

PAPERS OF REXFORD G. TUGWELL

1911-1972

Accession Nos.: 44-134-1, 52-4:1, 52-5, 57-6, 59-12, 59-15, 61-2,  
65-5, 66-5, 67-15, 69-4, 72-11, 73-33, 78-2,  
82-14.

The Papers were presented to the Library by Rexford G. Tugwell. Mrs. Tugwell has reserved to herself for her lifetime, copyright interests in the unpublished manuscripts; otherwise Dr. and Mrs. Tugwell's copyright interest has been donated to the United States Government. *Mrs. Grace Tugwell died 3-23-01.*

Quantity: 50 linear feet

Restrictions: None

Related Materials: President's Official File I and 1K (Department of Agriculture)  
President's Official File 6S (Department of Interior: Division of Territories and Island Possessions)  
President's Official File 208DD (Puerto Rico)  
President's Official File 400 - Federal Appointments: Puerto Rico  
President's Personal File 564 (Tugwell)  
President's Secretary's File: Puerto Rico  
President's Secretary's File: Department of Agriculture: Tugwell  
President's Secretary's File: Tugwell, Rexford G.  
Ezekiel Papers  
Gardner Jackson Papers  
Morgenthau Diaries  
Taussig Papers  
Wallace Papers  
Columbia Oral History Transcript on microfiche  
Fragmentary tapes and transcripts of the Tugwell Oral History Project at Warm Springs  
Wickard Papers

Biographical Note

1891, July 10	Born, Sinclairville, New York
1911-1915	Attended Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania
1915-1918	Taught at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Washington
1918	Served as manager of American University Union in Europe
1920	Began teaching at Columbia University
1922	Awarded doctorate from University of Pennsylvania
1932	Became a member of the "Brains Trust"
1933	Appointed Assistant Secretary of Agriculture
1934	Appointed Under Secretary of Agriculture
1935	Director of the Resettlement Administration
1936	Resigned from the Department of Agriculture
1937	Resigned from Columbia University and became a vice president of the American Molasses Co.
1938	Appointed Chairman of the Planning Department of the New York City Planning Commission
1941	Appointed Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico
1942	Appointed Governor of Puerto Rico and member of the Caribbean Commission
1946	Became professor of economics and director of the Institute of Planning at the University of Chicago
1949	Acted as visiting professor of political science at the London School of Economics
1957	Retired from the University of Chicago and the Caribbean Commission
1959	Served as Hillman Lecturer at Howard University
1961-1964	Acted as Puerto Rican development counselor

Biographical Note - continued

1962-1963	Taught at Columbia University Summer Session
1964-1965	Was counselor for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
1965-1966	Served as research professor in political science at the University of Southern Illinois in Carbondale
1966-1979	Served as senior fellow in political science at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
1979	Died July 21, 1979

Rexford Guy Tugwell was born in Sinclairville, New York, on July 10, 1891, and grew up in the rural areas of western New York. He was educated at the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania, obtaining his doctorate in economics from that institution in 1922.

Throughout most of his adult life, Tugwell was associated with the academic community. In 1932 he had an opportunity to put his economic theories to practical use. With two Columbia colleagues, Raymond Moley and Adolf Berle, he became a member of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Brains Trust". Among other things, he was involved in planning the Agriculture Adjustment Act. Tugwell was a champion of the public interest and advocated more government control over business. His strong opinions and aversion to compromise made him a very controversial figure during his years in public life.

In 1933, Tugwell was appointed an assistant secretary in the Department of Agriculture. He soon became involved in an attempt to reform the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. A year later he was made Under Secretary of Agriculture and, in 1935, Director of the Resettlement Administration. His particular interest was in suburban resettlement which included the concept of the greenbelt or garden city.

After the 1936 election, Tugwell resigned from the Government. Following a brief stint as a vice president of the American Molasses Company, he was appointed chairman of the planning department of the New York City Planning Commission in 1938. In this post, Tugwell displayed both a thorough knowledge of planning and a talent for administration which won for him the admiration of his colleagues. He was also able to use these talents effectively as governor of Puerto Rico. When he was appointed governor in 1942, plans for a socio-economic revolution in Puerto Rico had already been made. Tugwell's greatest contribution was in helping to set up a strong and efficient administration to serve as a base for the revolution. He was the last colonial governor appointed to office. After his term in office the citizens of Puerto Rico were given the power to elect their own public officials.

Tugwell returned to teaching in 1946, becoming professor of economics and director of the Institute of Planning at the University of Chicago. He continued to serve as a member of the Caribbean Commission and as an advisor on Puerto Rican affairs.

In 1957, Tugwell retired from the University of Chicago and from the Caribbean Commission but remained active as a lecturer and writer. The many books he wrote include The Stricken Land, 1946; A Chronicle of Jeopardy, 1955; The Democratic Roosevelt, 1957; The Enlargement of the Presidency, 1960; The Light of Other Days, 1962; F.D.R.: Architect of an Era, 1967; The Brains Trust,

1968; and In Search of Roosevelt, 1972. Tugwell was affiliated with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, California from 1957 until his death on July 21, 1979.

The Tugwell Papers contain a large amount of correspondence relating to his writings and other professional activities. There are significant files on the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, the New York City Planning Commission, Puerto Rico, University of Chicago Institute of Planning and on World Government. The files contain very little family correspondence.

A large accretion to the papers, received in 1982, has been integrated into the files. A list of materials added is found in the back of this finding aid.

The Tugwell Papers are divided into five series as follows:

CONTAINER	CONTENTS
1-29	General Correspondence, 1927-1962: Incoming and outgoing personal, academic, business and political correspondence arranged alphabetically by subject or surname of correspondent, and thereunder chronologically. The dates following entries in this series indicate the dates of correspondence in these files.
30-42	Diaries, 1932-1961 and Related Material Tugwell's own recollections have been augmented by correspondence and newspaper clippings. The newspapers have been removed from the text and filed in separate folders in the same box with the text. There are time gaps in the diary and, at times, the entries are handwritten and in unpolished form.
43-50	Subject Files: Contains correspondence and reports relating to areas of special interest to Tugwell. Additional correspondence on these topics may be found in the General Correspondence File.
51-110	Speech and Writings File, 1911-1979: Manuscript and printed copies of speeches, lectures and articles have been arranged chronologically. This is followed by undated material, book manuscripts and proofs, and printed matter from other sources. This file also contains a small amount of correspondence relating to Tugwell's writings.
111-123	Clippings, Scrapbooks and Memorabilia: Consists of unarranged clippings, scrapbooks, diplomas, awards and souvenirs of Tugwell's activities and travels.

Books which accompanied the Tugwell Papers have been placed in the book collection of the Library.

TUGWELL PAPERS

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April 1922 - "Guild Socialism and the Industrial  
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June 1922 - "Human Nature in Economic Theory"  
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April 1923 - "The Life and Work of Simon Nelson  
Patten", The Journal of Political Economy  
April 1924 - "The Distortion of Economic  
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September 1924 - "Our Philosophy of Despair", The  
University Journal of Business  
October 15, 1924 - "The Agricultural Crisis",  
Review of The Agricultural Crisis, 1920-1923 by  
R. R. Enfield  
December 4, 1924 - "Economics and Ethics", Journal  
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December 1924 - "How to Approach the Study of  
Economics", Christmas Conference, (Unpublished)  
December 1924 - "The Problem of Agriculture"  
Political Science Quarterly  
January 21, 1925 - "The Woman in the Sunbonnet"  
Review of The Woman on the Farm by Mary Meek  
Atkeson  
July 15, 1925 - "Society and Scientific Method"  
Review of Conservatism, Radicalism, and  
Scientific Method by Albert B. Wolfe  
1926 - Review of The Confessions of a Capitalist  
by Ernest J. B. Beun  
1926 - "The Dismal Science" Review of Three  
Economics Texts  
1927 - Review of Political Myths and Economic  
Realities by Francis Delaisi  
April 6, 1927 - "America's War-Time Socialism"  
The Nation  
June 1927 - "McNary-Haugenism" (Unpublished)  
June 15, 1927 - "What Will become of the Farmer?"  
The Nation

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1928 - "Governor Smith's Dilemma", New Republic  
1928 - "Government and Industry in the United  
States" to be published in Russia  
1928 - "The Republicans and the Trade Commission",  
New Republic  
1928 - "Bankers Banks", New Republic



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1928 - Political Economy of Juan de Mariana by John Laures, S. J. Book Review  
 1928 - "Speaking of Issues", New Republic  
 January 1928 - "Toward a National Prosperity"  
 Taylor Society Discussion  
 January 19, 1928 - "Experience as Science",  
Journal of Philosophy  
 February 22, 1928 - Communism by Harold Laski, Book  
 Review for New Republic  
 April 18, 1928 - "The Paradox of Peace", Report of  
Conference on the Cause and Cure of War and in  
New Republic  
 May 1928 - "Farm Relief - 1928 Model", The New Re-  
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 May 2, 1928 - "Hunger, Cold and Candidates", The  
New Republic  
 May 16, 1928 - "Contemporary Economics", The New  
Republic  
 May 16, 1928 - "Governor or President?", The New  
Republic  
 May 16, 1928 - "Russian Fact - Communist Doctrine"  
The New Republic  
 May 30, 1928 - "Platforms and Candidates", The New  
Republic  
 June 6, 1928 - "Experimental Control In Russian  
 Industry", Political Science Quarterly  
 June 13, 1928 - "Our Scientific Tariff", The New  
Republic  
 July 11, 1928 - "Wage-Pressure and Efficiency",  
The New Republic  
 December 1928 - "Reflections on Farm Relief"  
Political Science Quarterly  
 March 1929 - "Farm Relief and a Permanent Agri-  
 culture", The Annals of Political and Social  
Science  
 1930 - Review of Robots or Men? A French Workman's  
Experience in American Industry by Henri Dubreuil  
 1930 - Review of America Looks Abroad: The New  
Economic Horizons by Paul M. Magur  
 c. 1930 - "The Tariff and International Relations"  
 January 1930 - "The Conditions of an Agricultural  
 Policy" Radio Speech  
 June-December 1930 - "The Agricultural Policy of  
 France", Political Science Quarterly  
 August 14, 1930 - "Human Nature and Social Economy"  
The Journal of Philosophy  
 1931 - "The Theory of Occupational Obsolescence",  
Political Science Quarterly  
 August 26, 1931 - "Toward Unemployment Insurance"  
 Review of The Problem of Unemployment by Paul H.  
 Douglas and Aaron Director



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- 54 1921-1928 - Course Notes, Outlines, Bibliographies, Exams and Term Papers for Economics Courses at Columbia College
- 55 1932 - "Social Objectives in Education" General Education Board  
 January 30, 1932 - "Rural America in Distress - Is There a Way out for the Farmer?", Luncheon Discussion, League for Industrial Democracy  
 January 30, 1932 - "Responsibility and Economic Distress", NBC Radio  
 June 1932 - "The Modern Temper and the Economic Life", Colgate University  
 1933-1934 - Articles  
   "Untrod Paths" (two versions)  
   "The Senior Partner"  
   "An Experiment in Reconstruction"  
   "Economy of Efficiency"  
   "NRA and AAA"  
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   "Enough to Eat"  
   "Credit and Banking for the Farmers"  
   "25.8 Grains of Gold Nine-Tenths Fine"  
   "Codes and Agreements"  
   "Adjusting the Nation's Backbone"  
   "Men Without Work"  
 March-April 1933 - The Official Record, U.S. Department of Agriculture  
 March 18, 1933 - "Jobs in the Woods", CBS Radio Address  
 March 20, 1933 - "Restoration of Farmers' Purchasing Power", National Farm and Home Hour  
 March 21, 1933 - Address for National Farm and Home Hour  
 June 24, 1933 - "Design for Government", Federal Bar Associations of Western New York  
 July 16, 1933 - "The Ideas Behind the New Deal" New York Times Magazine  
 August 4, 1933 - "Our Lands in Order", NBC Radio  
 August 14, 1933 - "The Process of Recovery", Liberty

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August 17-September 20, 1933 - Log of Trip Through  
Ten Western States  
October 1933 - "The Earner Comes Into His Own"  
The American Legion Monthly  
October 24, 1933 - "The Copeland Bill-and the Food  
Industries", Grocery Trade News  
October 29, 1933 - "Tugwell Talks 'Sound Money' in  
New Terms", Adult Education Association Address  
October 30, 1933 - An Interview Between Mrs.  
Isabella Greenway, Congresswoman-elect from  
Arizona and Tugwell in the NRA Program - CBS  
Radio  
November 14, 1933 - "Managing Money"  
November 15, 1933 - "The Prospect for the Future",  
Grace Church Parish House, Brooklyn, New York  
November 16, 1933 - "The Economics of the Recovery  
Program", Institute of Arts and Sciences  
November 18, 1933 - "Freedom for Fakes", Today  
November 28, 1933 - "The Farm Price Level", Fortune  
December 1933 - "How Shall We Pay For Recovery?"  
The American Magazine  
December 29, 1933 - "The Place of Government in a  
National Land Program", Joint Meeting of the  
American Economic Association, American Statis-  
tical Association, and the Farm Economic Assoc.

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1934 - "Shall We Consent to Idleness?" Commonwealth  
Club (not given)  
1934 - Drafts of Newspaper Column, United Features  
January 14, 1934 - "Renewed Frontiers", New York  
Times  
January 20, 1934 - "The Planned Use of the Land",  
Today  
January 25, 1934 - "The Progressive Tradition",  
Union College  
January 26, 1934 - "Taking Stock", University of  
Cincinnati  
February 2, 1934 - Remarks in Conservation Series,  
NBC Farm and Home Hour  
February 2, 1934 - "Wine, Women and the New Deal",  
Women's National Democratic Club  
"The Methodists Are Offended", Relates to "Wine,  
Women and the New Deal"  
February 12, 1934 - "A New Deal for the Consumer",  
Columbia Alumni Luncheon  
April 21, 1934 - "The Return to Democracy",  
American Society of Newspaper Editors  
April 26, 1934 - Address on the meaning of the New  
Deal to college men, Dartmouth College  
April 28, 1934 - "Economic Freedom and the  
Farmers", New York State Bankers Association

