was married during the period of his enlistment.

DONALD RICHBERG

THE general in the New Deal array who attacked employers for refusing to join the NRA is Donald R. Richberg, chief counsel for the NRA.

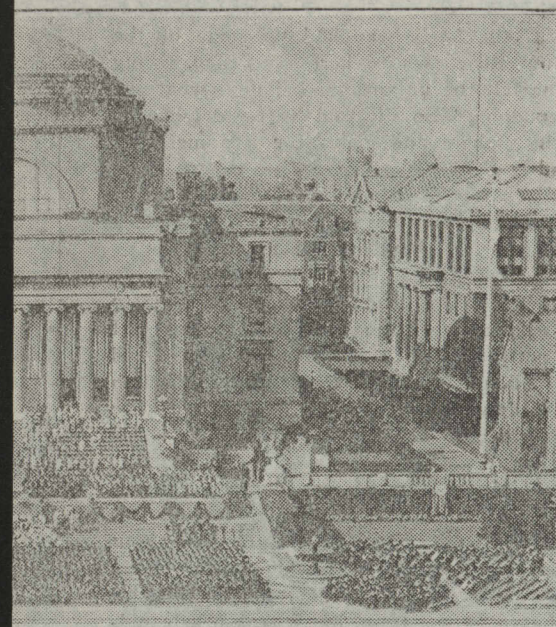
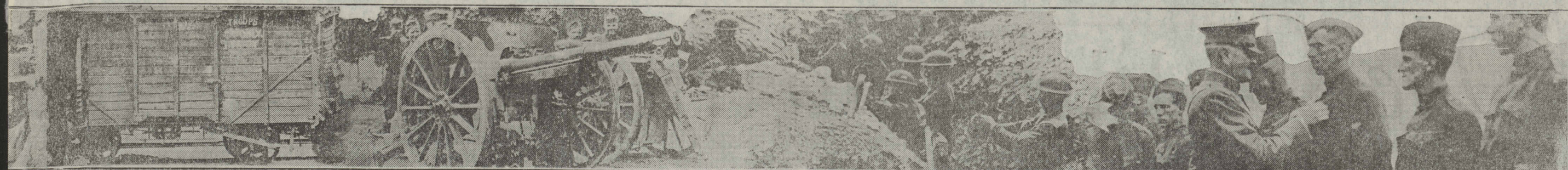
In his speech, delivered over the National Broadcasting network last July 31, Mr. Richberg declared that "America is again at war," and in the course of that address he said:

"Who is the man who holds back—who waits to



(U. S. War Dept. photo.) "What the hell was I cited for?" asked Douglas. The scene is a bit of action in the Meuse-Argonne offensive where Douglas won his citation from Pershing.

see what the other fellow is going to do before he volunteers? He is the man who has endangered victory in every war—the man who is too timid or too selfish even to take a chance that his gov-

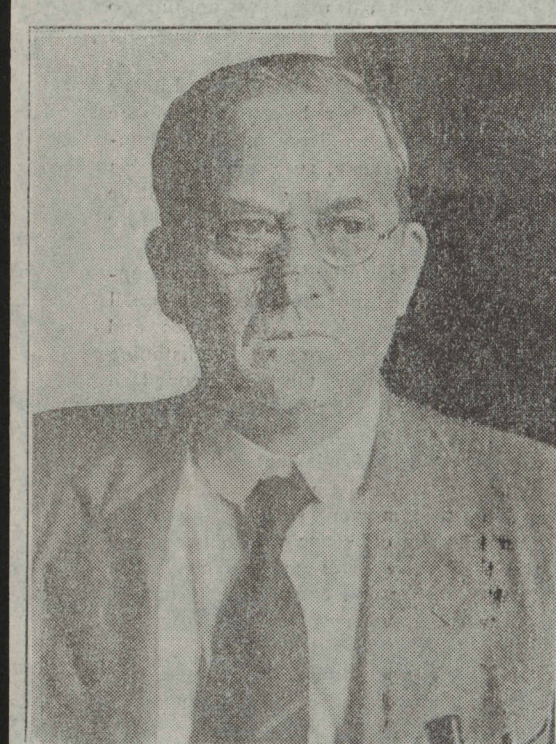


George Nelson Peek, who . . . "didn't wait for America to join the war."

ernment may be right and that his country may win the war.

