

Miscellaneous material CEMARSH

Political Forecasts  
Speech material etc

PRESERVATION COPY

~~Hi~~ I have been a  
radio punch butter for  
Johnson - the Texas 10<sup>th</sup> Dist  
Congressman who has  
batted 100% for  
Roosevelt. Johnson  
himself steps up  
to the mike in a  
minute. But I  
got cut-off telling  
~~how~~ ~~good~~ ~~he~~ ~~is~~

Special  
ads - special  
discounts.

Texas network - 8-8<sup>30</sup>

Johnson Speaks Friday

night 730-800

On ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ Roosevelt and  
friendship and O'Daniel  
~~and~~ ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ and you x  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ John Connally, pinch  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ last week introducing x

~~slang on first base~~  
~~by last to~~

on first base  
by a radio timekeeper  
last Tuesday night  
So here this as a  
last punch list x

~~now watch Johnson~~  
~~they boss, bat a homer x~~  
now boss,



Your pinch hitter,  
John Connally, aged  
24 and draft  
number 207 introduced  
Lyndon Johnson  
draft, no 506, ~~to~~  
~~was~~ who ~~offered~~  
~~as an~~ hates Hitler  
loves Roosevelt, fears  
no one and will  
succeed Andrew

~~John~~ Jackson Houston  
aged 87, as your  
next Senator.

Now watch Johnson  
hit a home  
~~on the~~ in the  
Roosevelt - O Daniel  
world series of ~~generations~~  
Step up Lyndon,



Adams 4222

One - Chelsea 2-8729

Call ~~me~~ <sup>Mr</sup> Murrow

Kirksey

Barnes?

Arnold

PM

Write Feltress

Write Anderson

" FT Anderson

CABLE AND RADIO ADDRESS  
SAVOY PLAZA NEW YORK  
TELEPHONE VOLUNTEER 5-2600



THE SAVOY PLAZA  
FIFTH AVENUE 58<sup>th</sup> AND 59<sup>th</sup> STREETS  
NEW YORK

The reaction is good - your  
statement correct.

Enough is enough. More  
would mean two fighters on  
an equality exchanging blows.

This man feebly is  
attacking in the vicinity  
of one of our allies. People  
- plain people - can't hold over  
two mass hates at once.  
Communism was mass hate one  
Nazis + Japs are two mass hates no



him to say the issue  
is our war with our enemies  
~~not~~ Japan ~~the~~ Kaga + Company  
not Dies personal war  
against Russia based on  
ideas fed him by Rosenberg  
thru the Nazi-Fascist  
fifth column  
~~Donovan Committee~~ <sup>Short wave</sup> collection  
of German-Italian-Japan  
comment on the latest  
Dies outburst fed press  
services from New York  
Should precede Sunday  
then Monday ~~Amelia~~ <sup>Amelia</sup> speech

Dies <sup>has</sup> ~~is~~ outworn his dead  
You are lucky to be given  
a freak punch as he fades  
out. This makes you  
THE fighting liberal.  
The next move on  
Dies should be heavy -  
probably final - as far as  
the public opinion is concerned  
It should come soon.  
probably a bonis speech  
- the senate reviewing  
the man's total picture by  
Senator Aught (or a republican  
liberal). <sup>a speaker</sup> whose record permits



A pragmatic action of philosophy.

Budda (Orientalism) Western activity in the truth and philosophy.

"He is the greatest miser of words I know."

"That fellow talks the fastest I ever heard to make sense."

I think the biggest human appeal story in Texas that I know of will break soon. It is:

1. The two million dollar plant ~~mixtup~~ for folk at Temple is not public welfare, ownership by nobody.
2. The government of the United States has worked thru its priorities on the big McCloskey deal..... to a point where public welfare will own McCloskey. And this is fun - the Noveys won't be able to pay 10c on the dollar and ship it to Fishbane of Chicago as was planned. Texas gets the plum out of a broad general deal.
3. Plan for the future public welfare set-up. Third story the doctor's set-up

When these stories break there is only one caution. Dr. Scott must not be built up as a J.C. - fame is a horrible thing ~~to take~~ for any man to take, whether it is the man who officiates at the birth of five kids or President Truman. The function is the thing, so we ~~add~~ one more thought. Force and action are one. In people it is called energy and motion.

Quickly applied to human equation from birth to death on a straight line, activity is called life itself.

He who would win the most as a purely selfish command will naturally survey life itself. If a male, he will say, the maximum good for the maximum number is a pretty highway upon which you walk, and talk, and act. If he is a female, he will be more artistic with a smaller radius of observation. So if he is a female he will walk more in the middle of the road enjoying the companionship of one of many males who, of course, have to cover cross roads and four laners so that sudden damage to the joy of life and its progress may not occur. And so generations go on, but this is applied primarily to he who is a male.

Excusing the bypass of sex which has just gone before. In having eliminated bypasses, the sex equation ..... from this thought. One may say:

There is no value in action without results in the positive motion of the greatest good to the greatest number. There can be no compromise where one says that one is not as interested whether self or some other one is ever paramount to the greatest good to the greatest



number - no matter whether the excuse is of immediacy helplessness or ..... quality product is ..... All of these things are often called duty, and responsibility, and right living.

This is all the crop. It is not necessary to be a Nietzsche and say, "Born good and evil." But the gem of the idea is in this essay. It stinks of this essay because a mad man could not divorce himself and his personal ego from the ..... of his own personal ego. The mad man was born a God and looked with self-justification at "lesser beings." Of course, the truth is that there are no lesser beings.

And, of course, viewed on the wholesale line the equation reads: The greatest good to the greatest number equal maximum acts from birth to death on the positive side of public welfare and that equals the maximum life for a single unit from birth to death.

It is neither the egoist nor the fanatic nor the plain ..... nor the actor on the stage of life such as the President or the Fords, that make for this ultimate thing. The thing is purity itself. And in the issue of this strong word "purity", it is worth a definition. Some small words such as good and evil, and pure and fine, are merely four letter words such as .... etc. which expresses merely in peoples language what they capitalize as individuals to be the truth.

But since truth is distinctly an individual matter and find there can be no two truths alike any more than there can be two thumbs alike, the tragedy of language is in the impossibility of it being exact for more than two people who are in spiritual communion. So this bit of conversation is hardly understandable because the words such as good and evil, even when you go into five letter words such as right and wrong, rarely don't mean anything except as they are defined by the individual in truth to himself. And their meaning to the person to whom they are spoken can only be that. So going one step further, words are the mechanical sound expression from the throat or, if written, they are the mechanical expressions thru the fingers. For he who seeks thru writing to say something for the progress of the greatest good of the greatest number, one might say: The medium is unimportant - fiction, history, essay, poetry. The words and the media come after the orderly arrangement makes itself from the pure in heart. For instance, lyric poetry as a Shelley, The tire of truth as a Dryden. The lusty expression of a Voltaire is, of course, slightly different from the beauty of Anatole France, but both



worked as identity twins in their observations of France. Re-read *Candidi* and *Tais* - the same stories expressed in terms of rare "pragmatic philosophy." Both men visualized it..... and <sup>called</sup> in a painting of words the same story of France - degeneracy in hypocrisy. Neither man rarely gave a dam for anything except the truth. Hypocrisy may be defined as the expression of a designing or cunningly..... falsity, and the hypocrite is merely one who prefers to work in the ..... covered, of course, by the defensive formulas of truth. Witness the politician speaking to the people about patriotism on the senate floor and then going to the latrine to ask his fellow hypocrite whether he had "done any good." Well, if he were not a hypocrite he would have done the same thing exactly, made the same speech, gone to the toilet on the same split second and said "did I do any good?" One said exactly the opposite of what the other said but said the same thing and did the same thing. So evidently the truth is not in words or acts <sup>from</sup> the standpoint of the individual ~~except as the truth takes~~ <sup>pragmatism</sup> ~~priority within~~ <sup>the individual.</sup> (Philosophy), and in maximum ~~pragmatism~~ <sup>pragmatism</sup> ( intelligent..... of time and space for the emotions sometimes called joy, sometime called beneficients, and sometimes called right.

But there is only this to be said, a Dewey(?) or a ..... in American philosophy have emphasised the need in philosophy in activity and ~~signif-~~ ~~ificance~~ but one almost has to have ones tongue in ones cheek to read either of them, but philosophy is a static and pragmatism is an activity, so discussed in the terms of a Voltaire, philosophy in the activity is merely the multifid of the static. ( Charlie, I left out quite a lot here) but something about someone raising his hand and saying "Teacher Dewey, may I ask a quetion, and with permission says, true, but what are we doing about it except talking about it some more. And of course, Teacher Dewey would say, I wrote a book about it. Well, perhaps so, but so did Confucius, and look what a Hell of a thing he left in China. And compare him with Laotzu (?) who lived at the same time and was very great at that time as a intelligent man etc., while Confucius went over the great land asking for a job. Well, since Laotzu did not take a job and Confucius could not get a job, these two philosophers truly represented something. Laotze rarely gave anyone the truth. His decemants are all over India today. They are land fellows who reside on the hills, in the villages, and have but one desire, to go down to town every day to take care of the physical. So



I guess we can say these little souls truly have come places, for they deal in the daily affairs of more people ~~whom~~ who reside in the ..... and the capitalist Deweys have nothing at all. So I am for Laetze, but at this point we return to us.

(This man Len U Tang (?). "It's Fun To Live This Way".

A.B.&C., know each other very well. They have never met.

A.B. & C. also know X. Y. & Z., very well and they have never met, but the ..... is more accurate. A man in truth can read the inside of the skull of any other man in the world. There are no secrets. The earth is very small. Truth is infinitesimal. Truth is infinite. Certainly truth is not omnipotent. But certainly truth is a positive and in the over-all a constant fact and a constant ..... in motion and changeable. Perhaps the best illustration is to say it is a ..... orchid with finite truth

and finite essay into it however changing pursuit of happiness from one to the other and hence to the infinite of time and space in..... motion.

I was asked an hour ago to explain a phrase "Pragmatic Philosophy."

Undoubtedly I have not done so. The words are awkward. The words are not contradiction. ~~The words cannot exist side by side. The words merely~~ express the casual ..... on one talking the truth. For this I apologize. But I do not apologize for anything casual or tragic killing drive in the direction of the useful truth. I patiently reject any drive toward uselessness anytime. Far better it be a drive toward a harmful thing. Far better it be that thing which Milton wrote about in Paradise Lost." ..... in the flow of unit activity from birth to death mouthing uselessness with false face of sagacity. Such people are simply lazy in the blindness of the monkey scratching fleas to the applause of a moron.

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As the new year opens, if I were in my 20's I might be interested in a summary of the present conditions of the world as it effects me.

To a lesser extent this is true of a person of 50 but the angle is very different.

Anything that follows is merely comment of a person at 50 translated into the coinage of the early 20's.

It is hardly possible for a man getting ready to lessen activity to translate into and prepare to accelerate actively. The end may hardly speak to the beginning and the beginning must go through much to reach the end, so here goes:

Europe. The focus of world disturbance is Continental Europe. On the map it is almost nothing as to square miles - about as important as New England is in space to the rest of the United States - but in human value, that which happens in Continental Europe is probably fifty per cent of the total human activity.

I measure activity in terms of accomplishment. Two hundred millions of Europeans east of Russia in Europe have more active accomplishments - more culture, more history, more emotion even than all Africa, South America and all Asia outside of China and India.

I trace the present disturbance to certain temporary ailments produced by the age of steam and factory life. New methods of production starting one hundred years ago in England caused great fortunes and over-production of manufactured materials, such as cotton and culture in West England. These rich men with a new and better method of making things cheap in great quantities, needing outlets, laid the foundation for the conquest of India for the history of England and expansion since 1830.

German imitators and American imitators went different routes. The United States was an expanding market of its own with a country bigger than western Europe to grow in. Germany fought for raw materials and trade outlets in among her neighbors, resulting in the Austrian War, the new German Empire, the Franco-Prussian war and in the economic conflict between England and Germany finally in the World War.

In the 20 years since the Armistice, western Europe has been groping toward recovery of balance just as definitely as a man paralyzed by a blow on his neck in a prize fight has slowly to build back his sense of balance. The attempts toward recovery of balance



have been many, but roughly in 1937 may be considered three. The status quo and an effort to return to a condition of government and human conduct existing prior to the World War was made by both the British Empire and the United States, because they were the least hurt. But the status quo and pre-war conditions could not be rebuilt without recognition of conditions in Europe. England and America failed in their status quo attempt. England in 1926 and 1930 and America in 1930 to 1935. Both found conditions of their people degenerating toward a point where their money and methods of government had to be changed. In America we call it the "New Deal," simply because Roosevelt called it so. In England it has been a muddling thru from day to day without plan, but meeting conditions as they occurred. But don't forget Roosevelt has a plan, which I will discuss later. Europe broke into two general plans called Facists by Mussolini the originator - and Communists by Lenin and his predecessors. It is easier to define the point by saying -

Facicism is an effort through ordering individual lives and capital to strengthen the State as a nation controlled by a single mind - the boss - but, of course, for the profit of the State instead of the individual.

Communism is an effort to cause the State to work for the direct benefit of the community of needy persons. (When I come to it I shall attempt to show you that Roosevelt's plan is somewhere between the two). The broad forerunner of all post-war plans for improving or recovering the human balance is based on Socialism in the sense that socialism is the advocate of human rights as against property rights. The peoples of the world are saying in effect that individuals should be taken care of as their rights are truly sacred and that property rights are not sacred but that all property should be used to benefit people. In that sense I am a Socialist and an optimist in that I believe that out of Facism, Communism, New Dealism, the peoples of the world sincerely are striving toward a better world and I always shall be an optimist as long as I can remember that this world in 1937 has been evolved out of chaos and, that the peoples on this earth apparently had little to live or fight for in a modern sense less than ten thousand years ago and, ten thousand years ago is but a thin veneer on the human race which has been in existence at least five hundred thousand years, and, please laugh courteously



inside your spirits when anyone tells you that the world is going to Hell.

Practically there will be trouble in Europe. Hitler has brought his cake to a rich brown - the roast is ready to take out of the oven and his ammunition biscuits are on the plate. He passionately believes that his is the destiny and that the German people and himself are one. He believes in force and fear and fight.

France, which attempted to maintain a sort of English status quo, has waived too long and has lost her opportunity for true European leadership which she definitely had in her hand when the Germans were beaten beyond the Rhine. The French mind was too small.

Mussolini probably had the best brain but he had the poorest people and his dream of a new Roman Empire based on thirty million poverty stricken Italians without raw material of a modern age, must be called a dream, even if in the next few years he does become the true boss of the Mediterranean people. The point is that there is not much to boss in the Mediterranean area - its day of glory is gone.

Near Home. Lets come to this side of the Atlantic. Roosevelt and Hull took the recess between the election and the opening of Congress to make the South American gesture. In effect, they said loud speaking to the world from Buenos Ayres, that there is a new Monroe Doctrine not based on arms and yet based on arms. The "good neighbor" phrase making of Roosevelt is merely a statement that North and South America are standing by while Japan and Russia muddle up Asia and Europe fights its way out.

Here is a picture of three days before the last session of Congress opened.

The President of the Japan Senate called on House in New York the day after he had called upon Roosevelt and Hull in Washington. I happened to see House the next morning and the day that the Japanese and House were talking in New York I was having luncheon with Buchanan, the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee at Washington. Buchanan had seen Roosevelt that morning - you get the picture? - the Japanese had seen Hull and Roosevelt the day before Buchanan saw Roosevelt. The Japanese then went to New York to see House. Buchanan, the man who put in the bill for the army and navy, saw Roosevelt the day after the Japanese had lunch with him.



I said to Buchanan, "What did the President say this morning?" Buchanan said, "The President told me he did not expect all appropriations to be normal, except possibly for the navy, and that might have to be junked suddenly if the Japs do not behave."

House said, "I asked the Jap what he did in Washington?" The Jap replied, "I saw Hull and he gave me a good dinner; I saw Roosevelt and he gave me a good lunch; so I thought I would come up and see you."

Then I asked House, "What did you reply?"

House said, "Having known the Jap in Versailles and having corresponded with him since, I felt free to say, 'I think Japan mistakes the spirit of America if she believes that we are so peace-loving that we will take anything laying down because of our hatred of war.'"  
(The Jap was merely on a general feeler for the military part of Japan)

This anecdote is a little long but probably illustrates the point of our present and future foreign policy. Roosevelt's idea is to work for peace by staying at home in the Western Hemisphere, but with the proviso that no one can work for peace even in the Western Hemisphere unless he has something to talk with to war-like people. In other words, a voice from Greenland would not mean anything to Hitler.

Nearer Home. Roosevelt at Washington today is concerning himself with internal problems - that is, he is deciding as to his foreign policy, perfectly willing to shift from day to day but in reality the stage is all set and he will attempt to return the two Americas into a position of isolation hoping to minimize and stave out any war congregation by saying that the Western Hemisphere does not fit in either with ammunition or food stuffs. I think he is ready to go the limit of putting a trans-atlantic embargo on shipping should submarines or European ports blockade indicate commerce to Europe might mean war with Europe or on any side of a European war.

I believe he has decided that Wilson was wrong to go to Europe and he will not make the same mistake and protect ourselves from any emotional disturbance which might lead us into it. He has also decided that unless Japan picks on the Philippines, he will not try to save the Chinese but will feed them money to build up their country so that they can whip the Japanese. Two years ago he fed them \$50,000,000.00 under the guise of a cotton loan thru the R. F. C., which China has used



on highways and war preparation. I asked Jesse Jones two years ago when this loan was made how he could justify the thing as a business matter. He grinned but did not justify.

I said earlier that Roosevelt has a plan somewhere between the Communist and Facist concepts and that all three concepts was based on a broad document and are merely enlargements of the broader documents of Socialism. I hate to use the word Socialism as it has degenerated so as a particular name of a party in the United States. I would rather use the name socialization - that is an effort to bring about a fuller expression of human rights as contracted with the sacredness of property rights.

You may have heard or read the Roosevelt speech at the opening of Congress. In essence it was a statement to the Supreme Court. He said, please gentlemen, come with me toward progress. There is no necessity of changing the Constitution. I am asking you merely to change your viewpoint within the Constitution, but if you do not change and if enough of you do not die soon enough to put fresh blood in the place of property worshipping judges, I shall find it necessary to ask two-thirds in the states to alter the Constitution sufficiently to make a judicial decision by the Supreme Court of no value if vested by the House and Senate. This is in fact the English method, which is a constitutional changing with each law that is passed but based on a bill of rights called the Magna Charta. The Magna Charta is nothing more than a statement of human freedom or an intent of government similar to our Declaration of Independence. But while we wrote a fixed Constitution the English stopped with the Magna Charta and have been writing their Constitution ever since. Roosevelt has decided that it is time when nine policemen of a rigid constitution should change their policed methods or get out or have their clubs and guns taken from them.

But in the Roosevelt mind the Supreme Court battle is merely a skirmish. You remember he said in New York the day before his election that he hoped the first four years of his presidency would be recorded by history as four years in which entrenched wealth met its equal and that he hoped the next four years (its significant that he did not say the last) should record in history that entrenched wealth had met its Master. Remember Roosevelt said this before he was elected but when he knew he would be. It was not a campaign slogan; it was a statement of a victorious and cool mind after victory was assured.



I think, therefore, it is fair to state that Roosevelt is going to accelerate his philosophy of life very rapidly as a result of his overwhelming victory and, that he is going to ride over all opposition because of his belief that between 56 and 60 he must do his work and because of his great political intelligence realizes a third term for the presidency is hardly a possibility even for him.

But how will he hurry up and what is the sense of movements. First he will re-affirm thru the Congress those parts of the first four years of the New Deal which he thinks the Supreme Court has no right to stop. The Supreme Court will be given the chance to say NO again. If it is NO, he will go to the states to change the powers of the Supreme Court, unless through demand he can appoint his kind of judges.

But with this plan under way he will not stop his battles on other fronts. In other words, he hopes to whip what he considers greedy wealth and hide-bound defenders of greedy wealth in his general program of promoting human rights. But he also realizes that his leadership in destroying the Bourbons of this country will so encourage present leaders of the Left that they will attempt in the wake of the Roosevelt ship, to ride into power themselves in 1940. I truly think that Roosevelt is willing to quit in 1940 but wants to leave the ship with a new commander and a full crew of his kind of people. I think he has backed Wallace of Iowa, but this is merely a guess, certainly some one of that type. The man has to be under 55, over 40, in good health and definitely spiritual and for the people. Hull would do except he is 66.

It is probable he already has his general plan for the defeat of what we may call Lewis, the labor leader now in charge of the General Motors strike. Lewis hopes thru an old fashioned conflict between capital and labor to stir up organized labor into a militant push against capital. He has decided to attack the two basic industries employing mass labor - steel and the automobile. He believes he can also force the millions of railroad workers into his camp either immediately or when he becomes a candidate for the presidency. I think that Roosevelt will be very courteous to Mr. Lewis while he is battling the Supreme Court and other problems thru, but that within a year of the actual 1940 campaign he will find occasion to rebuke Mr. Lewis and those of the Left just as dramatic as he has the Supreme Court to behave themselves in the interest of ALL the people and in their PARTICULAR PARTY.



Roosevelt is not looking for a future in America after 1940 in which he was a John the Baptist before a Lewis a Jesus Christ. I feel he believes that the people will go forward thru the medium of government and established political parties, returning them thru the pressure of labor against capital on the economic fronts thru strikes and civil warfare between dollars and man. But it would be possible that the Roosevelt philosophy would even go beyond the plan where Lewis would take this country. Lewis would attempt to get everything he could for labor but probably would trade out with capital as against Mr. Average Man - the consumer. I believe that Roosevelt's concept is that Mr. Average Man and his government are principals in the trade and that both organized labor and organized capital are merely muscle men and each equally greedy if out of bounds.

How about the individual? It is easy to see that government attempting to give a new balance to a nation and its individual members must fight in this country against organized minorities come in from the Left under Lewis and his friends and, also from the Right in the shape of large corporations who are at present on a very definite defensive. The process of fighting means expense. If government merely sat down while the Left joined the Right in the factories and the railroads, government would go to pieces except to use soldiers on one side or the other. Government has to do things to prevent and make unnecessary this conflict between labor and capital. Roosevelt conceives this his job, which is merely another way to say that Roosevelt is putting the United States thru a process of socialization (not socialism) as his solution of keeping a prosperous and progressive peace within the borders of these United States.

You will note that I have said he wanted to keep peace in the Western Hemisphere thru a militant action for peace by going to Buenos Ayres. He proposes to keep peace within these United States by militant action in overhauling the basic business of government. That is, by correcting the real abuses of both capital and labor minorities and by providing a better scheme for living for the common man - not necessarily the unionized blocs headed by labor leaders demanding special privileges. His courageous action in the bonus matter proves this.

But as Roosevelt goes ahead the spectre of cost comes up. I call it a spectre - a ghost - because I do not really think the cost is



important. I always have conceived that money is not wealth - that money is merely an exchange of wealth and that if Roosevelt is actively creating wealth for the common man and his uses, he is not destroying wealth at all, no matter what the apparent cost in dollars.

Certainly a granddaughter of a tobacco king buying pearls in Egypt is not creating national wealth in the United States, but it is probably a Roosevelt tax of 50 per cent of the lady's wealth before she buys the pearls that he may find use for the tobacco money in his general relief plans and thus create wealth either actively by having men work in making things or probably by preventing jobless people from being parasites upon active workers - that is by having the tobacco king's granddaughter feed them.

This is an abnormal illustration, but in general the process does go on to a point where within twenty years you will know that government will have asserted and won its right to say to all its citizens that no citizen shall have for himself money to waste no matter who made it or how. This will be done thru gift taxes, income taxes, and inheritance taxes and, I would not be surprised that we will have laws within twenty years which will prevent healthy human individuals from loafing or deciding where and when and how often they should take a vacation. It easily may become immoral to be idle.

Changing Values. Above I have touched upon a future viewpoint of human being's lives. Were I planning my life at the age of 20 I would not have the abstract idea of moral value that I had when I was 20. I believed at 20 that this world was made for the people in it and not the people for the world. From that step it follows that property is for the intelligent use of the people. I have misused the word "property" purposely. To me true property is merely material - it is of this earth which can be intelligently used by human beings, but in the progress of civilization we have divided the properties of this world into individual ownerships. You own your school books, your pocket knife and your clothes and no one can take them away from you without due process of the law as we have it. There may be newspapers and stocks and bonds in the family. Just as long as they are intelligently used without waste under a capitalistic system it certainly is better that they are intelligently owned and conserved and used. But as the capitalistic system goes on and on the measure of abuse and misuse of wealth may have reached a point where an equal abuse and misuse of labor



has appeared to human beings the only off-set. But, as I look back at 20 on the threshold of jumping into business, I remember how heart sick I was at the thought I had to use my energy in a fighting world - people fighting for the same jobs, people fighting for the same dollar, people fighting for the same power. Somehow I did not have the sense of fight in me. I wanted all people to be happy and I wanted all people to want me to be happy. Now then, if one slight near-sighted boy felt that way thirty years ago, it is evident from what little I have read that many men have felt that way for several thousand years. I think today there are more people thinking that way.

THE TRUTH SHOULD BE TOLD

Austin Today and Tomorrow

TODAY'S AUSTIN is built around state employees, University students and a fair farming country.

Tomorrow's Austin - perhaps the avoidance of recession or stagnation - depends upon what is done with the power and lake regions now developed by \$30,000,000.00 on the Colorado.

The Colorado project, if intelligently handled, means:

1. Hundreds of thousands of tourist population each year through the Austin gateway
2. Industrial city near Austin built around plentiful labor, low taxes, cheap power.
3. The rebuilding of broken down farming areas through terracing and dependable water - a real necessity if future untterraced lands are not again to fill up with silt the new lakes.

If the Colorado project is mishandled progress will not more result for Austin from this \$30,000,000.00 effort than resulted for the sleepy city of Keokuk, Iowa, when the great dam of the Mississippi was built. The power went away to the industrial cities through highpower lines. Sleepy Keokuk still sleeps, perched on the banks alongside the dam.



If intelligence and energy and courage breathe in Austin, there will be no taking over of the 600 miles of shore line of the people's lakes by speculators determined to charge the summer-parched miles of the trans-Mississippi their 25 cent and 50 cent pieces for toll roads and camp sites while the cash register clicks for the greedy.

When the people have what they need and should have through a recreation board set up by the state and controlled for the happiness and decency and beauty of all the people, there will, of course, be plenty of space left for those who desire to build private homes. But the people - all the people - must come first.

Beautiful Austin should never be a dingy or a dirty factory town. But the wonderful thing about the future business which may be in store for the future is that white power is here - a power which has no smoke.

Leadership brings jealousy. The greedy father in swarms in the vicinity of activity and prosperity.

This newspaper believes that Congressman Lyndon Johnson, more than any one person, has been responsible for the Colorado project in the present immensity.

(Picture of Johnson and Miller)

No group of utility operatives serving higher rates elsewhere in Texas shall have the pleasure of laughing and profiting



by dissension among honorable men working in the interest of all the people. The teamwork between city people and country people in this area has been fine. Our immediate and next effort of our Austin citizenry should be spent behind our excellent leadership in aiding the farming district so important to the city's welfare.

Our next duty is to move toward private employment - away from government dole - every citizen of the 10th District. This means a modern electrically powered industrial city suited to the needs of our territory making those things which our labor can make and distributed by modern trucks on modern roads, according to the needs of a Texas population. And when this is done the energy of the Colorado will go into the happiness of the human beings nearby. Only in industry, in free labor, in private employment, lies the permanent welfare. Our governor has best expressed this in his industrial program.

This newspaper would recommend men like Tom Davis to head an advisory board of our city council or of a state authority designed to help farm improvement in this area. This newspaper would recommend a citizen such as E. H. Perry to be chairman of an industrial authority to co-operate with the city of Austin and the Colorado River authority in the project of returning Austin and the 10th District citizenry from the government aid to private employment.

This area should and may become the outstanding place in the United States for the final marriage of individual effort with the social progress headed by President Roosevelt and



sometimes called the New Deal. The final New Deal is somewhere between what existed in 1920 and what must exist in the 1940's.



The need is not for men clever enough to get themselves elected by the people, (Garner) not for people clever enough foolishly to mislead other people (Huey Long); not for leaders of magnetism blindly followed by the people, but for leaders so detached in the mind marriage of intellect and soul that they know the needs of the people as the people themselves in their mute birth agonies pray for safety, happiness, and progress.

These men who know may be the new leaders only if they spring from the loins of the people and do not die of cleverness.

May it not be true that such a son of the people shall arise who shall know the people's need of the formula for safety, happiness, progress through the gateway of peace—not war.

If Hitler is one of those leaders of destiny he shall show it now.

If Hitler is one of the clever people he shall now stretch himself toward a Napoleonic goal—a necessity of these people one hundred and fifty years ago which Napoleon betrayed and which Metterlink buried at Vienna

---

A Jung-Freud psychologist seems to be working over the German people today. The steps are those of a psychological expert going over a neurotic boy just before putting him under a waking hypnosis.

The Hitler steps have been : (In relation to the German Mass Mind)

1. They took your marbles away.
2. Lets get them back.
3. All who do not go ahead are cowards.
4. The other fellow is a coward—watch me hit him and see him run.
5. He runs. He is a coward. Let us take some of his marbles.

And now what comes. It appears at the moment like a second phase of suggestion ahead of a real fight.



It is: we took some of his marbles but not enough. He is now mad and is standing watching us with a pile of rocks and a club.

To hell with him. Let us fight and get more marbles. Skinny, you say I never won a fight and the boys only want marbles if they call scare and sneak them.

You do not want to come on and fight. Well, we will try to truck him some more, but I'M telling you boys, get your rocks and clubs ready because he looks mad now and is coming down the street. I just gave that big bum who was going to help him some marbles to go away.

But what I want to know is: Will you fight if You have to and he makes you fight to keep your marbles.

This last statement is almost accurate because Hitler (the hero who gets marbles without a fight) is certainly facing the difficulty of emerging into the German mind as a military genius.

Remember the Germans have always been lead by great military figures—Frederick the Great, Bismark, Von Molke—war strategists, statesman of force, but with the fighting trade at their finger tips. Hitler is not that, but probably wants to put his picture in history as bigger than Napoleon. But the German people have him down as a genius of bluff. So Hitler must do something very quickly to get the Germans

- a. willing to fight.
- b. willing to fight only behind Hitler.
- c. willing to fight because there is no other way out.
- d. willing to fight because they believe Hitler is no longer the aggressor, but a man who wants to keep what he has for the German people.

In order to accomplish there things he must appear to bow to high command, to bow to the will of his people, to be reasonable and thus to create within Germany the belief that his reasonableness (forced and approved by soldiers and people) has been of no avail. So the maneuver is:

The stubborn Poles , roughnecks and halfbreeds, went crazy and made peace-seeking Hitler go to war. Part of the party might be to let the show start from behind—Russia to Latvia or rear Poland. The barbed wire is still up at their borders, and since Germany is back and beyond Versailles—why not Russia's turn.



First Democracies in America at Plymouth and Jamestown consisted in counting heads, yes or no in local affairs. In New England it originated the town meeting.

Anglo Saxons elected their cheiftain by the counting of spears-one man, one spear.

Modern America extended man control to include women. We count spear heads at the ballot box.

But in America our freedom thru the secret ballot for all men and all women of proper age, also carries with it the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech and freedom of action for all voters. There is the one exception armed bearers who defend our nation on sea and land- our Army and our Navy personels have been limited in freedom of speech and freedom of action.

Our constitution makers designed a protection of civil liberty from a possible military despotism.

The Hatch Bill according to its supporters now proposes to extend the protection of our civil liberties by stating that certain classes of our citizens who are neither soldiers or sailors shall now be circumscribed and restricted from exercising some of the normal functions of men, and only in civil life the claim is that abuses have arisen among the civil servants of our government which threaten American liberty and freedom of action thru government.

I desire to defend every liberty to every person in the United States on his freedom of action, in public matters within the framework of the declaration of independence and the constitution, I dread the tendency to restrict such liberty.

It is that we are at such a crossroad, we must face it. If there is danger that 130 million people must become frightened



at the business domination of one million office holders, than it is now time to face the question.

Personally I am not sure. I am an optimist of America while middle Europe may be fighting a losing fight. I have no reason to believe that the world will not continue to make gains in the direction of the broad principle as that exercised in these United States. There have been pressure groups in America before 1776. There will be pressure groups as long as these United States exist.

The other day ~~in~~ in a discussion of the Hatch Bill, a patriotic American who may be far seeing, suggested to me that any American who receives one dollar from the treasury of the United States, should not vote or influence a vote on any appropriation of money, or in the election of any man, ~~he will have~~ who might have such authority. In plain words he would be disfranchised from that is keep voting other federal office holders, including members of Congress and the President, as well as every veteran receiving a bonus; all persons receiving federal aid other officials from cabinet officers to the janitor in our far west Post Office.

The Hatch Bill is a patch bill, as it is submitted to me. The most that its proponents may say is that it is a start in the direction of disenfranchising all civil servants of the United States.

I am not prepared to say that this is a question which should ~~be~~ not ~~be~~ now be faced, but that we should face it calmly. The American people who face such a restriction to individual liberty of political action with a full knowledge of its significance. Thus far in the progress of this republic we have moved toward fuller and more complete enfranchisement while American liberty was being rocked in the cradles of New England and Virginia, in Pennsylvania ~~and~~ In Maryland, with



in Maryland, that had only the most limited suffrage. Before that many states made the ownership of property the right to vote. Women could not vote. Only white men could vote. We have gone far since then. I believe we are going further. I believe we are not going backward.

I would be the last person in America to deny the right of a majority of our people within the safeguards of the constitution so able designed to protect each and every one of our minorities, and place into the legal framework of the United States a reversal of this trend, While I personally do not believe sixty million of American voters require protection in their liberties ~~and~~ thought and action from minority pressure groups; while I believe that majorities do not need need protection from minorities; while I believe minorities do need protection from majorities, I am willing that this issue be met by all patriots just as soon as it may be met without confusion. I refuse to have the framework of our present liberties damaged by selfish persons seeking petty partisan advantages based on personal ambition.

Ve-toing the Hatch bill will mean that I your President will be accused of prolonging the spoil system. I shall be accused of failure to protect the American voter from a designing and selfish official class. But it is not possible for a Congress which retains for its own members full right of unlimited political action, would deny such right to tens of thousands of equally honorable citizens working with equal patriotism and sincerity for their country and their ideals.

I am pointing out a few of the specific objections to this bill.



(State Objections)

I approve of (state approved portions)

The President in the constitution is charged with the duty of reviewing all bills before putting his signature on the same.

Courage in the use of this duty has often saved these United

States from grave harm. I mention a very few examples (state significant vetoes, not more than four or five.) This veto

is designed to call for a pause in any hasty action tending to restrict all American individuals in their rights of citizenship,

whether they are rich or poor, black or white and regardless of

whether their activity is of a specific or private nature, This

bill presumes in its essence that because he is paid by, or

otherwise receives money from the United States treasury (taxes)

*L* is less efficient or patriotic. I do not believe this.

Those who so believe as a result of this veto shall have the

right and duty again to consider. Specifically Congress shall

have the right to reconsider.



While we have a method  
of Amendment in emergencies  
the great mass of ~~needed~~ <sup>useful</sup>  
~~now~~ needs no Amendment  
What is needed is courage  
and frankness of practical  
lawmakers curled by a  
responsible president.

Why doesn't Roosevelt say  
so? ~~The~~ March 9th the  
radio <sup>again</sup> gives him his chance

Roosevelt is a lawyer.  
Also a ~~best~~ student of  
history. He knows the  
Supreme Court ~~discussion~~ <sup>discussion</sup> was  
the ~~cause~~ <sup>primary</sup> of immediate  
cause of the Civil War. ~~Why~~  
~~doesn't he say so?~~



~~The~~ No business in America  
could exist if it was  
shackled by a detailed  
set of rules laid down  
150 years ago. No president  
of any business could meet  
competition if a board of  
directors average age 72  
~~was~~ directed him from behind  
a 150 year old parchment.

The constitution is a  
splendid document. So is the  
Bible.

But the Bible and the  
Constitution are to remain alive  
only to have conditions of  
evolution and ~~practical~~ modern  
interpretation.



Should be

left to the congress subject  
to a two thirds vote upon  
presidential veto. ~~Then~~ Then  
all back passing would cease.

The people voting a lower  
house every two years could  
with ~~frequently~~ frequent direction  
take things in hand should  
congress ~~be~~ misrepresented.

But the slow but fatal  
poison of judicial law  
making can not be reached  
The people and there congress  
never know where they

Sometimes ~~after~~ years ~~of~~  
~~a~~ ~~single~~ man ~~age~~ 80 then  
a 5-4 decision affects the  
promises and labor of millions.

BOSTON MILLS FARM  
BOSTON VIRGINIA



But not far enough

Roosevelt faltered on the ~~of~~ Supreme court issue. He will win a Congressional victory. He has missed the opportunity of the century in not presenting the issue in ~~its~~ full ~~and demand~~ with a demand for complete reform.

The basic reform that must come is simply: The Supreme Court must not declare any law unconstitutional. Any law passed by Congress is passed by men who are versed in the Constitution. The Congress has expert on constitutional law every at its elbow. ~~It~~ the full responsibility of preserving the spirit of American institutions.



As your depression governor, I am an optimist.

A year and a half ago I took office, as the rising tide of a national business collapse began to engulf the United States.

Today, many of us who thought we were rich are poor--in worldly goods; but many of us are immeasurably richer in those qualities of humanity and courage which can only come out of the refinements of adversity.

Our very own Texas--the 6,000,000 of us, are on one of the few pieces of high, dry land. A Galveston flood has hit the East. Our national government has been spending three dollars and taking in two.

But Texas is financially sound.

\*\*\*

It is now time to tighten our belts and get ready for for whatever else there is to come.

In a recent talk to Texas through the newspapers, I pointed out that our state institutions are being trimmed down in running expenses in the amount of \$1,000,000 from last year.

I have stated there should be no more borrowings by state, county or city---that is, no more bond issues until this thing is over.

And today I wish to say things which may sound unpleasant, but which I think must be said in all fairness to the people of Texas. If I did not say them, I would feel untrue to my trust. If I did not say them, I would feel personally unclean.

There must be no favored class in Texas. We all have been prosperous together. If there must be sacrifices, we all must sacrifice together.

We should harmonize state expense  
to conform with 40-cent wheat, five-cent  
cotton, and 10-cent wool.

And because I passionately believe that the small homeowner and the ~~farmer~~ farm-owner has more than paid; that he has been paying beyond his ability to pay--I believe immediate justice must be done him.



Those classes who thus far have been depression-proof-- who have gone 2 1/2 years along the road with the same number of dollars from the state, county and city treasuries, should welcome reduction in the number of these dollars, so that they may contribute to the end that not one dollar of direct taxes for the state government may be collected in 1933 upon any farm, home or building within the borders of Texas.

Many may ask: "How can \$14,000,000 in state taxes be given up for the relief of the farmer and home-owner?"

The answer is simple:

1. The public payroll of the state should be reduced several million dollars, by a reduction of a minimum of 10 per cent in the salary of every state employe who gets over \$1500 a year. It is probable that the most financially favored employes should give more.

2. Expenses of state institutions, because of low prices of food and materials, probably can provide \$1,000,000 more, beyond economies already effected.

3. By far the greater amount should be provided by a reasonable attitude toward the construction activities of the state.

It is a splendid thing to rush ahead in the completion of a marvelous highway system. No one has more advocated this than I --in times of prosperity.

It is a wonderful thing to rear the Southwest's greatest universities. All our correct-thinking people favor this-- in prosperous times.

But I certainly am not alone among the friends of highways and among friends of higher education in taking the present position that we should not go ahead with a \$30,000,000 expenditure for new roads in 1933, when the counties are burdened with road taxes which their farms and homes cannot pay the interest on. I believe



that the first use of gasoline tax money in 1933 should be toward the relief of county taxes, by turning at least \$7,000,000 of this road money back to the counties, if and only when they agree to use such refunds in satisfying county road obligations. Of course this \$7,000,000 becomes a direct relief to our citizens by reducing county taxes.

The intelligent friends of higher education believe that for 1933 there should be a definite program of retrenchment--that present buildings should be completed, but that all funds should be held intact until the true extent of the depression has been measured. Such friends believe that professors should not be considered a privileged class, and should contribute by fair reductions in line with other state employees.

It is obvious that useless or semi-useless employees should be eliminated. This is no time for four-hour per day workers. It has been observed that the largest salaries in the state's institutions are often given those who work the least. Adjustments in line with the present conditions are certainly in order.

This salary-economy program certainly should be effective in regard to our courts and district attorneys. Where there are too many assistants, there should be fewer.

Our state can and will, through the above program, reduce its expenses in dollars by more than 15 per cent in 1933.

The reduction can be made in a state which has no income tax, no current debt, and whose departments have more than \$35,000,000 stored up in assets.

In 1931, the total expenses of the state for all purposes were over \$100,000,000.

A special legislative session will be necessary, and will be called in plenty of time before the November elections so that these matters may be legally attended to. It may cost \$70,000 in a legislative session to provide legally for a \$10,000,000 saving, but the intelligent people of this state cannot be fooled by any demagogue who points at a one-cent expense which brings about a dollar in saving.



I believe these things can and will be accomplished without one dollar of additional taxation at the special session.

However, I need not point out that if this program is threatened by any difficulties that may occur, there has not been adequate taxation, should the necessity arise, upon natural resources.

Again I wish to make clear to Texans that Texas skies are relatively bright. We should not allow them to be obscured by the smoke-screens of Eastern depression and destructive criticism from ~~xx~~ self-seeking persons attempting to attach themselves unworthily to the public payroll.

Texas has safely invested its funds in higher education to the extent of approximately \$20,000,000. In an extreme emergency, it can be provided that their affairs be run out of the rent of their own funds.

The highway department has approximately \$14,000,000 on hand. Revenues to come are greater than its pledges outstanding to complete roads.

We are now approaching the third movement in a program of financial safety for this state-- that is, economies commensurate with the depression. I have already outlined the major points. I have already outlined a program of relief to the farms and homes of this state which would total \$20,000,000 in tax relief to the farms and homes in 1933--- \$14,000,000 direct and \$7,000,000 by refunds to the counties.

I pledge you with all coolness, with all sympathy, and with all the efficiency I possess, to carry on with and for the people of Texas.

-



It is ridiculous for us to meet in legislative session during this political campaign. When the special session is called, we will then have before us a government simplification report which has been two years in preparation. We will have before us new and immediate figures as to what our institutions are now costing us. Savings are being made every day by the board of control. We will have before us estimates of the total cost of state operations for 1933. The budget will be before us. It should then be a simple matter to determine:

1. How much, if any, of our additional highway funds are needed for state operations.
2. How much, if any, of the permanent educational endowment should be used or borrowed for regular operations.







ADDITIONAL CREDITS

Supplies advanced courses, if any, remaining. (2) *M. A.*

**For the** ..... **Degree**  
(To be filled out by the Dean of the Graduate  
School, The University of Texas)

Will be granted the ..... Degree  
upon satisfactory performance of the work in the  
following courses, as announced in the catalogue  
of the year:....., and the completion of an  
acceptable thesis.

[illegible]

Date .....  
Chairman of the Grad. Council.

Chairman of the Grad. Council.

Exact date of birth:



AUSTIN AMERICAN  
AUSTIN, TEXAS

July -

Credits for C.E. Marsh



Undated  
Dictation to  
FRANK P. GLASS JR



Memo on Sen. Glen H. Taylor (Idaho)

If Sen. Taylor stays within the party, then a series of editorials. Taylor will write a series of articles on the thesis of how and why we can be kept out of war.

One article will be on the broad question of why war is destructive to our country and people yet unborn. Everyone knows that war is destructive of life. Everyone knows that \$2.00 out of every \$3.00 will be spent in moral preparation and in payment of past wars. Everyone should know that a general war will create a standard of living as low as the general standard of living in England today.

But not everyone knows that in many cases among many minerals, such as copper, that four years of war eat up one-fourth of the available supply of that metal within the United States. What we burn up in war we never get back simply because we burn it up for no productive value, either permanently or temporarily, which provide a higher standard of living -- the basis of education, for good bodies and for the people's savings. When we cut down a forest to make army camps or to build wooden ships good only in war emergency, we must expect to pay an absurdly high price for our own homes.

So in an opening article (there will be six in the series) the average citizen voter will be told what a war joy-ride means to himself and his children.