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April 28, 1934 - "America Takes Hold of Its  
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May 1, 1934 - "The Social Responsibility of Tech-  
nical Workers", Organizations of Government  
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May 11, 1934 - Address before the Consumers' League  
of Ohio  
May 12, 1934 - Address at Oberlin College  
May 15, 1934 - "Conservation Redefined", 50th Anni-  
versary of the Founding of New York's Forest  
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May 21, 1934 - "Relief and Reconstruction",  
National Conference of Social Workers  
June 1934 - "The Farmers Control of Industry"  
June 29, 1934 - "Nature and Agricultural Adjust-  
ment", Annual Farm and Home Picnic, Brookings,  
South Dakota  
July 31, 1934 - Address on Farm Policy, CBS Radio  
August 1934 - "Commitments for Tomorrow", New York  
Herald Tribune  
August 1934 - "Toward Sustained Recovery", New  
York Herald Tribune  
August 8, 1934 - Address before the Niagara County  
Pioneer Association, Olcott Beach, New York  
August 15, 1934 - Address at Clemson College, South  
Carolina  
October 24, 1934 - Address before the International  
Institute of Agriculture

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January 28, 1935 - "Argument in Washington", Insti-  
tute of Arts and Sciences  
February 19, 1935 - "The Problem of Social Insecu-  
rity", Chicago Dental Society  
March 1935 - "A Fireside Symposium", Columbia  
University Quarterly  
April 9, 1935 - "A Third Economy", Rochester  
Teachers' Association  
May 3, 1935 - "National Significance of Recent  
Trends in Farm Population", Conference on Popu-  
lation Studies in Relation to Social Planning  
June 10, 1935 - Commencement Address, University of  
New Mexico  
June 22, 1935 - "No More Frontiers", Today  
August 1935 - "Your Future and Your Nation", The  
New Mexico Quarterly  
August 1935 - Social Organization Inventions -  
"Dangerous Patents" by Laury L. Willof. Reviewed  
for Scientific Monthly  
August-September 1935 - "Reflections in Mid-Stream"  
August 7, 1935 - Address at the Tompkins County  
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October 28, 1935 - "Resettlement Administration"  
Olympic Auditorium, Los Angeles  
December 2, 1935 - "The Reason for Resettlement"  
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December 26, 1935 - "Rigid and Flexible Prices",  
Opening Remarks for American Economic Association  
1936 - Article on the 1936 Election  
February 5, 1936 - Cincinnati Speech on  
Resettlement  
September 1936 - "Changing Acres", Current History  
January 10, 1937 - "Behind the Farm Problem: Rural  
Poverty", The New York Times Magazine  
February 1937 - "Cooperation and Resettlement"  
Current History  
February 17, 1937 - "The Meaning of the Greenbelt  
Towns", The New Republic  
May 1937 - "Is a Farmer-Labor Alliance Possible?",  
Harpers  
October 1937 - "On the Troublesome 'X'", Philosophy  
of Science  
October 6, 1937 - "Wesley Mitchell: An Evaluation"  
The New Republic

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1938 - "City Planning Commission"  
February 1938 - "Land of Plenty", Current History  
December 1937 and March 1938 - "Alexander Hamilton:  
Nation-Maker", Columbia University Quarterly  
October 6, 1938 - "The Government of the City of  
New York", New School for Social Research  
October 6, 1938 - "Third Term", Herald-Tribune  
Forum  
November 22, 1938 - Meeting on Housing and Recre-  
ation, Citizens Housing Council of New York  
September and December 1938 - "Francis Lieber:  
German Scholar in America", Columbia University  
Quarterly  
December 13, 1938 - Address Prepared for Mayor  
LaGuardia to be given at New Orleans  
December 31, 1938 - Annual Report of the City  
Planning Commission and the Department of City  
Planning  
January 27, 1939 - "The Fourth Power", Dinner of  
the American Institute of Planners and the  
American Planning and Civic Association  
February 12, 1939 - "It's Tough!", National Youth  
Administration Address on WOR  
March 1939 - "Notes on the Uses of Exactitude in  
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March 29, 1939 - "Veblen and 'Business Enterprise'"  
The New Republic

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April 1939 - "Strategy"  
April 26, 1939 - "Frightened Liberals", The New Republic  
January-June 1939 - Interim Report of the City Planning Commission and the Department of City Planning

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July 26, 1939 - After the New Deal V.: "We Have Bought Ourselves Time to Think" The New Republic  
October 20, 1939 - Ezekiel Comments on the New Deal  
October 24, 1939 - "The Education of a President" The Commentator  
October 25, 1939 - "Less Business in Government", The New Republic  
December 4-7, 1939 - Luncheon Address, The Fifth Annual Southeastern Planning Conference  
December 31, 1939 - Annual Report of the City Planning Commission and the Department of City Planning  
1939 - Unpublished Articles  
1940 - Untitled Article on the Third Term  
January 1940 - "The Superpolitical", Journal of Social Philosophy  
January 16, 1940 - "Does Roosevelt Want A Third Term?", Look  
January 18-19, 1940 - Conference on Planning Problems and Administration  
January 25-26, 1940 - "Planning in New York City" American Institute of Planners  
February 28, 1940 - "Recreational and City Planning" Third Metropolitan Conference on Group Work and Recreation  
March 1940 - "The Survivor"  
March 1, 1940 - "The Triple-Threat Man" (La Guardia)  
March 1, 1940 - "Why Mr. Roosevelt Cannot Speak"  
March 4, 1940 - "Forester's Heart" (Silcox) The New Republic  
March 7, 1940 - "What Should America Do for the 'Joads'?", America's Town Meeting of the Air  
March 14, 1940 - "The Men of Israel and the Men of Egypt"  
March 27, 1940 - Notes on Speech Before the Municipal Art Society Dinner  
April 1940 - "The Sloping Walls of Casa Grande" Atlantic Monthly  
April 15, 1940 - "Parts of a New Civilization", Review of Magic Motorways by Norman Bel Geddes for The Saturday Review of Literature  
May 13, 1940 - "Must We Draft Roosevelt?", The New Republic



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June 7, 1940 - "Fateful Choice", The George Washington University Conference on Economic Policy  
 June 18, 1940 - "Roosevelt Will Not Run for A Third Term", Look  
 Summer 1940 - "Planning for Living", Child Study  
 July 8-11, 1940 - "San Francisco as Seen From New York", National Conference on Planning  
 Autumn 1940 - "Implementing the General Interest" Public Administration Review  
 November 18, 1940 - "Must We Socialize Business to Restore Prosperity?", Discussion Text of the 52nd "Wake Up, America!" Radio Forum Broadcast  
 November 30, 1940 - "Prospects for Tomorrow", Progressive Education Association Conference

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January 27, 1941 - "The Instruments for Securing National Welfare", National Economic and Social Planning Association  
 January 27, 1941 - "The Real Estate Dilemma"  
 April 3, 1941 - "Fairchild Revisited"  
 April 22, 1941 - Introduction to Cleveland Rodgers' Manuscript  
 May 22, 1941 - "Public Housing Projects Point the Way", New York Post  
 Summer 1941 - "Hay Fever", The Land  
 June 1941 - "The Battle for Democracy" [Excerpt] for Norman Cousin's A Treasury of Democracy  
 June 23-July 4, 1941 - "Earthbound", Institute of Public Affairs  
 August 8, 1941 - "On Being False to Any Man" Ohio University  
 August 27, 1941 - "The Purpose of Our University", University of Puerto Rico  
 September 19, 1941 - Inaugural Address as Governor of Puerto Rico  
 October 1941 - "The Crisis of Freedom", Common Sense  
 October 1941 - "The Directive", Journal of Social Philosophy and Jurisprudence  
 October 28, 1941 - Governor's Message to the First Special Session of the 15th Legislature  
 November 11, 1941 - Armistice Day Address  
 December 1941 - "Investigation into Administrative Responsibilities Under the 500 Acre Limitation on Land Holdings in the Organic Act for Puerto Rico"

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1942 - Changing the Colonial Climate, The story, from his official messages, of Tugwell's efforts to bring Democracy to Puerto Rico

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March 19, 1942 - Radio Speech on "Escuela Del Aire"  
June 9-11, 1942 - "A Message to the People" series  
of three radio addresses  
June 30, 1942 - Radio Address to the People of  
Puerto Rico re Defense Efforts  
July 1942 - Statement to Sub-Committee of Senate  
Appropriations Committee  
July 4, 1942 - Address for July 4 Celebration (Read  
by Dr. Gallardo)  
July 13, 1942 - "Puerto Rico Also Serves" The New  
Republic  
October 27, 1942 - Message of Governor Tugwell to  
the Third Special Session of the 15th Legislature  
November 11, 1942 - Armistice Day Address  
November 19, 1942 - Message of Governor Tugwell at  
the Dedication of Dos Bocas Dam  
December 24, 1942 - Christmas Greetings from  
Governor Tugwell  
1943 - Forty-third Annual Report of the Governor  
of Puerto Rico  
1943 - Message to the President of the Senate and  
Speaker of the House  
1943 - Statement to the Sub-Committee of the Senate  
Committee of Territories and Insular Affairs to  
Study the Social and Economical Conditions of  
Puerto Rico  
February 9, 1943 - Message to the 15th Legislature  
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March 4, 1943 - Message to the Free World Associ-  
ation  
July 1943 - Radio Recording regarding Puerto Rico  
February 15, 1944 - Message to the 15th Legislature  
at its Fourth Regular Session  
February 16, 1944 - Proposed Budget for 1944-1945  
and Governor's Budget Message  
February 21, 1944 - Analysis of S.1407 (The Organic  
Act Reform Bill for Puerto Rico)  
March 1, 1944 - Message to Members of the Legis-  
lature  
May 12, 1944 - Statement in connection with the  
veto of Senate Bill No. 5 - the "Teachers'  
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February 6, 1945 - Message to Puerto Rican Soldiers  
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February 13, 1945 - Message to the 16th Legislature  
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December 17, 1945 - Office of Information for Puerto Rico - Radio Address  
January 3, 1946 - Interview on Status of Puerto Rico  
February 12, 1946 - Message to the 16th Legislature at its Second Regular Session  
March 14, 1946 - Report on Second West Indian Conference  
April 1946 - Tugwell's Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution  
April 26, 1946 - Address at Ceremony of Selective Service Awards  
August 30, 1946 - Speech at the Inauguration of Governor Jesus T. Pinero  
November 10, 1946 - "The Making of World Government" University of Chicago Round Table

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April 28, 1947 - "Little Brother's Growing Up!" World Week  
June 5, 1947 - Review of Welfare and Planning in the West Indies by T. S. Simey for Journal of Political Economy  
September 30, 1947 - "Notes on Some Implications of Oneness in the World", Common Cause  
October 9, 1947 - Introductory Address - Henry Osborne Lectures, University of Chicago  
October 29, 1947 - Speech for Progressive Citizens of America  
November 19-20, 1947 - "Problems of Reconstruction in Puerto Rico", Round Table on Undeveloped Areas  
December 27, 1947 - "Enlightened Unselfishness Down South", Review of The United States and the Caribbean by Dexter Perkins for Saturday Review of Literature  
1948 - "The Study of Planning As a Scientific Endeavor", The Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters Fiftieth Annual Report  
1948 - Remarks for Greendale's Decennial Celebration  
1948 - Wallace and the Progressive Party Speeches and Articles  
March 22, 1948 - Review of My Paradise is Hell by Albert Balink for the New York Post  
April 1, 1948 - "The Elements of A Progressive Foreign Policy"  
June 1948 - "The Preparation of A President"

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October 1948 - "Open Reply to Mr. Borgese",  
Common Cause  
October 1, 1948 - Address at Trustees Dinner,  
University of Chicago  
October 19 & 21, 1948 - "The American Presidency",  
University of Chicago Lecture Series  
Winter 1948 - "The Utility of the Future in the  
Present", Review of The Process and Organization  
of Government Planning by John D. Millett and  
Central Planning and Control in War and Peace by  
Sir Oliver Franks for Public Administration  
Review  
December 1948 - "The New Deal in Retrospect" The  
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- 64 Theory of Planning Lectures - Nos. 1 - 20, Univer-  
sity of Chicago [No. 12 missing]
- 65 Theory of Planning Lectures - Nos. 21 - 37, Univer-  
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Manuscript on Progressivism in U.S. History
- 66 February 1949 - "A Planner's View of Agriculture's  
Future", Journal of Farm Economics  
February 1949 - "Can the United Nations Become a  
World Government?", Common Cause  
April 1949 - Review of Property, Wealth, Land:  
Allocation, Planning and Development by Myres  
Smith McDougal and David Haber  
April 1949 - "Progressives and the Presidency"  
The Progressive  
May 1949 - "Beyond Malthus: Numbers and Re-  
sources", Common Cause  
May 2, 1949 - "Must We Amend the U.S. Constitu-  
tion?" Common Cause  
July 1949 - "Great Rehearsal or Great Compromise?"  
Common Cause  
July 1949 - "Variation on a Theme by Cooley" Ethics  
August 1949 - "The Industrialization of Rural  
Areas" Agricultural Economics Conference  
September 1949 - "The 'Looking Outward' of the  
Americans", The Antioch Review  
December 1949 - "The New Deal: The Available  
Instruments of Governmental Power", The  
Western Political Quarterly  
December 1949 - "Earthbound: The Problem of  
Planning and Survival", The Antioch Review
- 67 1950 - "Letters from Latter Day Britain"  
Common Cause

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1950 - "Prospect for Survival"  
February 1950 - British Election Radio Speech  
April 1950 - "To Succor the Weak", Common Cause  
July 1950 - "Wonders May Not Cease", Agricultural Economics Society  
September 1950 - "The New Deal: The Progressive Tradition", The Western Political Quarterly  
November 29, 1950 - "Britain's Travail", Review of Crisis in Britain: Plans and Achievements of the Labour Government and Five Years of British Labour 1945-1950: A Symposium  
Winter 1950 - "Grass Roots Democracy - Myth or Reality?", Review of TVA and the Grass Roots, A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization by Philip Selznick for Public Administration Review  
1950-1951 - Articles on New York City  
January 1951 - "On Being A Brother's Keeper" (Letters from Latter-Day Britain XIV) Common Cause  
January 1951 - Conclusions from The Groundnut Affair by Alan Wood, Common Cause  
April 1951 - "One World-One Wealth", Ethics

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May 1951 - "Governmental Planning at Mid-Century" The Journal of Politics  
May 1951 - "The Consequences of Korea" Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists  
June 1951 - "The Uses of Adversity", Common Cause  
June and September 1951 - "The New Deal: The Decline of Government", The Western Political Quarterly  
October-December 1951 - "Beyond Nationalism", The Political Quarterly  
December 6, 1951 - "Caribbean Obligations", University of Florida  
April 1952 - "Inquest on Nationalization", Ethics  
May 25, 1952 - "What Does Puerto Rico Mean to Us?" Northwestern University Reviewing Stand  
June & September 1952 - "The New Deal: The Rise of Business" The Western Political Quarterly  
August 17, 1952 - "How Can We Best Help Underdeveloped Areas?" NBC Radio Discussion  
January 1953 - "What Next for Puerto Rico", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science  
March 1953 - "L'attitude des Etats-Unis", Revue Economique  
Winter 1953-1954 - "The Protagonists: Roosevelt and Hoover", The Antioch Review