"He is the man who dreads to strike a blow in fear that someone may hit back. He is the man who always lets the other fellow take the risk, while he follows close behind to take the profit. In time of war we call these people slackers—and women pin white feathers on them; so they may be recognized."

Mr. Richberg was childless and wifeless during most of the war, but his service was limited to work as a "Four Minute Speaker" in Liberty loan drives, in Chicago, under the Illinois Council of Defense. He was 35 years old when the United



"One of the gold doctors . . . Prof. George Frederick Warren."



"America is again at war," said Donald R. Richberg (right), chief counsel for the NRA, shown with his former law partner, Clarence Darrow. (Associated Press photo.)

States entered the war on April 6, 1917, at which time he was separated from his first wife.

He divorced this wife, on May 23, 1917, and a year later, on May 28, 1918, he married a second time. The first draft registration, held on June 5, 1917, was for men between 21 and 31 years of age. On Aug. 31, 1918, the law was amended to make registration necessary for men between the ages of 18 and 45.

Mr. Richberg, then 37, registered on Sept. 12, 1918, and was sent a questionnaire on Nov. 7, 1918. The records show that he claimed exemption 4-A, which was that a wife was dependent on him. The Armistice came just four days later and there was no classification in Mr. Richberg's case.

Divorced again, Mr. Richberg has married a

third time, on Dec. 24, 1924, and by his present wife, the former Florence Weed, he has his only child, a daughter.

Mr. Richberg, when questioned about his war record, made the point, without claiming it as in any sense touching upon military service, that he had been in public service through his representing the city of Chicago in gas rate litigation. He asserted that he had saved the gas users of Chicago \$10,000,000 by reason of the litigation in which he figured.



James Paul Warburg, of the New York banking Warburgs, who . . . "read himself out of the Brains Trust."

The records of the Chicago city controller show that in 14 years, while Mr. Richberg was special counsel in the gas litigation cases, he received a total of \$133,199 in fees from the city, as follows:

1914	\$ 425	1921	\$15,225
1915	5,650	1922	6,700
1916	19,551	1923	4,148
1917	13,449	1924	3,450
1918	13,640	1925	15,669
1919	11,000	1926	7,550
1920	12,841	1927	2,800
TOTAL		\$133,199	

Other data showed that Mr. Richberg's expert engineering assistant drew approximately \$350,000, and that in all \$682,000 was spent in the gas litigation, of which more than \$600,000 was paid by the city during the time Richberg was on the pay roll.

The goal in the litigation was a \$10,000,000 refund to the gas users of Chicago, but not a dollar of refund was obtained, and former Corporation Counsel Samuel E. Elston, at the conclusion of the Richberg service, declared the results of the huge expenditure were "nil," and that the "whole thing was a farce."

As for Mr. Richberg's assertion that he did obtain a rate reduction amounting to \$10,000,000, he said that the gas company's attorneys had in-



"America is again at war," said Donald R. Richberg (right), chief counsel for the NRA, shown with his former law partner, Clarence Darrow. (Associated Press photo.)

cluded in one of their pleadings a claim that his activities had brought a reduction of their revenues in that amount.

Attorneys for the gas company were unable to recall such a statement, but it is believed that his activity in fighting for a lower valuation of the company's assets, for rate fixing purposes, brought the claim.

Mr. Richberg's father was paralyzed in 1915, and lingered a cripple until 1918. The NRA counsel declares that his mother, brothers and two sisters were dependent upon him during the war period.

In addition to his services for the city, Mr. Richberg was in the general practice of law, and was a master in chancery for the Circuit court.

GEORGE PEEK

GEORGE NELSON PEEK didn't wait for America to join the war, and on that April 6, 1917, he was already in France, helping the French government to amass military materials. He was summoned back to the United States by Alex Legge, who had headed his competitor in the farm machinery business, and who wanted Peek's services for the war industries board.



George Nelson Peek, who . . . "didn't wait for America to join the war."

the American Distinguished Service Medal; he was made a chevalier of the French Legion of Honor, a Commander of the Belgian Order of the Crown, and Knight of the Crown of Italy.