He should be told that what has happened in Europe throws its waves upon our shores. He should be told that a prosperous British Empire in 1914 became an upset, unstable and declining British Isles in 1920. Thus in two years after a victorious war. He should be told that a second victorious World War finds England and western Europe in collapse and he should be told that



a third World War may find the great and prosperous United States of America ending a victorious war with Russia in a state of chaos, unworkable high taxes and headed for fascism as idle, strike-bound factories and broken down public services cause the people to submit to so-called "strong men" promising order such as Mussolini and Hitler promised the corporations and the banks and the insurance companies and shipping interests and factory owners.

Such an aftermath of World War Two on the continent of Europe during 1930-1940 might easily come to the new strong United States should the country continue to burn up its natural resources, such as oil, forests, iron, and man-power in a third World War.

Rome won two Punic wars and became world master after beating Carthage, the most beautiful city in the world, in the so-called third Punic war -- burned it to the ground and leveled it off. But the victor in this effort laid the seed of her own depression. The great historian, Gibbon, rightly called the following period "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."

But such words as "empire", "communism" and "fascism" are but names in the decline and fall of peoples as war eats up their substance and happiness. What the leadership of America must work out is the leadership of men world-wide. Otherwise Christianity is a mockery. Otherwise history will report the decline and fall of the American nation.

Throughout this country is the loose talk "What are we waiting for?" We hear: "One bomb on Moscow, please". But we do not hear the simple historic truth. Blindly in fear or ill nature, many of our chieftains in finance and politics and the press have followed those military leaders, now out of jobs, who will use atom bombs to bring peace to this world.



For Christ's sake let us pray that in this New Year the American people will call a halt to this fashionable fascist fear-drive against the Russian communist - that there will be a miracle also in Moscow where a Molotov will be supplanted as was Litvinov, and where, in this country, the military trappings shall not be the insignia of the Prince of Peace.

P.S. This thought goes on in two such articles in the proposed outline of the platform in the Democratic party; (or if he goes third party) he may use this basic argument while stumping, although I cannot use the series of articles of an active campaigner in the newspapers in serial form. The matter might, of course, be written for The New Republic if he so desires.

## Political Forecast.

The Republicans, lead by either a Taft or an Eisenhower, are more nearly the prospect for continued peace with Russia than Truman, Marshall or Leahy.

Wallace's third party probably will beat Truman. The defeated Democratic party properly may blame Wallace. The Republican party, of course, will not acclaim Wallace who merely passes on off the brink of the stage as Henry the Giant Killer. But the Republicans gather the power and the grapes for four years. All the Liberals remaining in the Democratic party will blame Henry for bolting and naming the Republican victor. So Henry must say the following on November 4th: "We shall carry on through the next four years as a third independent party looking for victory in 1952." His Vice Presidential candidate and all other Third Party members will either continue with Henry or return to the Democratic fold. But, of course, the Third Party in decay or growth (the last almost historically inconceivable) will remain a Wallace-Baldwin machine seeking more power and more votes by reaching toward the lower middle, the radical proletariat and the upstairs intellectual.

But obviously the Republicans will not be as belligerent in their foreign policy as the Democratic triumvirate. Of course neither Marshall nor Leahy is Democratic, and both will retire permanently with Truman in defeat, leaving the Democratic party a shambles, bereft of all liberal elements which have to follow Wallace.

So the prospect for a Republican victory is for a milder form of cold war, leaving the sincere and genuine peace-loving voters split and therefore ineffectual, while the real power for



the next four years is left with capitalistic Wall Street and its allies in burying forever the New Deal's economic policies started in 1932 by Roosevelt.

This bleak prospect probably means the full indignation of the average American citizen will reach its economic peak about 1960 with world affairs still chaotic, but not in a 3rd World War. That will be the time when the maximum youth and courage of the non-bolting Democratic Liberals will be called upon to carry this country forward in the 1932 pattern for economic progress and world peace.

As Roosevelt told Wallace: "Give us time, Henry. Russia has come from 1918 thirty percent. of the way toward our way, and from 1932 we have gone thirty percent. to the Russian way. There is not too much difference between Joe and myself. We can and will get along. We will bridge the forty percent. between our peoples. The Far East will make progress toward Democracy in these troubled times. I still remain an optimist. Patience and courage. Give the people a chance."

Roosevelt told Wallace in two pieces -- one when he told him to go to Madison Square Garden at the celebration of the Soviet Army's 21st anniversary and again just before the convention which named Roosevelt and Truman when he said: "You and I, Henry, for the next four years, and I am glad."

Look at this background today. Henry is not carrying on. The Army and Navy and Wall Street and the Catholic princes have the country. They cannot and never have kept it wither under Harding or Hoover. The bell is ringing for 1960 and 1962. Let us take the Democratic party and go forward in the light of 1930 and 1932. Only thus will the new day and the new dollar be practical. It takes more toughness to take the fight waiting than jumping on a white horse behind Henry.

3  
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We meet today as Texas Democrats to voice our prayer, our hope, and our action in the defense of the American way of life.

No convention of our state since the ~~five~~ <sup>two</sup> flags have waved has been faced with a problem so grave.

Simply, plainly, briefly, may I say we meet to affirm our enthusiastic approval of ~~the United States~~ <sup>our leader Franklin</sup> President of the United ~~States~~ <sup>D. Roosevelt</sup>. In his past acts, in his present position and in the immediate and tremendous problems he faces - your leader, democracies' leader, America's leader <sup>has become</sup> ~~and the world's~~ <sup>hope</sup> ~~voices for president and~~ leader, ~~Franklin D. Roosevelt.~~ <sup>for peace with freedom.</sup>

PRESERVATION COPY



2

(Insert after Paragraph )

~~A strong arm guarantees a free mind in peace and liberty  
today more than ever in history~~

A strong arm guarantees a free mind. Peace and liberty  
today more than ever in history, needs a leader to unify/nation in  
defense of America.

Roosevelt as our leader has drawn a line that no dictator  
shall pass. Second workmen in this leadership has been our great  
fellow Texan John Vance Garner.

In unity, in peace, they have effectively worked to  
defend the peace. In unity, in harmony they have taught us  
to say in Waco today

*that we also work in peace and  
harmony*

Both men have spoken during seven years of labor together.

Both men speak to you now, arms around each other facing the dictators  
of an older world in courage, in hope, in defense of our American

*way*

PRESERVATION COPY

For me to recount the weaknesses of the Republican Party;  
for me to affirm the individual acts of the Democratic Party, needs  
no place here.. I would insult your intelligence to relate the history  
of the Democratic party in detail since the days of Woodrow Wilson..  
I shall not do so.

No ~~one~~ man with intelligence discusses <sup>in certainty</sup> what tomorrow will  
bring, <sup>B=</sup> but we do know each man and woman in America does know that they  
love the President, that they respect their President, that they have  
confidence in the wisdom, the honesty and the courage of Franklin D.  
Roosevelt.

To the man who faces <sup>world</sup> ~~world~~ problems which no other man  
in America's history, has faced, to him we say - Texas is behind you.

At Chicago our representative on the resolutions committee  
will say, Texas approves, admires and endorses your administration  
in office.

PRESERVATION COPY



4

Franklin D. Roosevelt and John Garner, President and Vice President of the United States, have carried on in times of peace. The wisdom of John Garner as a practical statesman is too well known for anyone to elaborate. Texas at Chicago properly shall offer its native son to the nation. Should <sup>events</sup> ~~evidence~~ bring about his nomination, Texas ~~shall~~ shall enthusiastically support him as a nominee and <sup>shall for me</sup> ~~send~~ Texans throughout the nation ~~the information~~ to inform all of the forty-eight states of our great admiration for his qualities..

John Garner would be the last man in America to discount the wisdom and work of the Democratic Party at Washington during the past seven years. Franklin Roosevelt would be the last man in America were he on this floor today, to advise Texans to do other than honor ~~and~~ their native son.

Ladies and gentlemen, unity in thought, // and action is today's prime need. Ambitions of no man come before the national defense. No Democrat is ambitious to do that in the national defense which some other man better might do. No man at a time like this shall insist on personal leadership for self.

It is unthinkable that 150 years of Democracy and freedom should not have the free expressions of <sup>differ nce</sup> ~~difference~~ of opinion as to measures and men. <sup>But today</sup>

the harmony that will be expressed in today's meeting - will tell the world, will speak directly to Chicago and inform the Democratic Party

of the nation, will give a heart to those who lead us that we Texans <sup>are</sup> ~~will~~ unite for the American way of life. <sup>plan of method</sup>

of free speech, free action, free thought and free opportunity. <sup>to the 91st Congress</sup> ~~to the 91st Congress~~ <sup>in Dec</sup> ~~in Dec~~ <sup>21 - 24 & 25</sup> ~~21 - 24 & 25~~ <sup>R. & G.</sup> ~~R. & G.~~

RECEIVED

I

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No convention of our state since the <sup>24</sup>five flags have waved has been faced with a problem so grave.

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fellow Texan John Vance Garner.

In unity, in peace, they have effectively worked to  
defend the peace. In unity, in harmony they have taught us  
to say in peace today *that the old world is gone*  
*forever* Both men have spoken during seven years of labor together.

Both men speak to you now, arms around each other facing the dictators  
of an older world in courage, in hope, in defense of our American way *of life*

*Way*

For me to recount the weaknesses of the Republican Party;  
for me to affirm the individual acts of the Democratic Party, needs  
no place here. I would insult your intelligence to relate the history  
of the Democratic party in detail since the days of Woodrow Wilson.  
I shall not do so.

No ~~one~~ man with intelligence discusses <sup>in certainty</sup> what tomorrow will  
bring. But we do know each man and woman in America does know that they  
love the President, that they respect their President, that they have  
confidence in the wisdom, the honesty and the courage of Franklin D.  
Roosevelt.

To the man who faces <sup>world</sup> ~~world~~ problems which no other man  
in America's history has faced, to him we say - Texas is behind you.

At Chicago our representative on the resolutions committee  
will say, Texas approves, admires and endorses your administration  
in office.

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3



it.

Franklin D. Roosevelt and John Garner, President and Vice President of the United States, have carried on in times of peace. The wisdom of John Garner as a practical statesman is too well known for anyone to elaborate. Texas at Chicago properly shall offer its native son to the nation. Should <sup>event</sup> ~~evidence~~ bring about his nomination, Texas ~~shall~~ <sup>shall firmly</sup> enthusiastically support him as a nominee and send Texans throughout the nation ~~the information~~ to inform all of the forty-eight states of our great admiration for his qualities..

John Garner would be the last man in America to discount the wisdom and work of the Democratic Party at Washington during the past seven years. Franklin Roosevelt would be the last man in America were he on this floor today, to advise Texans to do other than honor ~~and~~ their native son.

Ladies and gentlemen, unity in thought, and action is today's prime need. Ambitions of no man come before the national defense. No Democrat is ambitious to do that in the national defense which some other man better might do. No man at a time like this shall insist on personal leadership for self.

It is unthinkable that 150 years of Democracy and freedom should not have the free <sup>differ nce</sup> ~~expressions~~ of ~~expression~~ of opinions as to measures and men. But today

the harmony that will be expressed in today's meeting - will tell the world, will speak directly to Chicago and inform the Democratic Party of the nation, will give a heart to those who lead us that we Texans <sup>are</sup> ~~will~~ unite for the American way of life. plan of method

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of free speech, free election, free thought and free opportunity.  
to the 9060 of 1909 in C. S.  
- 1909 - 1909 - 1909 - 1909 -

Story of  
Fentress-Marsh  
partnership



1924

The Fentress and Marsh newspapers operated as an individual corporation, consists of six newspapers in Texas, the Wichita Falls Record-News, the Waco News-Tribune, the Austin American, the Austin Statesman, the Port Arthur News and the Orange Leader. The Newspaper Publishing Company, a holding company, of which E. S. Fentress is president and Charles E. Marsh editor in chief, owns substantially all of the stock in these papers.

Fentress and Marsh were employed by the Scripps newspapers prior to 1916. Their entry into Texas being through the purchase of the Waco Morning News in the spring of 1917. A year later they purchased the Waco Morning Tribune and consolidated. In December 1918, a third partner, C. H. Fentress, who had until that time been a silent investor, joined them as president of the Beaumont Journal, which was purchased in December 1918. The Port Arthur News and the Orange Leader were purchased in 1919. The Beaumont Journal was sold to Governor W. P. Hobby and J. L. Mapes, owners of the Beaumont Interprise in July 1921. The Austin American and the Wichita Falls Record-News were purchased within the next twelve months. The Austin Statesman was purchased and consolidated with the Austin American as a thirteen issue a week newspaper on December 1st this year.

Fentress and Marsh, who purchased the holdings of C. H. Fentress in July 1923, contribute their newspaper start to the faith of C. H. Fentress in furnishing capital and advice to the younger men at the time of their branching off from the Scripps concern. He invested a substantial sum in his faith that his brother and Marsh could succeed as owner operators of newspapers and reaped a substantial reward through his faith and personal effort.

The working partnership between Fentress and Marsh is based on one cardinal principal. Their ruling is that no major decision such as the buying and selling of a newspaper shall be made unless each agree without urging from the other. If either man makes a proposal, the other must reach a similar decision



without argument and without solicitation. The suggesting partner merely makes a statement of his opinion and waits for an agreement or refusal from his partner. This is accepted as final without argument. Their theory is that there are a great many opportunities in the American newspaper field and that the best way to arrive at a proper choice of opportunities is to have it approved upon by two minds working independently.

There is one major operating policy. It is that the man in actual charge of any newspaper is responsible for its success or failure, and that no orders shall be given him over which the operator himself has not the final decision. This principal is carried to the point that the editorials of the editor in chief, Marsh, are submitted to the editors of the various papers for their approval or rejection, and no "MUST editor policies or MUST editorials" are sent to the editors of the papers. The position is that these editors on the ground should know the reading public of their communities and should know best how to serve their communities. Thus the editorials and policies of the editor in chief are merely suggestions of view point and are treated with exactly the same consideration as the work of other editorial writers employed.

The same policy is applied to the business affairs of the individual papers. No press is ordered, no machinery bought, no advertising rates decided upon, no space limits made without the consent and decision of the business manager of the individual papers.

In return for this principal of self-government of individual property, the owners demand performance through circulation increase, good will and profit. They accept no alibies for failure through interference of the owners and they base their rewards upon the success of the individual newspaper operatives.



The Fentress and Marsh idea is that there are certain primary advantages in chain ownership but that there are certain disadvantages which must be eliminated if they are not to over-balance the favorable factors. The disadvantages are roughly those of a concentration power, editorial decision in the hands of non-resident owners to an extent which surmises the initiative of the resident operator. They believe that the desire of an owner for a national or state editorial policy in regard to the election of a president or a governor, for instance, is subordinate to the necessity of permitting the honest convictions of the resident editor to be expressed. They believe that any efficiency that may be obtained by a super-circulator dominating an individual newspaper circulator is far over-balanced by lack of initiative and fear on the part of the dominated circulator of the individual paper. They believe that the decision of a general management in regard to advertising rates or plan enlargement or print paper ~~XXXXXXXX~~ contract and the like, may be more accurate ~~than~~ than such decision by an individual paper manager, but they believe that such detailed general management will destroy the initiative and value of the individual plant manager. They believe in short that the development of publishers and editors is paramount to the development of uniformity of system and the exercising of power from a central office.

