January 7, 1918.

My dear Colonel Roosevelt:

Your letter came while I was still in the West and so has been delayed in acknowledgment.

You are good enough to write at length about the Fickert recall and the Bisbee deportations because you conceive that they involve issues of important relevance to the effective prosecution of the war and the purposes to which that war is dedicated. I agree that the effective prosecution of the war and the uncomprising adherence to the aims for which this war is pursued by us embody the true test of all judgment and action these days. It is important, therefore, not to confound issues, to be sure-footed in our acknowledgment of facts and in our discernment of what really affects the national well-being. It is as important vigorously to promote patriotic purposes as it is to prevent ignorance or selfishness or prejudices from using the disguise of patriotism for ends alien to the national interest.

(1) You refer to a letter of mine to you about the Fickert recall. I assume you mean the telegram I sent to Buckner in which I asked him to say to you that the Fickert recall was not a battle between the forces of darkness and the forces of light, between anarchy and patriotism, but that it was complicated by a variety of local issues which I assumed were even to your interest as well as to your knowledge. I did not express, for I did not have and do not have, an opinion on the merits of that recall. It was strictly a local issue, a concern to the people of San Francisco, but of no concern to an outsider. Staunch friends of yours in San Francisco, people moved by the war as much as you or I, interpreted the recall issue not at all as you have been led to interpret it. So I was led to send word to you through Buckner, not in any wise because I was opposed to Fickert or favored his recall or had any views on that subject, but because my sense of your significance was disturbed that you should be led to intervene in a petty local fight having no national significance at all. I felt then and feel now that factitious use was made of you by selfish and extreme people on both sides of the fight or by uninformed outsiders. I am sure that you have no more devoted and no wiser friend on the Coast than Chester Bowd. The views I wired to Buckner, the views that I give expression to here, are precisely the line of thought that Bowd and I reached. I believe he so advised you. In so far as you assume I entertained opinions on the merits of the recall you attribute views to me which I never entertained. This it is that makes me feel that you may have had in mind the letter of another correspondence in writing me.

One of the things that the Commission to which I was attached was charged with studying was the Mooney cases. By this time, of course, you know that the attention of this Government and of this country was
directed to the Mooney cases, of the alleged perversion of justice in these cases, through Russia. The circumstances surrounding those persecutions were among the strongest of certain incidents involving our national life which were made the basis of prejudicial propaganda against us in Russia. In a word, it affected unity of our Russian Ally and the relation of Russia to this country. Therefore, the quizz informal investigation which we actually undertook was justified by the highest consideration of the effective conduct of the war. The chief share in the investigation of the situation naturally fell to me as the lawyer of the Commission. I think if you know all the facts, I think if you inquired of those who see fairly and without blind passion, in San Francisco you would find that I pursued the inquiry in a thorough-going, judicial, and if I may say so, sensible way. The result of this investigation is not yet known for we have not yet rendered a report to the President, nor even written it. I am sure even as to the proper disposition of the Mooney cases - which I insist is wholly apart from the wisdom of your participating in the real fight in San Francisco - you and I, if we set down to talk it over, would not disagree.

(2) The Bisbee deportations took place while I was abroad. I did not even read the contemporaneous news stories about them. I can fairly say that when I started for Arizona late in September my mind was wholly free from an opinion in regard to these deportations. I had heard strong views of condemnation; I had also heard an explanation highly sympathetic to those who engaged in the deportations. I began to study the facts and circumstances on the ground with the same conscientious purpose to ascertain the facts, and nothing but the facts, as that which I pursued when associated with Stimson in the Morse, Sugar Frauds and other cases. Not only with the same conscientious purpose, but I am sure also with the same ability to ascertain and weigh facts impartially, which by training and temperament is part of my very professional equipment. What is set down in the report to which my name is signed is truth, the truth painstakingly pursued, sifted and tested on the spot, seeking to vindicate neither a pre-conceived theory nor influenced by any personal attachment. If there be any inaccuracy in the document, the inaccuracy is in understatement of the total want of justification on the part of those who participated in the deportations. This is not to say that those who participated were not impelled by patriotic purposes, that they were not sincere men. The report, on the contrary, attributes sincerity of purpose to those men. But surely sincerity, that is the consciousness of a good purpose, not infrequently is the attendant of action unjust and evil in its results. I know you know Jack Greenway. I know you know him and I know your great belief in him when I pursued the inquiry and legitimately had it in mind in trying to understand the situation and reach a just judgment in regard to the conduct of men like Jack Greenway. Surely, however, it is not a law of necessity that whatever Jack Greenway does is right.