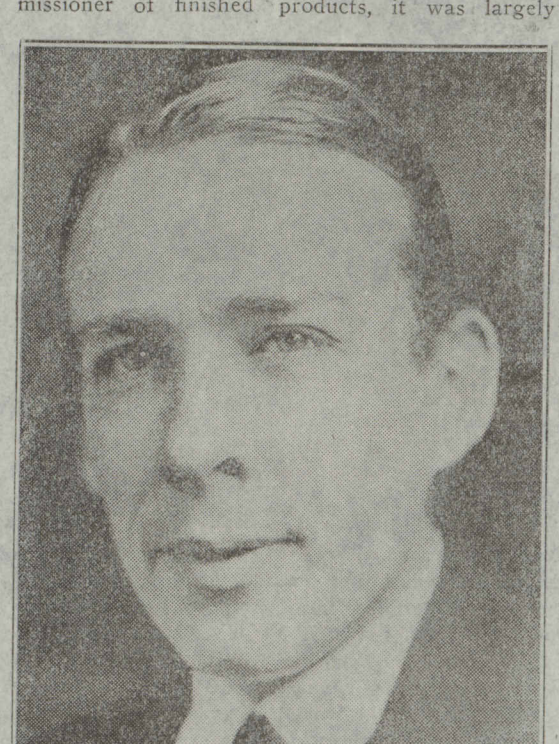
His contribution to the war, as told in the citation for his D.S.M., dated 1923, follows:

"PEEK, GEORGE N.—Commissioner of Finished Products, War Industries Board, in connection with the operation of the War Industries



Prof. Mordecai Ezekiel, who . . . "produced an algebraic formula for the raising of pigs."

board during the World War. As a member of the board he rendered, through his broad vision, distinguished capacity, and business ability, services of inestimable value in marshaling the industrial forces of the nation and mobilizing its economic resources—marked factors in assisting to make military success attainable. As commissioner of finished products, it was largely



"One of the first . . . members of the Roosevelt Brains Trust" . . . Adolf Augustus Berle Jr.



Charles William Taussig

"Connected . . . with sugar interests in Cuba."

through his untiring efforts and devotion to duty that the supply bureaus of the war department were able to maintain a constant flow of munitions as well as supplies of a general character to the army.

MORDECAI EZEKIEL

NOTED as the agricultural economist who produced an algebraic formula for the raising of pigs, Prof. Ezekiel, one of the authors of the Roosevelt farm plan, little looks or acts the part of a military man.

Thus it was a bit surprising to find that on July 5, 1918, at the age of 19, he enlisted at the third Plattsburg training camp, and already had had five years of military training at the University of Maryland.

He was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry on Sept. 16, 1918, and served three months in a non-commissioned officers' camp, the S. A. T. C. camp at Dartmouth, college, being mustered out of service there on Dec. 21, 1918.

ADOLF BERLE JR.

ONE of the first, pre-inaugural, pre-election members of the Roosevelt Brains Trust was Adolf Augustus Berle Jr., who was a volunteer in the 13th field signal battalion in May, 1917, at the age of 21.

He was sent to Plattsburg, was commissioned a second lieutenant, and assigned to the general staff in February, 1918. Sent to Santo Domingo to look into the sugar industry there, he remained until June, 1918, when he served on the general staff as an expert in Russian economics.

Mr. Berle recalls that he was transferred to the intelligence service and sent to France just before the Armistice, although the war department records indicate he remained at the Army War college in Washington until Nov. 23, 1918. He was assigned to special duty at Versailles during the peace conference, reporting to Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, and he remained at Versailles until July 6, 1919. His service at Versailles was also as a Russian expert, and among his associates there was the American ambassador to Russia, William C. Bullitt.

Mr. Berle, according to the war department records, was honorably discharged at Washington, D. C., on July 29, 1919. The records do not show his service in Santo Domingo, which was not of a military nature.

CHARLES TAUSSIG

MR. BERLE and Charles William Taussig are generally credited about Washington with having engineered the end of the Machado regime in Cuba, a grand coup conducted by Ambassador Welles under the President's direction, but a coup which turned into a fiasco as the De Cespedes government set up under Welles' influence collapsed and gave way to the violent rule of common soldiers under Grau San Martin.

Mr. Taussig is connected with the American Molasses company, with sugar interests in Cuba. He was 20 years old at the American entry into the World War, and enlisted in the naval reserve three days before war was declared.

But he served only two months, according to the navy records, which show that he was discharged on June 3, 1917, to engage in contract work with the government.

Asked to explain this, Mr. Taussig said that in the beginning of his service he was stationed at the Brooklyn Navy yard, as a radio electrician.

"At that time," he continued, "our own factory (the American Molasses company), was manufacturing a substitute for glycerine, a by-product called molomoline. I got leave every few days to take care of technical work at the factory."