The seven years have resulted in the growth of from one to six newspapers and a growth of \$90,000 a year gross to approximately \$1,300,000 a year gross. A final cardinal principle governs their relations with the public. They have accepted an early Scripps policy, that 85 percent of the total income of a newspaper should be returned to the advertiser and to the public in newspaper value, regardless of the ability of the newspaper to earn a large revenue. They believe that the newspaper is a semi public institution which under private ownership has no more right to extract more than a fair percentage of its gross business for service rendered by them than has a public utility exercising a



~~manuscript~~

monopoly of any other kind of service. Above all, they believe that the policy of returning to the advertiser and reader a fair and fixed percentage of total revenue is the best insurance of prosperous operation in increase of good will.

In the developing and fixing of the rewards for a return for service, Fentress and Marsh newspapers have consistently spent a percentage of gross revenue in public welfare. This sometimes takes the shape of direct money contributions to ~~manuscript~~ community interest, and at other times is used in promoting community betterments such as the city manager, good roads, municipal auditorium and the like. Often these matters are financed in their initial stages by the funds of the newspaper where other finance is lacking.

The organization is definitely of the belief that in towns of from thirty to one hundred thousand, the community best met be served by a consolidation in one plant of the newspaper function of the city. Their experience has been that a morning, evening and Sunday combination can be produced for a city of this size at a cost of approximately 75 percent of that of two newspapers printed separately. In their Austin consolidation, they have made a survey of the savings resulting from the combined operation and have given back to the advertiser and the reader their full ~~manuscript~~ proportion of savings in reducing advertising rates and improved readers product.

The relation of the organization to the employees has been as usual organizations, with the exception that special selected men are permitted to buy stock in the holding company. They are guaranteed that they can sell back to the holding company at any time without loss. They are also guaranteed the same rate on their class of stock that is paid to the class of stock held by the controlling owners. In this way all risk of loss on a part of a purchasing employee is eliminated. Also a fixed rate of 7 percent ~~manuscript~~ per annum is made regardless of lessor earnings on the stock of the controlling owners.



Page #5...

Other than these principals the concern is operated on the theory that it is a moving business engaged in assembling and selling information. It does not consider that there is any moral obligation regarding buying and selling a property. They believe that the moral obligation consists in a proper operation while the property is in the organization, and have never adopted a former Scripps principal that no paper in the organization should be sold. Apparently this is also a principal of the Hearst organization, although the Scripps-Howard sale of the Des Moines News recently indicates the abandonment of this principal by the latter organization.

E. S. Fentress and Marsh own a equal individual interest and have their holdings issue in common.

Fentress was born in Kansas, 48 years ago, obtained his first newspaper experience in a combined newspaper and job plant in Norwalk, Ohio, and was business manager of the Des Moines News for the Scripps League when he formed his partnership with Marsh.

Marsh was born in Cincinnati, 37 years ago, obtained his first newspaper work on the Oklahoma News, a Scripps newspaper. Was city editor of the Cleveland Press and managing editor of the Cincinnati Post and joined with Fentress in the partnership while he was editor of the Des Moines News.

Story of  
Original General  
newspapers Inc.



GENERAL NEWSPAPERS, INC.

(General Information)

General Newspapers, Inc., of Delaware, was formed in August, 1930, to consolidate into one company eleven newspapers controlled by Charles E. Marsh and Eugene C. Pulliam. Three hundred thousand dollars (\$300,000.00) of senior newspaper securities under a Texas newspaper group also were included.

The object of the consolidation was to provide the foundation for a newspaper security holding company and to arrange for a uniform management policy.

Additional newspapers have been purchased since August so that the detail of holdings, October 1st, 1930, reads as per the attached exhibit.

The personnel of the officers and directors, all of whom are active newspaper operators, is as follows:

Charles E. Marsh, Chairman of the Board, age 43, continuously active in newspaper work since 1909. Was first a reporter in Oklahoma City, and successively City Editor of the Cleveland (Ohio) Press, Editor Akron (Ohio) Press, Managing Editor Cincinnati (Ohio) Post, and Editor Des Moines (Iowa) News.

In 1916 he formed a newspaper partnership which now operates Newspapers, Inc. of Texas, of which Mr. Marsh is Chairman of the Board. Newspapers, Inc. of Texas, has holdings in nineteen Texas daily newspapers, having a volume of approximately three and a half million annually and a net annual profit of between \$500,000 and \$600,000.

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Eugene C. Pulliam, age 40, began his newspaper work as a reporter under W. R. Nelson's ownership of the Kansas City Star in 1910. In 1914 Mr. Pulliam entered newspaper publishing as an owner, and in 1929 became President and majority stockholder of Pulliam Publishing Corporation, operating nine daily newspapers, seven in Oklahoma and two in Indiana. Mr. Pulliam is President of General Newspapers, Inc.

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E. S. Fentress, Waco, Texas, President of Newspapers, Inc. which owns nineteen daily newspapers in Texas, having a volume of approximately \$3,500,000 annually and a net annual profit in excess of \$500,000. Mr. Fentress was Business Manager of the Cleveland Press prior to forming a partnership with Charles E. Marsh and together they organized Newspapers, Inc. of Texas. They have been associated together in the newspaper business in Texas, continuously, for sixteen years.

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J. M. Stein, age 42, a director, has had twenty years of editorial and publishing experience, the last seven years as President and majority owner of the Brownsville (Texas) Herald. Mr. Stein is now engaged in investigating work regarding possible purchases of newspapers.

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The four men above mentioned have never left the newspaper business for other endeavor. Each has been successful personally in the financial world and each has invested in General Newspapers, Inc. At this date General Newspapers, Inc. controls newspapers which have monopolistic position, and in no case owns newspaper securities in any newspaper which is not making money. It is the policy for each city publisher to be a stockholder either in the local subsidiary or in General Newspapers, Inc.

Newspapers controlled as of this date total twenty-three newspapers in twenty publishing centers, having an estimated net profit from October 1930 to October 1931 of approximately \$300,000.00. Detail is attached.

Exhibits attached show:

- (a) General Newspapers, Inc. consolidated balance sheet.
- (b) Newspapers of Texas, Inc. balance sheet. (Holdings of General Newspapers, Inc. include 5,000 shares of \$4.00 per annum preferred, there being no securities senior to this preferred issue.)
- (c) General Newspapers, Inc. detail of estimated earnings, applicable to interest charges and common stock dividends.



GENERAL NEWSPAPERS, INC. - Subsidiaries

(A Delaware corporation)

BALANCE SHEET AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1930.

PROPERTIES: Sun-Democrat, Paducah, Ky; Orange Courier, Orange, N.J; Review-Courier, Alva, Okla; Times-Democrat, Altus, Okla; Daily News, Clinton, Okla; Daily News, Elk City, Okla; Daily Tribune, El Reno, Okla; Democrat-Chief, Hobart, Okla; Daily Star, Mangum, Okla; Daily Citizen, Linton, Ind; Daily News, Bicknell, Ind; Herald-Press, Huntington, Ind; Sun-Commercial, Vincennes, Ind; Times-Recorder, Americus, Ga; LaGrange News, LaGrange, Ga; Courier-Herald, Dublin, Ga; and Quincy News, Quincy, Mass.

A S S E T S.

CAPITAL ASSETS:

Machinery, equipment, type, furniture & fixtures, etc .....	\$ 887,220.02
Subscription lists, advertising contracts and franchises .....	<u>1,691,388.59</u>
Total Capital Assets .....	\$2,578,608.61

CURRENT ASSETS:

Cash .....	50,442.84
Accounts Receivable .....	225,295.11
Inventories .....	<u>44,810.68</u>
Total Current Assets .....	320,548.63

OTHER ASSETS:

Newspapers, Inc. of Texas:	
5,000 shares \$4.00 dividend ....	300,000.00
Cash deposited for interest and liquidation of bonds .....	17,562.50
Investments - stocks & bonds .....	26,283.50
Capital Stock, treasury, North Jersey Publishing Co .....	10,000.00
Mortgage Bonds, North Jersey Publishing Co .....	61,600.00
Mortgage Bonds - Anderson News- papers, Inc .....	77,250.00
Anderson Newspapers, Inc. - 50% Common Stock .....	50,000.00
Real Estate - Land .....	30,000.00
Organization Expense .....	23,643.84
Corporation Insurance - carried on life of president .....	2,215.03
Improvement on leases .....	<u>1,693.85</u>
Total Other Assets .....	<u>600,248.72</u>
TOTAL ASSETS .....	<u>\$3,499,405.96</u>

Gen'l Newspapers, Inc - Balance Sheet - 12/31/30

LIABILITIES.

CURRENT LIABILITIES:

Accounts Payable .....\$ 57,971.37

FIXED LIABILITIES:

Notes payable - machinery .....\$ 49,144.53  
First Mortgage Bonds ..... 853,000.00  
Reserve for Bond Interest ..... 7,410.00

Total Fixed Liabilities ..... 909,554.53

OTHER LIABILITIES:

Paducah Newspapers, Inc:

Minority interest, capital stock 37,500.00

No. Jersey Publishing Co:

Minority interest, capital stock 30,000.00

Quincy News - purchase contract .. 100,000.00

Notes Payable - No. Jersey Pub-

lishing Co., minority interest . 48,000.00

Purchase Notes - Anderson Mail ... 52,500.00

Total Other Liabilities ..... 268,000.00

CONTINGENT LIABILITIES:

Haskins & Sells ..... 4,500.00

Brokerage Commissions ..... 8,800.00

Total Contingent Liabilities ..... 13,300.00

MISCELLANEOUS LIABILITIES:

Due to Officers ..... 19,603.09

PREFERRED STOCK ..... 320,000.00

COMMON STOCK ..... 810,345.00

SURPLUS ..... 1,100,631.97

TOTAL LIABILITIES ..... \$3,499,405.96

NOTE: This does not include the balance sheet of the Orlando, Florida, Reporter-Star and Orlando Sentinel, recently acquired.



NEWSPAPERS INCORPORATED - Waco, Texas

BALANCE SHEET, July 31st, 1930.

A S S E T S.

Cash in banks .....	\$ 23,231.15
Stocks owned (newspapers) .....	4,910,880.40 (1)
Notes Receivable - employes for stock .....	124,969.35
Notes Receivable - officers .....	3,818.50
Due by subsidiaries .....	18,987.50
Notes Receivable - others .....	18,400.00
Due by employes .....	1,252.40
Due by others .....	2,500.00
Office Furniture & Fixtures .....	<u>1,702.36</u>
TOTAL ASSETS .....	<u>\$ 5,105,741.66</u>

LIABILITIES and CAPITAL.

LIABILITIES:

Notes Payable - banks .....	\$ 176,500.00
Notes Payable - individuals .....	45,150.00
Notes Payable - affiliated companies .....	45,000.00
Notes Payable - stockholders .....	6,166.67
Accounts Payable - subsidiaries .....	<u>187,929.97</u>

TOTAL LIABILITIES ..... \$ 460,746.64

CAPITAL STOCK:

70,000 shares Preferred, @ \$60.00 .....	4,200,000.00
325,000 shares Common, no par .....	<u>444,995.02</u>

TOTAL LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL . \$ 5,105,741.66

(1) Consists of stock held in 17 operating newspapers in Texas in the following cities: Waco, Austin, Port Arthur, Laredo, Cleburne, Mineral Wells, Ranger, Eastland, Breckenridge, Cisco, Corpus Christi, Paris, Harlingen, Brownsville and Wichita Falls.

The above balance sheet, together with the accompanying statement of profit and loss, is a true and correct statement of the financial condition of Newspapers, Incorporated, as of July 31, 1930, and represents the true profits earned for the seven months period as of said date.

Dividends are paid monthly on preferred stock on the basis of \$4.00 per annum per share and no dividend payments are in arrears.

\*General Newspapers, Incorporated, owns 5,000 shares of \$4.00 per annum preferred, there being no other securities senior to the preferred.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DEPOSITARY

## THE AUSTIN NATIONAL BANK

CAPITAL \$ 300,000.00  
SURPLUS AND PROFITS \$ 800,000.00

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Dec. 23, 1931.

Mr. Charles E. Marsh,  
Littlefield Bldg.,  
Austin, Texas.

Dear Mr. Marsh:

Several times recently I have resolved to write to you, but have many times procrastinated. When one has something good to say to a friend, he hardly acts fairly when he remains silent. If it is not good, the longer he remains silent the better it is for all concerned.

I feel sure that we are now beginning to see the end of perhaps the worst condition that has ever confronted our people, especially our community. Our city, however, has been more fortunate than others through it all, and almost everyone with whom I have come in contact marvels at our condition as compared with the other cities of our state.

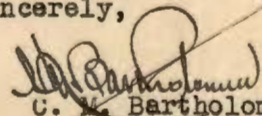
Several times recently I have found myself in our neighboring city, San Antonio, and could not be but impressed with the difference in the feeling and morale of its people as compared with that of the people of our city. There are perhaps several reasons for this difference in our communities, but there is one big and main reason, and that reason is YOU and your allied interest.

The Austin American and the Austin Statesman have at all times kept foremost the interest of our city, daily omitting matter that would have made interesting reading, but which if published would surely have created a feeling of unrest and uncertainty among many of our people. Such a condition when it arises causes stagnation of every interest and every business and it produces, as it were, "a shell shock" that cannot be forgotten for many months and sometimes many years. It is my prediction that our neighboring city will require many years to overcome the disruption that now exists. Its dailies have not shown the spirit that you have shown and had they done so the story would be quite different.

I am personally grateful to you and I feel that our people are to be congratulated on having one such as you at the head of our dailies, who has so prudently kept his head and probably made personal sacrifices for the good of all.

I wish you and yours a Most Merry Christmas. I hope that the next year "just around the corner" sees before it ends all of your hopes and aspirations fulfilled.

Sincerely,

  
C. M. Bartholomew.



March 8, 1933.

Mr. Dave Vandivier,  
Oklahoma Newspapers, Inc.,  
El Reno, Okla.

Dear Vandivier:

Thanks for your note of March 8th. Any one can bet. I can tell you nothing except stimulate your mind to think for yourself.

1. Business has been hit terribly. Energy makes wealth and our country has been paralyzed. If our present income as a nation is one billion dollars a week, this means that several billion dollars of wealth will be lost as we are paralyzed during the time necessary to bring about the correction of our three years illness.

2. If a sick person is hit on the head, no one can accurately be sure of the effect of the blow. Personally, I think the blow had to come before the doctors at New York and Washington would admit the gravity of the illness. And I also believe that doctors at work can and do have the medicine for recovery.