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1954 - "The Place of Planning", Lectures on the  
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Reference to Puerto Rico  
Spring 1954 - "The Light of Other Days", The Land  
July 1954 - "The Sources of New Deal Reformism"  
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Fall 1954 - Roosevelt and Howe, The Antioch Review

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February 12, 1955 - "Rebirth of an Undeveloped  
Island", Saturday Review  
October 1955 - "The Fuel of Magnificence: The Case  
of Puerto Rico", Confluence  
January 1956 - "The Fallow Years of Franklin D.  
Roosevelt", Ethics  
Spring 1956 - "Franklin D. Roosevelt on the Verge  
of the Presidency", The Antioch Review  
April 1956 - "An Invitation to Leadership", Address  
at Terre Haute, Indiana  
April 7, 1956 - "F.D.R.: Living Memorials",  
The Nation  
December 1957 - "Beyond the Half Way Mark:, For  
Caribbean Conference (not used)  
1965-1974 - Tugwell Speeches

## Undated Speeches and Articles

"Knowing Society"  
"The Economy of Human Energy", The Nation  
"An Economist Reads Dark Laughter", New Republic  
"An Engineer and the Price System: Mr. Hoover's  
Economic Policy", Columbia University  
"The Social Philosophy of the New Deal", Discussion  
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"Country Holidays"  
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"The New Course of International Trade", Address to  
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"The Municipal Net"  
"Notes on the Bankruptcy of Cities"  
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"A Design for Government", New York Times  
"A Closer Integration of Rural and Urban Life Is A  
Definite Part of the Future Pattern"  
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edited by Elliott Roosevelt  
"The New Deal: The Rise of Business"  
"The Distortion of Economic Incentive" Interna-  
tional Journal of Ethics  
"Puerto Rico's Bootstraps"  
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                 "Resettlement Administration" - Dissertation by  
                 Marie Panor 1951  
                 Greenbelt Citation 1964  
                 Drafts and Reference Materials  
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                 Tugwell Interview by Charles O. Jackson -  
                 June 7, 1968  
                 Tugwell Interview - Columbia Oral History Project
- 77              "Argument Preliminary to an Educational Plan" 1961  
                 Memorandum on Planning 1964  
                 Federal Crop Insurance Corporation Materials -  
                 1964-1969  
                 "Hoover's Contribution to the New Deal" 1966  
                 "The President and His Helpers" Jan. 1967  
                 "Man's Survival Problem" Sept. 18, 1967  
                 "Societies: Successful and Unsuccessful" -  
                 Oct. 19, 1967  
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\*Oversize

The Diary and Journal Notes  
of  
Rexford Guy Tugwell

The diary of Rexford Guy Tugwell begins in November, 1932 and, with wide time gaps, runs until the end of 1949. [There are "notes" for the years, 1950-1961 but nothing substantial or systematic.] During this period, Rexford Tugwell held the following positions: advisor to President-elect Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Under Secretary of Agriculture, Director of the Resettlement Administration, American Molasses Company executive, Chairman of the New York City Planning Commission, Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico, Governor of Puerto Rico and Professor of Political Science and Director of the Planning Program in the University of Chicago.

The focus is on individuals, events, and, of course, Rexford Guy Tugwell. As a diarist the author is always capable and frequently profound. From one of the original New Deal architects the reader is offered pointed impressions of New Deal personalities as Tugwell bares their vagaries and machinations with unremitting candor. On occasion, later evidence tells us, some of these impressions fall wide of the mark but the author refuses to return and "correct" his judgements.

Tugwell also concerns himself with the germination and implementation of ideas; the management as well as mismanagement of national government, the philosophy of administration and the day by day activities of an individual who helped to shape Franklin Roosevelt's reform program. Perhaps the diarist is at his best as he carefully records the struggle to bring the New Deal to the woefully backward island state of Puerto Rico. Equally interesting are the entries describing the confused liberal in postwar America.

Briefly put, the diary of Rexford Guy Tugwell should stand as a credible and valuable witness to a complex era.

December, 1932.

During the thirty day period covered in this segment of the diary Rexford G. Tugwell [whose name will hereafter be abbreviated to RGT] served as an advisor to Franklin D. Roosevelt, President-elect of the United States. Among the topics and events discussed: conversations between RGT and President-elect Roosevelt in Albany and New York City; economic beliefs of RGT; proposed White House conference; European war debts; exchange of telegrams between President Hoover and Governor Roosevelt; the President and President-elect administrators; agenda of the London Economic Conference; relief measures; RGT on the depression; need for a new tax structure; RGT's interest in agriculture and farm relief; his rejection of McNary-Haugenism; crop reduction and the domestic allotment plan.

Other topics covered: the proposed Roosevelt cabinet; the American business community; the Agricultural Adjustment Administration bill; Roosevelt's financial policies; the food and drug bill; the international financial conference; Roosevelt as president; National Recovery Act and the Federal budget.

Among the persons mentioned in more than a routine way are: Raymond Moley, A.A. Berle, William Woodin, Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Samuel Rosenman, Norman Davis, E.E. Davis, Robert Wagner, Henry Stimson and Felix Frankfurter.

Also M.L. Wilson, Jesse Straus, Robert LaFollette, Cordell Hull, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Lewis Douglas, George Peek, Donald Henderson, Louis Brandeis, Father Charles Coughlin, Ramsey McDonald and Hugh Johnson.

Appended to this portion of the diary is the original draft of a telegram sent by Roosevelt to Hoover in response to the latter's request that Roosevelt join in appointing members of the commission to examine the debts.



Box 30

"Diary 1933"

Part I January 4, 1933 - February 27, 1933

Part II March 31, 1933 - May 31, 1933

RGT continues, in the winter and spring of 1933, as advisor to Franklin D. Roosevelt. He is also appointed assistant secretary of Agriculture.

For this period the diary is concerned with the following: measures to be implemented after the inauguration of Roosevelt; world economic conditions; reduction of the British debt; proposed currency management; governmental organization and re-organization; general agricultural situation; domestic banking; Japanese aggression in the Far East; parity; RGT offers his impressions of Roosevelt, LaGuardia and Morgenthau; Farm leader conference; unemployment and the reorganization of the Department of Agriculture.

Among persons prominently mentioned are: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Henry A. Wallace, Raymond Moley, A.A. Berle, Herbert Feis, James Byrnes, Fiorello LaGuardia, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Henry Stimson, Nicholas Murray Butler, Beardsley Ruml, Lewis Douglas, Bernard Baruch and M.L. Wilson.

Box 31

"Diary 1934"

March 6, 1934 - December 31, 1934

In this period RGT served in the Department of Agriculture, first as assistant secretary and then as under secretary.

Topics covered include: RGT's "fact-finding" tour of the Caribbean, his impressions of Puerto Rico, anti-Tugwell campaign; Bourbon Democrats; domestic legislation; reorganization of Agriculture and Interior; English agriculture; a discussion of the origins of the social security program; RGT's trip to Europe in the fall of 1934.

Additional subjects are: economic and agricultural conditions in Belgium, France, and

Box 31  
continued

Great Britain; RGT's impression of U.S. State Department personnel serving overseas; RGT's meeting with Mussolini; foreign trade; the State Department as a career; governmental reorganization; Tennessee Valley Authority; food and drug bill; creation of a public works program; conditions in Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands; agricultural policy; land program; unemployment insurance; Canadian politics and the NRA timber code.

Among the persons mentioned are: Harry Hopkins, Frances Perkins, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Henry A. Wallace, Harold Ickes, Thomas Corcoran, Ernest K. Lindley, Jerome Frank, Louis Brandis, Eleanor Roosevelt, Lorena Hickok, David Lilienthal, Burton K. Wheeler and Benito Mussolini.

Box 32

"Diary 1935"

January 16, 1935 - September 10, 1935.

In 1935 RGT continued to serve as Under Secretary of Agriculture.

Subjects discussed include: food and drug legislation; rural rehabilitation; domestic politics; world political situation; Germany's plan of conquest; World Court; the dismissal of Jerome Frank, Alger Hiss, Gardiner Jackson and Lee Pressman from the Department of Agriculture; RGT's threat to resign; the resettlement program; U.S. Agriculture; the public works program; Bankhead bill; memorandum of an interview with Judge Brandeis; RGT on the American character and institutions

Personalities appearing in this portion of the diary are: Royal S. Copeland, Ellison "Cotton Ed" Smith, Franklin D. Roosevelt, H.A. Wallace, Wendell Willkie, W.E. Dodd, Burton K. Wheeler, Huey Long, Chester Davis, Harry Hopkins, Brooks Hayes, Raymond Moley and Jerome Frank.

Box 32

"Diary 1939-1941"

November 19, 1939 - December 25, 1941

There are no diary entries for the period January 1, 1936 to November 18, 1939. At least this

segment was not found among the records. Thus, there is no mention of RGT as Resettlement Administrator, nor of his resignation from Government service or his brief term with Charles Taussig's American Molasses Company.

When the diary resumes, in November, 1939, RGT is in the Fiorello LaGuardia Administration as Chairman of the New York City Planning Commission.

Topics under discussion include the following: the possibility of RGT's return to government service; "notes on the Wallace candidacy;" [dated December 4, 1939]; domestic politics and the 1940 election; New York City Planning Commission; the invasion of Denmark and Norway; LaGuardia-Wallace feud; the fall of France; Democratic National Convention; Ickes and the vice presidency; projected reorganization of the Agriculture and Interior Departments; election of 1940; dollar-a-year men; study and hearings on Puerto Rican economy and land system; U.S. Forest Service; "conversation with Senator Munoz-Marin, President of Puerto Rican Senate"; European situation; U.S. Caribbean policy.

Also: Puerto Rican agriculture; New York Politics; German invasion of Russia; RGT's appointment as Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico; Senate confirmation; conditions in Puerto Rico; El Mundo's reaction to RGT's appointment; student demonstrations; President Roosevelt's appointment of RGT as Governor of Puerto Rico; Puerto Rican cabinet appointments; inauguration; Puerto Rican politics and the nationalist movement; legislative program; "Remarks at the Dedication of the Garzas Hydro-Electric Plant"; Japanese aggression in the Far East; attack on Pearl Harbor; President Roosevelt's War Message to the Congress; and Puerto Rico in wartime.

Individuals discussed or frequently mentioned include the following; Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harold Ickes, A.A. Berle, Fiorello LaGuardia, Lee Pressman, Henry A. Wallace, E.K. Lindley, Norman Thomas, James Farley, Arthur Krock, Robert Moses and Felix Frankfurter.

Others are: Leon Henderson, Benjamin Cohen, Burton K. Wheeler, Charles Taussig, William Herridge, Thomas Corcoran, Luis Munoz-Marin, Elliot Janeway, Martin Travieso, John Wheeler-Bennett; Wayne Coy, Edward Flynn, Sumner Welles, Robert

LaFollette, Millard Tydings, J. Lawton Collins,  
Celestino Iriarte and Leon Falk.

Box 33

"Memoirs 1942"

This segment is concerned with RGT as governor of  
Puerto Rico.

Subjects include: Puerto Rico and national  
defense; the Guayama sugar strike; wartime problems  
in Puerto Rico, the Coalitionist Party, El Mundo's  
anti-RGT campaign; European war; Puerto Rican  
Politics; German submarines in the Caribbean area;  
the governorship of Puerto Rico; the food problem  
and war rationing; Anglo-American Caribbean  
Commission; "Hennings Affair"; Puerto Rican  
attorney general controversy; political and social  
conditions in Puerto Rico; unemployment; political  
rifts; supply problem; Puerto Rican legislature;  
tax legislation; Byrd Committee; expropriations and  
fiscal problems.

Among the individuals mentioned are: J. Lawton  
Collins, Robert Moses, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Luis  
Munoz-Marin, Martin Travieso, Tom Hennings, Charles  
Taussig, Abe Fortas, George A. Malcolm and Martha  
Gellhorn.

Box 33

"Diary 1943"

January 1, 1943 - December 31, 1943

RGT continues in the governorship.

There are discussions concerning: social and ec-  
onomic conditions in Puerto Rico; Chavez Senate  
Com-mittee (investigating Puerto Rican Affairs);  
Bell House Committee; Puerto Rican politics;  
wartime Washington; President Roosevelt on Winston  
Churchill; Anglo-American Caribbean Commission;  
teacher shortage in Puerto Rico; government oper-  
ations.

Personalities include: Dennis Chavez, Robert  
Taft, Ralph Brewster, C. Jasper Bell, Millard  
Tydings, Tom Hennings, Robert Lovett, Abe Fortas,  
James Domengeaux, Dan R. McGeehee, Luis Munoz-  
Marin, Harry Hopkins, Thomas Corcoran, Milo  
Perkins, Cordell Hull.

Enclosures: transcript of Chavez Committee hearings, Life article on Puerto Rico, various newspaper clippings and a few photographs.

Boxes 33-34 "Diary 1944"

Box 33 Part I January 1, 1944 - June 30, 1944

Box 34 Part II July 1, 1944 - December 31, 1944

RGT's fourth year as Governor of Puerto Rico.

Box 33 Part I.

Among the subjects appearing in this segment of the diary are the following: Puerto Rican politics; RGT visit to Barbados; discussion of the Organic Act; Puerto Rican legislature; C. Jasper Bell House Committee, (investigating Puerto Rican affairs); visit of Mrs. Roosevelt; McGeehee Resolution; 1944 election; British colonialism; Puerto Rican rum export allotment; Popular and Coalition Parties; war situation; Puerto Rican agriculture; and RGT's work on The Stricken Land.

Individuals mentioned: Harold Ickes, Abe Fortas, Robert Taft, C. Jasper Bell, Benjamin Thoron, Harry Hopkins, and Bolivar Pagan.

Box 34 Part II.

Topics: graft in Puerto Rican public works contracts; RGT's visit with President Roosevelt; President Roosevelt's relations with Henry A. Wallace; Democratic National Convention; C.I.O. in politics; postwar organization of dependent areas; and Caribbean dictatorships.

Persons mentioned: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Henry A. Wallace, Harry Hopkins, Bolivar Pagan, Harry S. Truman, Abe Fortas, Charles Taussig, Harold Ickes, and Luis Munoz-Marin.

Enclosures: "Mrs. Roosevelt's visit to Puerto Rico, March 8-11, 1944" - timetable, itinerary and newspaper clippings; mimeograph copy of proposed annual (1944-1945) budget for Puerto Rico; copy of House Resolution 496 (calling for the removal of RGT); newspaper clippings; articles, photographs, copies of correspondence.



## "Diary 1945"

Part I January 1, 1945 - June 30, 1945.

Part II July 1, 1945 - December 31, 1945.

In 1945, after the death of Franklin Roosevelt, RGT left government service and accepted a teaching and research position with the University of Chicago.

Among the topics discussed are the following: European situation; Bell House Investigating Committee; war in the Pacific; sugar strike; legislature of Puerto Rico; Anglo-American Caribbean Conference; death of President Roosevelt; hearings on the Tydings bill (concerning Puerto Rican status); surrender of Germany; exodus of "liberal" New Dealers from the government.

Also: the atom bomb and world balance; RGT's The Stricken Land; appointment of RGT to a professorship in the University of Chicago; meeting with President Truman; Truman's request that RGT stay on; President Truman's troubles with Congress; Puerto Rican status, problems and postwar situation.

Individuals discussed include: C. Jasper Bell, Benjamin Thoron; Luis Munoz-Marin, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Abe Fortas, Robert Hutchins, Robert Redfield and Harry S. Truman.

Enclosures: Printed message of Governor to legislative assembly; various newspaper and magazine clippings.

## "Diary 1946"

Topics discussed include: RGT's draft of a constitution for a "Federal Republic of the World; politics in Puerto Rico; resignation of Secretary Ickes; administrative affairs; West Indian Conference; appointment of Julius Krug as Secretary of the Interior; Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Missouri; international affairs; drafting of a world government constitution; domestic politics and the postwar situation; atomic bomb; Anglo-American Caribbean Conference; world government organization; RGT's visit to his birthplace (Sinclairville, New York); writing; return to Puerto Rico for the inauguration of Jesus Pinero.



Individuals mentioned and discussed are: Luis Munoz-Marin, Harold Ickes, Harry S. Truman, Charles Taussig, Julius Krug, Jesus Pinero, Oscar Chapman, Robert Hutchins, David Lilienthal, Robert M.

Box 34-35

Lovett, John Alexander, Henry A. Wallace, Jaime Benitez, Henry Volkening and Robert Hutchins.

Box 35

"Journal 1947"

January 5, 1947 - September 26, 1947

RGT's activities focus on his teaching and writing, as well as his interest in liberal causes and politics generally.

Subjects for discussion include: David Lilienthal's confirmation; The Stricken Land; RGT's move to Chicago; Congressional investigation in Puerto Rico; Truman Doctrine and the international situation; Secretary Marshall's address at Harvard University; RGT's contributions to Common Cause and other periodicals; Anglo-American Caribbean Conference in Jamaica; World State Federation; Progressive Party; Puerto Rican politics; Henry A. Wallace as a possible presidential candidate; RGT on the military clique in the Department of State; RGT's visit to Canada and the West Coast; high cost of living; teaching in the University of Chicago; ideas concerning the formation of a third party.

Persons discussed: David Lilienthal, Harry S. Truman, George C. Marshall, Robert Hutchins, Abe Fortas, Charles Taussig, Jesus Pinero, Luis Munoz-Marin, Henry A. Wallace, C.B. Baldwin, Peter Odegard, Quincy Wright, Thomas Karsten, Paul Robeson, Ely Culbertson and Paul Douglas.

Enclosures: clippings (newspaper and magazine), periodicals, letter and telegrams.

Box 35

"Journal 1948"

The more interesting entries for the period concern RGT's support and subsequent withdrawal from the Progressive Party.

Discussion entries include: RGT's writing of Planners Progress; the possibilities of Wallace as a presidential candidate; Progressive Citizens of America; RGT and Americans for Democratic Action; speaking engagements; RGT's work in behalf of the

Box 35  
continued

Policy Committee, Progressive Party; speech at Amherst College; European political situation; President Truman and the Congress; Truman's unpopularity; Palestine question; Progressive Party movement in Illinois; Henry A. Wallace as a political speaker; RGT's foreign policy speech before atomic scientists; Wallace's reception in Brooklyn, New York; RGT's address before American Academy of Arts and Sciences; conference between RGT and Paul H. Douglas; western trip with Professor Brauch for the University of Chicago's planning program; Russian-American relations; RGT and candidate Wallace in Hollywood.

Among the persons mentioned are: Henry A. Wallace, Harry S. Truman, Paul H. Douglas, Glen Taylor, C.B. Baldwin, Dwight D. Eisenhower, William Douglas, Harold Laski, Charles Taussig, Sam Hamburg and James Le Cron.

Enclosures: Clippings, periodicals and correspondence.

Box 36

"Journal 1949"

This represents RGT's last systematic diary entries, written in his own hand, and ending in June, 1949.

Most of the entries are concerned with RGT's book, Planners Progress, and the numerous articles that he was preparing for publication in scholarly journals; Communist China; issue of academic freedom at the University of Washington; death of RGT's father; Broyles Investigation (un-American activities at the University of Chicago); Berlin crisis; the Far Eastern situation; and Foreign Ministers Conference.

Among the persons mentioned are: Harry S. Truman, Peter Odegard, Dean Acheson, Bishop Oxnham, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and Robert Hutchings.

RGT Diary

(Second Form)

This is not a duplication of the diary described above. Rather, it is a more complete, refined version. [It is quite possible that RGT considered publishing his diary, thus the reason for reworking the manuscript.] There are copious footnotes (absent entirely from the first draft) that offer valuable insights and background material on persons and events. There are important additions including a long introduction and extended comment in essay form.

Box 30

"Introduction"

RGT describes his recruitment into the Roosevelt circle; his association with the other "brain trusters"; relations with President Roosevelt; New Deal economic and reform policy; Franklin D. Roosevelt as President; the influence of Louis Brandeis; and, in a general way, describes his part in the New Deal period. 43 pages. 2 copies.

Box 30

"Monetary Preliminaries"

RGT, Moley and Berle develop ideas on the new financial policy during the last days of 1932. 10 pages. 3 drafts.

Box 30

"The Diary"

December 20, 1932 - February 27, 1933.

The differences between this draft and the first copy are explained in the introductory note above. 110 pages. There are five typewritten versions of this segment; all are different.

Box 30

"The Hundred Days"

March 31, 1933 - May 30, 1933.

45 pages. There are two drafts and a ten page "Addendum to Diary for the Hundred Days."

Box 31

"June 1933 - March 1934"

This segment is not included in the first version of the RGT diary. Nor does it take the diary form.

Box 31                    Included is a summary of a trip taken by RGT for the Department of Agriculture in the summer of 1933, a number of newspaper columns, editorials and magazine comments are reproduced as well as certain correspondence; also included is a chronological table. 122 pages. There are four drafts, one of which is handwritten.

Box 31                    "March 6, 1934 - December 31, 1934"

The author returns to the daily entry form. This segment is in two parts; the first is 129 pages and the second is 175 pages. A chronological table is included.

Box 32                    "November 17, 1939 - December 30, 1940"

74 pages. One draft.

Boxes 36-37                "Diary, 1949-1961"

The diary of RGT for the period of 1949-1961 is not really a diary but simply a collection of random, handwritten notes. These casual, sporadic entries bear no resemblance to the edited, detailed diary of earlier years. The material for this period is as follows:

Box 36                    "Diary, July, 1949 - December, 1952".

Box 37                    "Diary Notes, 1953 - 1957".

Box 38                    "Diary Notes, 1958 - 1961".

This material has been interfiled in the Tugwell Collection.

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                     Mitchell, Broadus    1964-1978  
                     Moley, Raymond    1964-1974  
                     Moos, Malcolm    1974  
                     Moscoso, Teodoro    1959-1972  
                     Moses, Robert    1958-1961  
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                     National Archives    1959-1963  
                     National Broadcasting Co.    1960-1963  
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Container 9      Nearing, Scott    1960-1973  
                     New Deal Dinner    1977  
                     New York City  
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                     Norman, Robert T.    1972  
                     O - General  
                     Odegard, Peter    1964-1965  
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                     Padilla, Salvador    1966-1971  
                     Palmer, Charles F.    1958-1965  
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                     Pico, Rafael    1958-1976  
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Container 10      Press Clippings    c. 1970-1971  
                     Presthus, Robert    1965-1972  
                     Pritchett, C. Herman    1964-1975  
                     Proposed Symposia on "The Limits of 'Implied  
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                     Publishers: - Alfred A. Knopf  
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Container 10 continued Publishers: - Browning Editorial Services  
 Publishers: - Columbia University Press  
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Container 11 Publishers: - McGraw-Hill  
 Publishers: - Macmillan Company  
 Publishers: - Other  
 Publishers: - Penguin Books  
 Publishers: - Political Science Quarterly  
 Publishers: - Prentice-Hall  
 Publishers: - Russell and Volkening, Inc.

Container 12 Publishers: - Russell and Volkening, Inc.  
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Container 13 Ro - Ry - General  
 Rodell, Fred 1964-1965  
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Container 14    Speeches by Tugwell  
                  Staff Memoranda 1966-1975  
                  Steel Case  
                  Stephansky, Ben S. 1965  
                  Sternsher, Bernard 1958-1975  
                  Straus - Dalton Material  
                  Straus, Robert K. 1962-1973  
                  Stryker, Roy E. 1964  
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                  Television Appearances 1969  
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                  Unitarian Church

Container 15    University of California - Berkeley  
                  University of Chicago  
                  University of Pennsylvania  
                  University of Puerto Rico: Agricultural Experi-  
    mental Station  
                  UPR: Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, College of  
                  UPR: Botanical Garden  
                  UPR: Caribbean Studies Institute  
                  UPR: Circulars  
                  UPR: General  
                  UPR: Law School  
                  UPR: Memoranda  
                  UPR: Planning Office  
                  UPR: Public Administration, School of  
                  UPR: Retirement Fund  
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Container 16    We - Wy - General  
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                  Interlude, 1917-1920  
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Container 17 Virgin Islands, 1933-1935  
World Economic Conference  
Notes on Pre-Inaugural Period 1933  
Log of Trip Through 10 Western States, 1933  
Trip Abroad, September 1934 (3 folders)  
1934 Material  
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Container 18 1930's Material  
Notes from a New Deal Diary - Contents  
1. Anticipation  
2. The Campaign - Spring - Autumn 1932  
3. Preparations  
4. The Hundred Days and Addendum  
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Container 19 1930's Correspondence, clippings, and printed matter  
"Notes from a New Deal Diary" - December 1932 - February 1933  
"Notes from a New Deal Diary" - Materials  
Correspondence, November 1932-February 1933  
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Container 20 Articles and Correspondence, 1933-1935  
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1936 Correspondence  
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Container 21 "A New Deal Memoir" Ms and related materials

Container 22 "A New Deal Memoir - Early Days"  
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Container 23 Research Materials on 1932  
Economic Conference 1932  
Clippings and photographs  
1950's correspondence  
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- Container 24     Roosevelt's Revolution - MS    (3 folders)  
                   Articles and Reprints  
                   "Brains Trust" - Material for Book  
                   Dissertation, "Resettlement Administration" by  
                   Marie Panor, University of Chicago  
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- Container 26     The Lesser Heights of Morningside - Ms.  
                   Columbia Oral History Transcript  
                   Interview with RGT by Charles O. Jackson  
                   Material on the Presidency  
                   Proposed Conference on Presidential Powers, 1970
- Container 27     Proposed Conference on Presidential Powers, 1970  
                   Presidential Powers - Symposium, 1971  
                   Constitution Letters    (5 folders)
- Container 28     The Emerging Constitution - Papers 1-8 and Related  
                   Materials
- Container 29     The Emergins Constitution - Papers 9-11 and Back-  
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- Container 30     The Emerging Constitution - Versions 10, 31, 33-37,  
                   Toward 38, and 39  
                   "U.S. Government in the Year 2000"
- Container 31     Declaration of Independence (Introduction); Manu-  
                   script on Planning    (17 pts.)
- Container 32     Material on Planning not used for The Fourth Power  
                   No Island I - Ms  
                   Warm Springs Interviews - Transcripts
- Container 33     The Democratic Roosevelt - Introduction to Penguin  
                   Edition  
                   "The Doctrine of Necessity and the 'Wars' in Asia"  
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Container 36 "Politics and the Public Interest: LaGuardia,  
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Container 37 Reading Files, 1961-1970

Container 38 Reading Files, 1971-1977; Reprints of Articles

Container 39-41 Printed Matter

Books by Tugwell and Others

The Enlargement of the Presidency (2 copies)

The Emerging Consitution

The Presidency Reappraised

In Search of Roosevelt

Rexford Tugwell and the New Deal

How They Became President

The Compromising of the Constitution

FDR: Architect of an Era

The Light of Other Days

The Democratic Roosevelt (Penguin edition)

Grover Cleveland

The Economic Basis of Public Interest

The Battle for Democracy

Off Course: From Truman to Nixon

The Brains Trust

Early American Policy: Six Columbia  
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Soviet Russia in the Second Decade

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Annual Report of the Sec. of the Interior

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Our Economic Society and Its Problems

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The New Republic Anthology, 1915-1935

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NY Herald Tribune 8th Annual Forum, 1938

Redirecting Education: Vols. I & II

ed. by RGT & Leon H. Keyserling

Books that Changed our Minds

Malcolm Crowley and Bernard Smith

The Caribbean: British, Dutch, French, United States

ed. by A. Curtis Wilgus

The Trend of Economics

Roads to Knowledge ed. by Wm. Allan Neilson

Industry's Coming of Age

A Chronicle of Jeopardy - 1945-55

Essays in Economic Theory by Simon Nelson Patten,  
ed. by RGT

Great Cities of the World, ed. by W.A. Robson

Some Notes on Sugar and Molasses

by Charles W. Taussig, 1940

(autographed by author) - leather binding, slip case

The Enlargement of the Presidency

The Brains Trust (2 copies - hardcover and paperback)

Tugwell's Thoughts on Planning - paperback

How They Became President - paperback

The Compromising of the Constitution

The Emerging Constitution

Books by Tugwell and Others continued

The Democratic Roosevelt

Grover Cleveland

Tapes: Alan Landsbury Productions "Between the Wars" (3 reels)  
1 Stenorette Tape  
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Envelope of RGT photos N. Andon

Tube - Diploma - University of PA 5/24/71  
Doctor of Laws degree

Scrapbook of Clippings on RGT books