Finally the commanding officer of the yard, who felt of the nature of my private work, suggested I be released to devote full time to it."

Mr. Taussig said the by-product, molomoline, was



Prof. William L. Wilson, who . . . "left his professional duties" . . . to join the Roosevelt Brains Trust.

used in the manufacture of explosives for war munitions, and when asked if his company had profited by selling the material to the government, he said it had been contracted to the government by a subsidiary of his company. The only contracts his own company had with the government, he said, were for the "canning of syrups and molasses for the army commissary."

PROFESSOR WILSON

MILBURN L. WILSON, who left his professional duties at the Montana state school of agriculture to join the Roosevelt Brains Trust, who had a part in devising the farm program and now is in charge of a \$25,000,000 experiment by

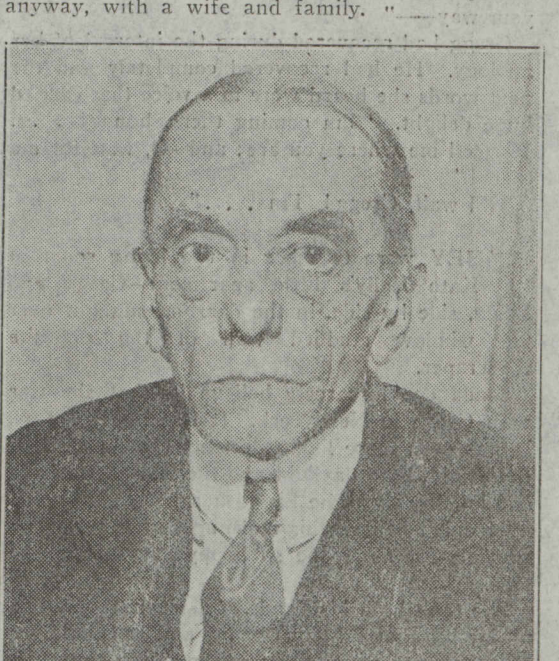


Postmaster General James Farley (left) conversing with the President. Secretary Howe in the rear.

the government in subsistence home-staying, was 32 years old at the outbreak of war, and had been married three years. He was exempted from the draft, and was in charge of county agricultural agents in the state of Montana during the war.

SECRETARY HOWE

LOUIS MCHENRY HOWE, secretary to the President, who had been guiding Mr. Roosevelt's budding political career since long before the war, acted as his secretary while Mr. Roosevelt was assistant secretary of the navy during both Wilson administrations. He was 46 years old anyway, with a wife and family.



(Associated Press photo.) Louis McHenry Howe . . . "who has been guiding Mr. Roosevelt's political career."



"Military-man commander" . . . of the NRA, Hugh S. Johnson (left) at Warm Springs, Ga., with William C. Bullitt, envoy to Russia, John J. Raskob, and the President.

directed toward discovering what service those generals rendered to their country during the World War.

So this is the war record of the Roosevelt Brains Trust.

PROFESSOR TUGWELL

THE present leader of the Brains Trust, since the fall of Moley, is Prof. Rexford Guy Tugwell, assistant secretary of agriculture. Prof. Tugwell was 25 years old when the United States joined the Allies, had been married three years and was the father of two children.

At the time he was an instructor in economics at the University of Pennsylvania, but in the same year he went as an assistant professor to the University of Washington.

Then in May of 1918 Prof. Tugwell went to Paris, to join the staff of the American University union, which was founded in 1917 "to meet the needs of college men overseas." The union was supported by some fifty colleges and universities,



"Present leader of the Brains Trust" . . . Prof. Rexford Guy Tugwell. (Acme photo.)

PROFESSOR WARREN

ONE of the gold doctors aiding the President is Prof. George Frederick Warren, who was 43 years old at America's war entry, and was well along in the raising of his family of six children. He was professor of farm management at Cornell university during the war.

PROFESSOR MOLEY

ALTHOUGH it is true that Raymond Moley has gone to editing the magazine Today, after the suave Secretary Hull made the professor's stay in government service untenable, no one rightfully could exclude him from a generalizing in the Roosevelt New Deal.

Much of the New Deal is Moley's. His social and political and economic philosophy courses through most of it, and even today the President quietly and under cover, seeks occasional counsel and help from the editor-professor.

Mr. Moley, 30 years old at the American entry into the World War, married the preceding