3. As I write, the doctors are in consultation and quarreling very much about what medicine to use. One group declares that the United States must stay on the gold standard and pay off 20 billion dollars worth of bonds with gold interest and gold principal at the rate of 26 grains to the dollar as per the contract made by the government when it sold the bonds and issued gold certificates. The opponent of this doctor says that the patient is too sick to take the medicine and will throw it up even after you put it in its stomach. This second doctor says that if you attempt to pay off 20 billion dollars of debt in gold with four billion dollars of gold, you can only do it when people don't know any better and have been willing to take six other kinds of currency and bank credit which they are now no longer willing to take at gold par. And besides, says doctor No. 2, you would make the holder of a government bond - that is, the banks - much richer than he is now because currency of the United States has already dropped to 88 cents in gold (as I write this) and that means that liberty bonds and gold certificates are already worth \$1.14 per dollar of currency IF WE STAY ON THE GOLD STANDARD. And as this thing goes on, these liberty bonds IF paid in gold may get to be worth two dollars for each dollar of original indebtedness and the patient might have to work twice as hard - that is, pay 40 billion dollars for the 20 billion dollars he borrowed. This would mean a 20-billion-dollar steal - or preference - for government debtors as against private debtors. And I do not believe that the relatives of the patient - that is the tax payers and citizens of the United States -



#2 - Vandivier.

are going to permit that sort of medicine because they will simply say, "The banks own 70% of the government debt and we workers are not going to let the banks make 15 billion dollars more out of our sweat."

The banks own 70% of government bonds purchased by the money of their depositors. Are they to be permitted to pay off the deposits in depreciated money and credit this enormous profit to their surplus accounts?

And so the battle will go on - doctor No. 1 talking the louder and winning the first argument. But I think doctor No. 2 is right in his statement and that right will win as soon as the relatives understand the medical terms.

You want to know something definite - the above is background for these statements:

I think the government of the United States cannot stay upon a gold standard without doing a great injustice to creditors in general except United States bondholders. I believe congress will remedy this injustice and that eventually we will have (a) inflation of currency sufficient to raise prices of commodities such as cotton and wheat that grow in your country, and (b) that our country will not be taxed to pay back more in liberty bonds than one dollar of currency for one dollar of liberty bonds (the details have been worked out but are too involved for this letter).

And as prices go up for things grown and things manufactured, the procedure will be a general rise in the value of THINGS as there is a general decline in the value of MONEY. This will quicken and stimulate the movement of MONEY into THINGS because people will spend money as it gets cheaper and buy things as they become more expensive. For three years we have had the reverse process of people holding on to money as it became more expensive and refusing to buy things as they became cheaper.

The first quickening will be in commodity trading such as wheat, cotton and silver.

The second quickening will be in a recovery of land values after people get enough from their crops to afford to pay taxes and to realize that they can again make money through the use of land.

The third will be a moderate rise in the cost of manufactured goods as people move from MONEY to THINGS.

The fourth will be a renewed confidence as the nation and the individual states come nearer balancing their budgets through the ability of people to pay their taxes (although in a cheaper currency).



#3 - Vandivier.

Next will come an increase in amounts paid in wages as more numbers of men are employed, and wage per person rises with the cost of living.

But as a word of caution, I again want to say that while I am an optimist and believe we are beautifully coming out as the doctors finally agree, we must remember that the collapse of our banking system has paralyzed energy and the patient is very sick - the real recovery of wealth will be slow and our businesses must be watched with tremendous skill.

Sincerely,

H/R



STATE OF TEXAS #  
#  
COUNTY OF TRAVIS #

Before me, the undersigned authority, on this day personally appears Paul O. Simms, Earl E. Simms and J. T. Hewlett, who reside in Travis County, Texas and who are engaged in the real estate business, or the buying and selling of real estate in Austin, Travis County, Texas, and who are familiar with the value of real estate in Austin, Travis County, Texas, having resided in Austin, Travis County, Texas for the past twelve (12) years, (each of whom being duly sworn on his oath deposes and says:)

We are acquainted with that certain property herein-after described, and being the property purchased by Dr. G. H. Wooten from the Masonic Bodies in the City of Austin, said property being known as the West 57-1/3 feet of Lots 7 and 8, in Block No. 70, in the said City of Austin, Travis County, Texas. It is our opinion that the value of the land is \$62,500.00 and the value of the improvements is \$18,500.00.

We are acquainted with that certain property herein-after described, and being the property purchased by Dr. G. H. Wooten from F. W. Sternenberg Jr., said property being known as all of Lot 10 and the East 10 feet of Lot 11, in Block No. 77 in the said City of Austin, Travis County, Texas, said property being situated at 209 West 7th Street. It is our opinion that the value of the land is \$26,000.00 and the value of the improvements is \$10,000.00.

We are acquainted with that certain property herein-after described, and being the property purchased by Dr. G. H. Wooten from John C. Ross, said property being known as Lot 4, in Block No. 30, in the said City of Austin, Travis County, Texas. It is our opinion that the value of the land is \$35,000.00 and the value of the improvements is \$15,000.00.

We are acquainted with that certain property herein-after described, and being the property purchased by Chas. E. Marsh et al from Dr. G. H. Wooten, said property being known as Lots 3, 4, 5 and 6, in Block No. 82, in the said City of Austin, Travis County, Texas. It is our opinion that the value of the land is \$102,500.00 and the value of the improvements is \$22,500.00.

This affidavit is made with full knowledge of the fact that same is to be used as fixing a basis for the value of said property for the purpose of informing the officers of the State of Texas and the public as to the actual value of the land and improvements hereinbefore described.

Paul O. Simms

Earl E. Simms

J. T. Hewlett

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED BEFORE ME THIS THE 30th DAY  
OF December, A. D. 1933.

Inez Machu





STATE OF TEXAS #  
#  
COUNTY OF TRAVIS #

Before me, the undersigned authority, on this day personally appeared Paul O. Simms, Earl E. Simms and J. T. Hewlett, known to me to be the persons whose names are subscribed to the foregoing instrument and acknowledged to me that they executed the same for the purposes and consideration therein stated.

Given under my hand and seal of office, this the 30<sup>th</sup>  
day of December A.D. 1933.

Inez Machu  
Notary Public, Travis County, Texas.



July 9, 1934.

Mr. Jack Blalock,  
Blalock, Blalock & Blalock,  
Marshall, Texas.

Dear Jack:

I have asked Raymond Brooks to get up a memorandum of conversation at my house Sunday concerning a proposed States Rights League.

I do not know what the memorandum will contain because I am leaving at once for the South, but it may be of some thought value to you.

In general I feel that there always has been a conflict in every country and in every age between the settled and the pioneer - the complete and the unfinished - the consuming and the producing sections of a country or empire.

We have seen this going on within the British Empire with England having to give in economically to Australia, Canada and India. Contrast the Ottawa economic conference with the Boston Tea Party.

The thing is a cycle - a settled country needing expansion for trade and people take on more territory. England takes on America in 1600. The United States absorbs Texas in the first half of the 19th century.

At first the big absorbing country bosses the show in its self-interest, later the absorbed territory gets out of its diapers into its long pants and finally says, "Dad, I am grown up."

In the readjustment going on within the United States some of us in Texas have seen that the Eastern Seaboard and manufacturing districts North of the Ohio and East of the Mississippi have put a tariff of at least 100 million a year upon Texas - in spite of which Texas has grown. The load largely consists of two things:

The inevitable high money rates which go with pioneer development and which were greatly increased by a federal monetary system which resulted in great Eastern reservoirs of wealth drawn from all points of the country at a very cheap rate and then reloaned back to the pioneer developers at a heavy rate (New York City with 6% population holding 60% of all liquid wealth). A federal tariff system influenced by large political contributions from existing Eastern wealth and designed to protect PRODUCING factories against CONSUMING pioneers.

It might be the proud boast of Texas that she has grown tremendously in spite of her burdens, that she has been able to give the East a billion dollar handicap in 10 years and still beat the game.

XEROX FROM CARBON COPY



#2 - Blalock.

BUT WHEN A CHILD GROWS UP HE HAD BETTER WATCH OUT AS THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR NATURAL GROWTH DO BECOME EXHAUSTED.

We should not forget in Texas that a federal government is designed primarily, even if it is most honest, to carry out the greatest good to the greatest number of all the people in the federal government. The greatest number of people live North of the Ohio and East of the Mississippi. An extreme federalization cannot but CONTINUE burdens on the more thinly populated country in the interest of the Eastern settled majority.

We cannot secede from the United States. We must do our work as a loving and dutiful child of the United States. We must represent ourselves, explain ourselves, and if necessary FIGHT for ourselves.

Let us conceive a permanent States Rights League for Texas. It would be splendid, and in theory it would be correct, for us to depend upon elected representatives at Washington to represent states rights at all times where the prosperity of our people is concerned. But a political motive is not always either an intelligent or a sound economic motive. Too often it is a motive looking toward holding a job. During 1934 the issue has been: "I support the President." Perhaps a most honest president coming from New York is unable to see the braced game which decades of New York (Wall Street) wealth has put upon Texas and similar pioneer districts by bribery of the Republican party leaders during the last 30 years.

The laws were there. Who is a Roosevelt single handed to be able in a short time to change the system in a bureaucratic personnel - to right the wrongs of 30 years? Is it not better to help him by watching our own show and to watch our own representatives at Washington?

I am certain that Brooks has in his mind the certain specific objectives. If when I return I find the memo is not complete, I shall amplify by letter to you. I feel a States Rights League of Texas should be composed of an advisory board, possibly segmented into subcommittees for major objectives and the entire committee consisting of not less than 50 outstanding economic leaders of Texas. Obviously the oil business is the most vital and perhaps has attracted the most active middle-aged brain. But the objectives of states rights are not merely defensive on any immediate acute sector such as we have just gone through in the Ickes bill fight and which we are again to go through as oil organized wealth of the East uses its Texas subsidiaries at Austin this fall at the Ferguson called special session.

Such a battle as we are now having may have been the motive force showing us clearly the necessity of organized defensive and offensive lines against increasing federal pressure at Texas borders.

I can see that tact and brains of the highest order will have to be used. Men are egotistical. Different businesses conflict. Men have a

XEROX FROM CARBON COPY

#3 - Blalock.

way of accepting petty personal and business advantages from an honor-giving and money-spending machine such as is set up in Washington but I do believe as a Texan that pioneer people sufficiently sharpen their vision through necessity that they will not take bribes AT THE EXPENSE OF THE HOME ITSELF. I do not believe that Washington will be able to tip Texas leaders. We are not a servant class. I believe we can be welded together in the interest of Texas as a whole and that from time to time we will courageously expel any false leaders who accept tips of honor or special business advantage as a price of betrayal of their state-wide objectives.

This is a very long letter - perhaps the longest I have written in years. It is sent you in the belief that we have worked together in a recent campaign and that our minds were harmonious at the moment. I would have come to Marshall or would have asked you to come to Austin for a day's conversation. This writing is merely a poor substitute. In 10 days I shall be ready to act on something in throwing together a permanent force if you and our mutual friends see any sense in this.

Sincerely,

M/R



A. C. BULL, PRESIDENT

L. J. SCHNEIDER, TREASURER

W. E. LONG, MANAGER

DIRECTORS

FRED A. BARGE  
G. HARRIS BRUSH  
A. B. COX  
THEO DAVIS  
JOHN W. EZELLE  
LOUIS N. GOLDBERG  
GEORGE J. GROOS  
R. B. HOPKINS  
JOE KOEN

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

MEMBER OF UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

AUSTIN, TEXAS

July 10, 1934.

DIRECTORS

HUBERT B. JONES  
DENNIS M. MACKEN  
FRED C. MORSE  
CHAS. H. PAGE  
W. B. RANSOM  
J. H. SEEKAMP  
GUS F. URBANTKE  
CHAS. WENDLANDT, JR.  
DR. GOODALL A. WOOTEN

Mr. Chas. E. Marsh,  
Austin, Texas.

Dear Mr. Marsh:

At the last regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Austin Chamber of Commerce held Tuesday, July 3, 1934, a resolution was unanimously adopted authorizing the President and Manager to express to you the sincere appreciation of our entire membership for the splendid work you have done in securing the loan for the Hamilton Dam.

As you will recall it was the consensus of opinion of our entire Board at our organization meeting in January that the consummation of this program meant more to this community than any other project we might undertake. It was therefore unanimously agreed at that time to center all of our efforts on this undertaking.

The outlook for the success at that time was very gloomy indeed. This proposal had been presented to Secretary Ickes on two different occasions and emphatically disapproved both times. There were powerful influences at work to thwart any effort looking toward the completion of the Hamilton Dam. Of this you were well aware.

We are frank in saying to you that it is our sincere belief that without your splendid efforts backed by your full knowledge of the entire project we would have met with utter failure. It was through your careful planning and strategy that we were able to bring the proper people into the picture that success might be attained.

While we can speak officially for the members of this organization only, we feel that every citizen in this section of the State owes you a debt of gratitude for this wonderful accomplishment. Were it not for your well-known aversion to personal publicity we would like to shout your praises from the housetops. Since your modesty forbids this, we can reward you with gratitude alone. We know, however, that you are fully rewarded in the knowledge that you have performed a wonderful service for this community.

With kindest regards and best wishes, we are

Sincerely yours,

*A. C. Bull*

President.

*W. E. Long*

Manager.

July 20, 1964

Mr. A. C. Bull,  
Mr. Walter Long,  
Chamber of Commerce,  
Austin, Texas.

Dear Abe and Walter:

Thanks for yours of July 10 regarding the dam. It is just another one of those things where we all worked together successfully.

Sincerely,

M/L

XEROX FROM CARBON COPY



This letter, written by Mr. Marsh, explains itself.

September 14, 1934.

Mr. W. D. S. Shields,  
Quincy Evening News,  
Quincy, Mass.

My dear Shields:

You have Garrigues on your pay roll. Tom Whitehead will be on it next week. You are on it. Add three salaries together, divide them into your gross and then answer your own question about Garrigues.

Now dismiss the money business and do it this way: You are getting out an editorial product and had a boy doing it for you who was not good enough though perfectly willing. Two years went by and I did not say anything because I believed you were training the boy and his improvement justified the comparative slowness of improvement in the editorial department.

You then asked me if I could find a good working news man. I said I was glad you asked me because the request was long overdue and I congratulated you on the decision to improve the editorial product as a background for circulation growth. The reason I particularly waited was because your training had not been editorial training and I wanted you to finally and firmly fix in your mind the first equation of newspaper making.

Editorial product + circulation = success.

And now we have Garrigues, Whitehead and the boy you were training all helping you to, I presume, a final drive for success. We have also gone ahead through this period of depression and, as I remember it, not reduced your salary, nor have you voluntarily reduced it, though I remember all others were reduced.

I had to go into the Orange situation on August 1st and as I recollect it I discussed the matter of Hogue's mind with you because after the operation he was pretty wobbly and I knew that he was going to see you the next day. I think you did him some good for which I thank you.

But now look at yourself. Read this letter as far as it has been written once again.

And now go on. Garrigues was let out at Orange along with six or seven other people at my request. These people were all let out together in one day because I did not have time to let them out one a week. Hogue told me that such an operation would absolutely destroy the paper - that no paper could dismiss an editor, a sports editor,

XEROX FROM CARBON COPY

#2 - Shields.

an extra reporter, an advertising manager and a classified advertising manager in one day and continue to run. I told Hogue that if he felt that way I would telephone the bookkeeper and that he had better go West with me and take a rest so that when the work was over he could go back with a clearer and fresher mind. (Hogue also had not reduced his salary during the depression but every one else had been reduced).

Hogue told me that the advertising director, as he called him, was so valuable that there would be a 25% reduction in local lineage if he were not maintained. I naturally replied that if such was the case and that if a newspaper had been built on lines so personal that the elimination of an advertising director would destroy one-fourth of the local volume that the publisher's work had been atrociously poor and that we had better find it out at once.

Hogue straightened up himself, ., went over to Orange and did the job. The paper went into the black and there has been a slight gain in local advertising on a comparative basis. The newspaper has been considerably improved as a circulation and editorial product.

I forgot to say that the circulation manager also was dismissed.

This is a very long letter but I think you can now see how I feel that Garrigues is not needed as an additional NECESSITY value for the production of success in Quincy.

Shields, I think you are the nicest personality of all of the publishers with whom I come in contact. I have sent you one or two youngsters because I did not care to feed nice youth to butchers, but you are not a Y M C A secretary. And I am sure that you are too much of a realist to believe that you will have won a very great victory when you are able to report to me that you have won Quincy against a 67 year old maiden lady of unstandard mentality.

Let us speed the day and I shall be very glad to sit down with you at your desk, or in my home, within the next two weeks.

Sincerely,

M/R

P. S. As an after thought, it is possible that you are thinking my double mention of your present salary was caused by present interest, or that I resent it financially that you had not taken yours with the others during depression. I neither resent it, nor am I interested in it except to say that I believe an asset is gained by calling it to your attention for your own judgment and that by so doing I have slightly improved an operator who is already quite good.

C.E.M.

XEROX FROM CARBON COPY



September 15, 1934.

Mr. Robert Evans,  
McClellan Heights,  
Davenport, Iowa.

Dear Bob:

Often a gloomy picture turns out to have a streak of light in it.

The Tennessee show still has possibilities and I think we are about to hit it from another angle, principally I suppose because we are bullheaded. The only justification for a bullhead is that it gives him habits of energy and on plain percentage enough people quit and go out into other fields so that the bullhead is often left there with no competition. If we do anything further in Tennessee, it is just about for this reason.

I think I belong to the bullhead fraternity because as I turn my eye back I believe two out of three deals that I have ever started were of this same variety. They look fine and turn out rotten in the first phase. The first phase is over in Johnson City. I cannot defend any further action on the grounds of logic or common sense. I can defend it as a bullhead. So I think rather soon Reynolds will go back there to look it over and buy bonds at 30 cents on a dollar - I think with your money, as well as mine. However, I will not spend your money on bonds without further talk.

I am sorry that I cannot give you a consistent plan because there is none. It is merely a decision this morning to go on back in the line over left tackle after having been thrown for a three yard loss. We have four downs before we lose the ball. We lost the first down.

I shall be in New York on the 21st as Anto and John reach there then. This means that I shall be in the East from about the 20th to the 30th and will be able, of course, to see you in New York. I also shall be going through Chicago probably Tuesday or Wednesday of the coming week, but inasmuch as I shall be otherwise occupied, I would rather see you in New York. If for any reason you wish to see me in Chicago, please wire me immediately upon receipt of this letter.

Sincerely,

M/R

P. S. My regards to your father. I think the German situation was too unstandard to warrant a reasonable percentage of happiness.

C.E.M.

XEROX FROM CARBON COPY

WHAT I SEE IN 1935  
-----

Domestic

1. The left rises numerically. The right solidifies with stability and becomes more definitely stubborn as the liberal middle seeks to connect capital abuses (power and railroad reorganization).

2. Roosevelt grows in stature but actually loses with evaction. He stands to the left of the middle. The extreme left can menace the right over the Roosevelt bridgehead but actually cannot attack without going thru the middle. And the extreme right, always fearful because it has so much to lose, cannot defend itself except by supporting ultimately the Roosevelt middle bridgehead whenever the left moves into serious action.

(I define the left as those people who, regardless of whether they worship Roosevelt, would go farther than he in seeking their class or personal aims. I define the right as those persons who would stop with their own personal or class safety advantage and would not follow Roosevelt further in idealism or distant objectives.)

Numerically today I estimate thirtyfive million left and twenty million right, with Roosevelt's personal popularity amply secure, but his efficiency, the real question. My suggestions for efficient action are:



- (a)- A continuous program to the left of the middle.
- (b)- A consistent pruning of major executives as fast as they wear out thru conflict with the public minorities. This policy, whether definite elimination, like Johnson, or promotions into quieter places, like ambassadorships or Supreme Court, is a matter of detail. The personal advantage to Roosevelt is that objection reaching white heat is always satisfied with food. A conservative, hated by the left, becomes its food when dismissed or promoted. A weak or inconsistent radical becomes food for the right. Both sides must be fed before their slashings cut at the Roosevelt plateau.
- (c)- Action is necessary to maintain any supremacy. Dramatic action is most effective when involving human beings. The vast majority cannot visualize abstract motives or concrete plans except as dramatized by the rise and fall of individuals who propose or support them. At least two major figures opposed by the left should go in 1935 and at least one opposed by the right.

### 3. Progress of the left.

Practically all social change thru history has followed the general course of: (a) Intellectual criticism; (b) Action led by the liberals in the interest of human betterment; (c) The rise of the left; (d) Efforts of the left leaders, generally successful, to ask liberal leaders from the control of the movement. Specifically, as 1934 closes: (a) Bilbo is elected Senator from a filing clerk position at Washington on a single platform, "I'll out-Huey Huey," and tells the liberal leader, "I didn't mean it." I have just been thru the south by a Ford car and Mississippi believes Bilbo meant it. A fair view of the Congressional returns shows victories ~~that~~ thruout the country, wherever lefts with equal



vigor and brains were opposed by either conservatives or liberals of equal ability. The weakness of the left as 1934 closes is lack of leadership, but by the end of 1935 the leadership will be more seasoned, bringing to the front men of the type of Thomas of Oklahoma, who will attempt to be a new middle leader between Roosevelt and Long. Obviously, the position between the extreme left and Roosevelt will not have fiery imaginative leadership but in the shift they (a group labeled Democrats in the House and Senate) may own the basket as the extreme left fights the liberal middle. It would be a very serious mistake for the middle to move toward the right because the right can do nothing by itself and must support the middle.

An operating policy should be to see the right leaders slightly less frequently and to be conversationally slightly more frequently in contact with the left, but to be prepared at all times for a finished fight with a single human factor at the extreme right or the extreme left -- a Morgan at the right, which might carry a Norman Davis into an ambassadorship, or a Huey Long at the extreme left, which might bring the middle left in a close line and obtain a more consistent support from the right.

#### 4. Idleness and Social Service

Two deflations of the next twelve months will be:

- (a) A lessening of the spread between the income and outgo - a move toward a balanced budget;
- (b) An effort to take the Federal government out of the relief business.

All agencies moving for these objectives should be



carefully watched, because a human weakness is the thirst of all individuals for power and the lust for spending. A courageous executive could go over the personnel of the government today and cut 30% of the individuals from his payroll. The immediate political effect would be bad, but it can best be afforded in 1935, because if it is done in 1936 it will be scandalous and if the pruning is done in 1935 there will be room for growth in personnel in 1936. Political timing is justified, whether it has as its permanent object a continuation of statesmanship or not.

### Foreign

All foreign projects should be based upon domestic objectives -- continued militant nationalism feeds on world depression and recovery just as definitely as poor people and vigorous people are militantly individualistic and only cease to be when they have surplus, or grow old.

Japan, in nationalistic youth, seems to be suffering from the indiscretions of youth (National Germany, born in 1866, became the Germany of 1914) Perry started a show when he opened Japan and the overture is on. A foreign policy in 1935 should mean England and America close together on two main points;

(a) money as a medium of exchange for goods and as the sinews for both peace and war, and (b) the maintenance of peace thru a vigorous and definite united world police policy. Just as Roosevelt should be prepared in 1935 to police the selfish left within America, Eng-



land and the United States must be prepared to police disturbers such as the Japanese war party and Hitler, and to maintain leadership sufficiently united and strong enough to stop possible disturbances affecting, Russia, Italy and France. I take it Stalin does not want war but is prepared to police Japan and Germany if His nation requires it. Likewise, Mussolini is preparing as against France and middle Europe. France is tired, scared, uncertain, suffering terribly from the necessity of supremacy. The strain has so unsettled her domestic situation that it amounts to hysteria and in 1935 will probably crash her money system. And so the two specific things should be:

(a) - A policy reached slowly and patiently with England to gain her agreement that America should have equal naval strength in the Pacific at all times with Japan and thus become the senior partner in policing the Pacific. There should be enough of American naval strength in excess of Japan to help police the Atlantic and to act as a naval reserve in England in the western world. This trade should appeal to England, whose objectives are to hasten recovery by continuing her balanced budget and while doing so not offend Japanese trade arrangements in the Orient and leave her Hong Kong, Singapore and Australian positions uncovered. A strong American Pacific fleet is her best reserve, and not a close arrangement with Japan, which intelligent England should know is <sup>a</sup> temporary measure of agreement with an unscrupulous and militatn partner.



With the United States and England policing the seas, Stalin should be asked:

(1) - to be prepared to police the north Orient on land and to act as a deterrent to Hitler in Poland, and thus aid France lessen her European load; thus restoring calmness, as the United States, England and France return to money sanity.

### Money

The world must have stability in monies as the medium of exchange before goods can be moved over the world on any permanent basis. Money bootlegging consists in depreciating national currency faster than the other fellow. An extreme example is successive German repudiation; a smarter example is Calles in Mexico with his fixed policy of maintaining a three and a half to one ratio with the American dollar, no matter how low the dollar sinks.

1935 should see:

A. - America and England fixing a permanent ratio between the pound and the dollar, preferably at six to one, as an American national objective, but as a practical possibility a five to one agreement. This is so near the 4.86 of the world war that it can be achieved and is more sensible. This cannot disturb our very large Canadian-American trade, as a six to one ratio would. France should not be brought into the first movement, because she is on the gold standard and will probably go off in 1935, due to internal conditions, which probably cannot be forestalled. The time for France to come in as a permanent money stabilization



partner is when she is strong enough to be permanent, and that is when her franc seeks its natural level following the permanent English-American ratio agreement. The far view is that gold as a national factor of permanency will be supplanted by an agreed pooling of all world gold to act as money police. Each nation's gold, earmarked within the nation and governing by agreement the amount of currency issued. England and America can determine the ratio of the French franc at the proper time and with it of course the ratios of all currencies tied to the franc. It is too optimistic to say that by the end of 1935 the world will have stopped bootlegging in money but certainly some progress should have been made. The internal step of dropping the American dollar to fifty cents (\$40.00 to the gold ounce) should be a preliminary to the English-American five to one agreement, in order to give a proper trading position and not unduly reduce recovery efforts and balanced budgets while world currency is permanently being worked for. It should also be sufficient to satisfy the militants in America and not unduly frighten American capital.

#### Two Uncollected Items

I would cancel all war debts as an aid to money stabilization and each war debt would be canceled as that nation became into a money agreement and stopped bootlegging.

My public attitude on Japan would be "You have seen fit to cancel an eight year naval agreement. You have the right so to do. You may build as many ships as you see fit. American policy will be governed somewhat on how many you build."



It goes without saying that Japan, as well as all other nations, desires peace almost twenty to one in wealth production and if America so decides with England friendly, her unlimited naval building effort would be as untenable as any similar 5% antagonistic attacking. But if a weak policy is pursued, in ten years Japan, in charge of the resources of three hundred million Chinese, would be impossible to handle.

On the Cabinet and Other Leaders:

Wallace leaves the best public deposit ad, Iokes the worst, among the so-called honest idealists.

\*\*\*\*\*

Jones is making a splendid administrative record but should not be put often before the public because of reputed wealth and hardness.

\*\*\*\*\*

Richberg starts off well in that Johnson was unpopular and Richberg has gained early popularity as the man closest to his defeat.

\*\*\*\*\*

Robinson is heavily burdened as a receiver of utility favors in Arkansas thru the Cough connection and a law partnership. Long could win now three to one over Robinson if both were in the same state.

\*\*\*\*\*

Hull is with Wallace, the outstanding cabinet success in public estimation.

\*\*\*\*\*

Farley doesn't fit in a Roosevelt mental picture.

\*\*\*\*\*

Cummings is probably a better man than the public at present estimates.

\*\*\*\*\*

Roper and Swanson are publicly almost minus quantities.

\*\*\*\*\*

McAdoo, reputedly Roper's mental boss, had lost rapidly.

\*\*\*\*\*

Baruch is eclipsed, because the public cannot see a reformed Wall street speculator.

\*\*\*\*\*

Kennedy is respected but little known - might grow beyond a New York horizon.

\*\*\*\*\*

Thomas is smarter as a Senate trader than he looks and works unceasingly.

\*\*\*\*\*

Marland as governor of Oklahoma may grow fast, because of the poor-to-riches-to-poor-again story and because he makes friends and is decisive. Iokes should not be permitted to get into a fight with him.

\*\*\*\*\*

Perkins is thoroly respected.

\*\*\*\*\*

Hopkins has done an unpopular job well but is reputed



narrow in administrative sizeup of subordinates such as smart political yes men with an idealistic vocabulary (Major Westbrook an example).

\*\*\*\*\*

Tugwell ranks somewhat with Hopkins but has not impressed virility with his known honesty. Thought of as perfect talking to women's clubs -- slightly too handsome and unfairly reputed an intellectual snob.

\*\*\*\*\*

Borah is finished, except as a common scold.

\*\*\*\*\*

Brain Trust about as forgotten politically as Johnson.

\*\*\*\*\*

Garner is a good bet as a representative of plain folk, as an aid to the aristocratic birth and education of Roosevelt. He is perfect as a Senate and House negotiator and wonderfully loyal to the President. He should be shown more in public if to be used again in 1936. Otherwise Groom Marland or some other (governor preferred) soon.



ESTABLISHED 1828

# The Montgomery Advertiser

CONSTRUCTIVE FEARLESS INDEPENDENT

MONTGOMERY, ALA.

May 21, 1935.

Charles E. Marsh, Esq.,  
Austin, Texas,

Dear Mr. Marsh:

Defeat to a big man is but another incident. Forget  
it!

I merely wish to say that you appealed to me as  
a gentleman full of human juices. I think I could go far with  
such a personality. It was ~~man~~ a joy to taste your com-  
radeship, an inspiration to see you fight.

It would be a mistake for you to turn bitter. What I  
know is something that you could not have known--you were not fight-  
ing two or three individuals, you were fighting a Montgomery that  
is as passionate as Charleston. The very heart of Montgomery  
was against you. But that is not to your discredit. You  
impressed all who met you. All here regard you as a bold and gallant  
spirit. Personally I think you were magnificent.

Sincerely,

*John C. Staley*



May 26, 1935.

Mr. Grover C. Hall,  
Montgomery Advertiser,  
Montgomery, Alabama.

My dear Hall:

Thanks for your note. I have  
gone on to other things.

We die before we get any real  
experience, but it is the ABC of  
life to know that neither regret nor  
anger has value.

Sincerely,

M/R

XEROX FROM CARBON COPY

*Keep for Charles*

May 22, 1936

Mr. Thomas E. Sharp, Jr.,  
Spring Hill, Alabama.

Dear Tom:

This is the time of year that there comes to my desk a small flock of announcements such as yours - they call it commencement.

The two commencements I attended - high school and college - were combinations of plain excitement and mild regret. I was saying good-bye to a bunch of nice people whom, I have found in later years, I remember merely as a pleasant haze. The excitement came from FINISHING something; the idea of commencing something hardly occurred to me.

But if you are to commence something - to begin another stretch of school work; to take on another group of friends; to experience a new environment; then all I can say to you is to be natural. Either out of the Bible or Plato came the short and sharp command: "Know Thyself." I would add to it: "Be Thyself."

There is such a thing, Tom, as an inner light. Follow it without compromise. Be courteous, yes. Bend and give in the little things of social life which make for happiness to others.

But, Tom, whether it is at 2:00 o'clock in the morning while you are lying on a spiritual bed of agony, or merely in the affairs of a class election, remember you will be at peace only if you know yourself (how far you can jump), and be yourself (speak and act without fear), and follow your own inner light (compromise none at all when truth and action are demanded from inside).

Sincerely,

XEROX FROM CARBON COPY



September 2, 1939

Dear Tom:

Have not made Kentucky trip because the man was away. Shall pick him up next week by telephone from Texas where I shall put in a few licks.

Because of current events, please forgive a muscle-man the following:

R. should kill as much of future opposition in Congress as possible by opening his arms a trifle. Invite first five Senate and House foreign affairs members to Washington; also Republican Senate and House leaders; also Garner and Rayburn. Garner probably will not come because he thinks he is bigger alone than as V. P. talking to President. So he becomes a sit-downer. But the rest will come. Their ego will do the rest in softening future fighting, and the public and press will admit this ( a coalition of all-party minds in danger) the democratic way of meeting dictator-danger. It saves R. from later filibuster attacks in Senate calling him a dictator.

R. should have Bickle at his elbow as personal adviser on South American affairs. R. should move positively in democratic language ( not stilted diplomatic notes ) toward 1940 Monroe doctrine building on "good neighbors defend each others barns from forest fires". Let the bad boy Argentina get the play if possible. Such as B. A. as meeting place with Brazil in the saddle as presiding officer, and Chile as chairman resolutions committee. Might be good place to send Hull again with Bickle along after R. has sounded keynote direct to people of Western Hemisphere

See you later.

CONNALLY ?

## The War Begins.

We Americans are a mixed people. There is one thing which seems to be the essence of us all. We truly love the right to breathe freely in the spirit of truth. We applaude jubilantly when truth smiles upon us.

As we face these awful days let us all with the serenity of aour heritage smile through the days, the months, and the years to come.

There will be bulletins about bombings, there will be tales of tragedy; there will be the whine of bullets; the mangled forms of the helpless.

But please may we Americans--not in the smugness of safety but ~~in~~ the spirit of the courageous and free--look forward to the better life which we know.

We know, we Americans that life does move on to the better. We have found it so. We shall not be frightened. We shall work courageously to hasten the day of peace.

Defending our right to speak and to feel, to laugh, to work we shall give our all. If the thin and pitefuk frontier of that which is Western Europe can not hold the front line we shall know our duty when the time comes.



To Mrs.  
Ashbaugh

Houston, Texas  
September 5, 1939

To all Irish and Optimists:

Greetings!

I wrote the penciled note about 7,000 feet in the air yesterday. Today, in writing the children, I thought you might be interested in having a copy of my letter to my sons and their wives.

You know, of course, what war conditions are in the newspaper business, and I am spending this week on such business. I shall have Weidlein send you a copy of my opening war editorial.

In Washington, I did all I could as an unofficial person. As soon as I get personal and newspaper business adjusted, I shall go on back on call.

Before you get this, I presume you will read about a special session of Congress and the President's plans for a construction program to take the place of the lending, spending plan which was beaten in the closing days of the last Congress.

I feel that under war pressure the mass mind will coalesce into a mass purpose. It will often partizan bickering; there will be the usual noisy hold-outs in the United States Senate, including Johnson and Borah, possibly, Norris and Nye, but the mass



mind will sublimate into national patriotism thru fear and self-interest.

In such patriotism, we will have the American flag as an emotional builder and, from the American flag, we will reach into support of the existing President. Because he happens to be the President, more than Roosevelt, gets the benefit of the people's approval for his leadership. If the war lasts for one year, he is a third term President by demand. If the war ends before January, on the rebound, he may be retired.

All this is predicated on the fact that he probably will handle our war problems with good nature toward his enemy and with reasonable effectiveness.

Very truly yours,

Chas. B. Marsh

-From Page 1

## man Will See Packers

MARSHALL—From Page 1

### Allied and Axis Nations Lost 15 Million Fighting Men

borne by the United States, the British Commonwealth, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China and France and the three major Axis powers, Germany, Italy and Japan. The battle dead gave a partial picture of that cost."

#### U. S. Lost 295,904 Lives

Losses he summarized as follows:

United States: 295,904 lives, or 1 in every 500 of the 1940 population.

United Kingdom: 305,770 lives, or 1 in every 150 of the population. (These figures comprise military losses of the home islands alone; the entire British Commonwealth's military losses totaled 452,000, or 0.8 per cent of the population of the empire.)

USSR: 7,500,000, or 1 in every 22 of its 1940 population.

France: 200,000, or 1 in every 200 of its 1940 population.

Germany: 2,850,000, or 1 in every 25 of its 1940 population.

Italy: 300,000, or 1 in every 150 of its 1940 population.

China: 2,200,000, or 1 in every 200 of its 1940 population. (This fig-

ure does not include the six years, beginning in 1931, of the "undeclared" Chinese-Japanese hostilities.)

Japan: 1,506,000, from 1937 on, or 1 in every 46 of its 1940 population in the home islands.

#### New Lesson Learned

One military lesson to be drawn from the war, he stated, "indicated that if war came again, crippling and perhaps decisive blows might be struck in the opening moves." The English Channel, he added, "was not much more of an obstacle to destructive fire power than the Rhine would have been in World War I."

"The seas and polar wastes guarding North America would, in a few years, be not much more of an obstacle to the destructive weapons of the future than was the English Channel in bygone years."

#### To Direct Seals Drive

Winchester, Va., Nov. 2 (Spl.).—Mrs. William B. Lawrence will direct local volunteer workers in mailing Winchester tuberculosis seals to homes in this city.

#### Allies and Axis

### 15 Million Fighting Men Lost in War

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 2 (NYHT).—The 57 Allied and Axis nations involved in World War II lost more than 15 million soldiers and sailors and other military personnel, according to a report by Secretary of State George C. Marshall, released today.

In a chapter, "Conclusions," written for the Encyclopaedia Britannica's new four-volume history of the war decade, 1937 through 1946, Marshall stated the full cost of the war "either in intrinsic values or in intangibles" will never be known.

Among the losses difficult to appraise, he stated, are casualties among civilians; losses caused by the displacement of populations; "the long term effects of devoting the major portions of the world's over-all capabilities for a period of years to the objectives of destruction," and the loss in the destruction of homes, industries, and means of livelihood of millions, which "probably represented a greater monetary cost factor than the support of armed forces."

The total cost to the principal belligerents in military personnel "killed and missing in battle exceeded 13,000,000," he wrote. "The very considerable costs to the smaller countries, particularly Poland and the nations in south-eastern Europe, added hundreds of thousands more to the total."

In the final compilation of figures, he stated, "the data for each nation should be viewed in the light of that nation's total manpower and national wealth. The major portion of the war was

See MARSHALL, Page 2, Col.

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Jessamine Hill,  
Washington, Va.  
Nov. 10, 1947.

Dear Carmage:

Attached is a compilation by Gen. Marshall of war killed by countries and broken down to percentages of population.

There is much loose talking as to who won the war and who suffered most. Marshall's figures reveal the United States lost one out of 500 of 1940 population; the British Isles one of 150; Russia one of 22; Germany one of 25; Italy one of 150; China one of 200; and Japan one of 46.

I do not know whether editorial comment is pertinent. I suggest the attached clipping might later be of interest and might be sent on by Bob in abbreviated form to any editor writing of defense and concrete education so that he might not make inaccurate statements, since Marshall himself makes the compilation.

Should anyone need statements on material losses, a very loose statement which might be verified in the Marshall report would be that material loss in Russia was greater than in all other Allied nations.

And further, it might be on file that Russia was the first nation to apply to the United States for a modest 5-billion dollar reconstruction loan, with a willingness to guarantee same as to repayment, and that this request was never answered and lost in the files of the State Department.

If I were to write an editorial on the above statistics, it would be headed: "Let us keep cool", and the first paragraph would read: "There is much loose talk, warlike in nature, spewing forth from Moscow and Washington. The American people have a sense of proportion -- they even have a sense of humor. The report of Gen. Geo. C. Marshall, now secretary of state and former chief of staff, is probably the best source of statistical information. It does not come from Moscow." Then give our readers a brief resume of war dead by major countries from the Marshall report.

We give an unverified, but intelligent estimate of the property damage which presumes, of course, no losses in the United States unless the Pearl Harbor Jap sneak attack may be called a loss. The Russian loss is reliably reported greater than in all 57 nations combined.

There is no mention in the Marshall report of an official and formal request by the Russians for a 5-billion dollar reconstruction loan to rebuild war losses in Russia. It is not stated that prompt application was made six months before the British got around to it. It is not stated in the Marshall report that the application was businesslike and offered substantial assurances of repayment in that Russia borrowed many millions in America prior to 1940 and has, with the Finns, a perfect record of repayment.

Certainly these Marshall facts should be in the possession of every American as he attempts to understand why the Russian application was never given the courtesy of an answer. Americans with these statements and facts might understand that American policy did not publicize the Russian request because of the imminence of a British request. Perhaps the discourtesy of not replying may have affected the Moscow viewpoint.

Arrogant discourtesy in high places both at Moscow and Washington, smug complacency about atom bombs, lead many in some army circles into loose talk. "Drop first on Moscow" is typical of these American elements talking like Japs before Pearl Harbor.

Sincerely,



To: C.W., H.F., R.H. - *Carmage Walls, Helen Fuller, Robert Haskell*

*April 1948*

Republican Present order: Stassen, Vandenberg, Dewey, Taft.

Democratic Present order: Eisenhower, Truman

Stassen has achieved acceptance by both the House of Morgan and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Dewey who had the world by the tail six months ago was unfortunate in not being at home when Wall Street and the Catholic Church came to interview him. Stassen has been working on his campaign with intensity for six years. He proved perfection in getting recognition on his business with Stalin. He's the guy that can tell anybody anything any time and "Out of the horse's mouth". He now has cast himself. He is young and good-looking, an accepted pinko, beloved by the bankers, the industrialists, the protestants and the Catholics.

The real reason for saying he is now first in the race is not that he has appeared great but because he has made himself 100% acceptable to conservative America as the 2nd choice. Without losing his pink coat he has been the perfect gentleman. The ga-gas in the Republican party, dumb-cluck voters will believe that Stassen may have a great vote on Wall Street and then will ride Stassen into the White House as the "People's Cherce".

Actually the Iron pattern of the new Republican party was set by the solid men many years ago. Stassen conforming, they have commended the bright lad to the Republicans as safe and sound.

Contrast this with Truman and his silly wooing of the Catholic Church.

While the main powers questioned the Dewey salesmanship and the Dewey deal, overconfidence betook Dewey and his managers. When powerful people asked could they meet him Dewey became too big for safety, and said he was the Governor of New York and too busy.

Just about that time the Southern Pacific Railroad crowd along with the Northern Pacific folk from St. Paul came down East and described Stassen as a conservative chap, declaring that without Stassen we would be in the red ranks. "Only can Stassen save us.". So, the Morgan people plus friends okehed him down here and even put a bet on Stassen over ten months ago. There was a big bet on Dewey also and his campaign manager passed cigars and got lots of nickels below 42nd Street, but Dewey was holding on and did not say thank you. His tooth brush, demeanor did not win friend nor influence powerful political factors.

Contrast the Dewey smugness with the way the Stassen dollar-guys said "Thanks" very volubly for much less ante. So today, probably below 42nd Street the thing is shaping strongly for Stassen and safety against Wallace and everyone else.

Remember the Republican Candidate must always be helped first. Remember that a Republican is almost necessary to big business now. So indeed the seven figure masuma men perhaps don't want to take any chances by being beaten by a possible democratic nominee, one Eisenhower, drafted carefully against a conservative republicanism. This puts Taft out; Dewey, probably out, Vandenberg only stays strong - in spite of his age. There is a very strong possibility that the Catholic Church and Wall Street will go wholeheartedly and save Stassen. Naturally they would rather compromise with Vandenberg and Stassen but it does look as if Dewey and Taft are tired before reaching the stretch and that as the horses are now running, Stassen or Vandenberg leads ahead of Dewey, and in that order.

On the democratic side there are some very smart people now working with the city bosses. They know the Republican vote gives them only the skimmed milk. They want to stop for cream. They will not listen to Spellman. Ga-ga Phil Murray owing his position to a man named Carey who reports daily to Spellman has fallen for the idea that city bosses will keep labor. And so, Murray will not be able to deliver the C.I.O. which he has ruined beyond repair.

So, the smart bosses together with the left-over Democratic Roosevelt Liberals are again about to combine to ditch Truman and draft Eisenhower and they take it for granted that no man drafted as presidential nominee can turn it down.

Therefore Truman's only hope is for a pre-convention "I-won't-run-if-they-nominate-me." from Eisenhower. It is not probable however that he will go that far.

The President's picture is unfolded to run thus. Gael Sullivan resigned yesterday as executive secretary of the party to work entirely for Eisenhower. Sullivan has moved to California as the second most potent place. James Roosevelt who is head of the party out there is all out for Eisenhower. City bosses in New York are beginning to be all out for Eisenhower.

Some reports are coming in from below the Mason-Dixon which agree that Eisenhower is safe and should be sure to get all Democrat delegates from the south. With New York and California already in for Ike, this "Draft Eisenhower" following seems to have already an odds long favorite in him.

Facing this move, the Republicans are more apt to nominate Stassen to cinch a victory. They know that otherwise with Taft or Dewey or older Vandenberg they will have to face popular war hero Eisenhower and up and coming Wallace. They will then learn that the Democratic party will make a poor showing, and so-called red make-believe in the Wallace forces could cause an American surprise to be written into history, if not in '48, perhaps in '52.

They will know that the Republican party was started in 1854 in a mid-west small town, the first meeting having 15 people. They will remember that politically ambitious Horace Greely even sent a message to the Committee that he was too old and tired to attend. They remember that in 1856 there were not many people in the party, just another upheaval party against two conservative organizations and then, they remember Abraham Lincoln in 1860. So they should remember that if Wallace gets even a substantial vote on a third party and is given credit for breaking up the Democratic party that the people backing Wallace will remain enthusiastic another four years, and on the big band wagon the independent liberal vote will have some value toward '52; because the repressed will smell blood and the resurgent feel spirit of adventure and will want to have someone new in the highest political seat.

So it seems to me as I take the boat. When I get back about June 10th, I will go over it again.

Charles E. Marsh.