I submit it is not fair to your own standards of impartial justice, to your characteristic of being open-minded to facts, for you, some three thousand miles away from the scene of action, away from an intimate study of the facts, - the circumstances, the personnel, the industrial conflict, a great complex of elements which resulted in the deportations - I say it
is not fair for you to pass judgment upon the deportations just on Jack Greenway's say-so, to brush aside the conclusions of a trained and impartial investigator whose desire and ability to obtain the truth you have heretofore had many occasions never to find wanting. Affection must not take the place of impartial investigation. Unproved dogmatism such as the statement "no human being in his senses doubts that the men deported from Bisbee were bent on destruction and murder" must yield to evidence disproving such dogmatism. When opportunity offers I should like to go over with you in detail the whole industrial situation in Arizona and to make you realize the clash of economic forces that are at stake, make you realize the long, persistent and organized opposition to "social justice", to the establishment of machinery for the attainment of such justice, which climaxed in strikes in the Arizona copper districts last year. It is easy to disregard economic abuses, to insist on the exercise of autocratic power by raising the false cry of "disloyalty." It is too easy. If you had travelled through the Southwest and the North West, as I have the last few months and had come into intimate contact with what is going on beneath the surfaces, studied the forces that are gathering in the industrial world of the United States, I am sure you would feel, as I feel, that but for an almost negligible percent all labor is patriotic, is devoted to the purposes of the war and its prosecution, but that there are industrial conditions which demand remedy and quick remedy, that the masses insist upon an increasing share in determining the conditions of their lives. If we do not bestir ourselves to rectify grave and accumulating evils we shall find the disintegrating forces in our country gaining ground.

May I commend to you the recent reports made to Lloyd George by the Commissions of Inquiry into Industrial Unrest in England? I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of those reports under separate cover. I should like to call your attention particularly to the report of the Commission for the Northwest area headed by His Honor Judge Barry. What they say of England is true of this country, namely, that we need a new set of ideas as to industrial relationships and that uncorrected industrial grievances are the most fertile soil for extreme propaganda.

"Moreover, many of the extreme men approached us in a kindly spirit and stated their views with reasonable moderation. They made a great point of their loyalty to the country and repelled openly and with indignation the suggestion which they said had been made against them that "they were bought with Prussian gold." Still, the causes of unrest, as we have shown, are serious, and the Government should without delay do something very clear and evident on entirely different lines to the way in which things have been allowed to drift in the past to show the people that they are in earnest in shouldering their responsibility. If not the Government will only assist the extreme men by leaving inflammable material to their hand and they will lose the support of the large body of moderate sensible workmen, who feel that they have been deserted and thus even these men may in time become adherents of a wild cause in which at present
they have no real belief.... We think that what is driving many well-meaning enthusiasts into very extreme propaganda is the hopeless feeling that they have no place or voice in the management of the work they are doing, and that the only way in which they can assert their knowledge and individuality is by promoting disorder and thereby calling attention of the authorities to things which all reasonable men agree are wrong."

Surely you must know what a great sadness it is for me to find disagreement between us on important issues. I speak from the heart. Personal considerations, however, must sink into indifference these days. But there is a great public interest at stake. You are one of the few great sources of national leadership and inspiration for national endeavor. I do not want you to see that asset made ill use of. I do not want to have your generosity played upon by local or personal interests. I want your great strength left unimpaired and undiverted for the nation to which you belong.

Faithfully yours,

(signed) Felix Frankfurter.

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt.