

May 20, 1940

My dear Hopkins:

Boiling down to your indicated size  
took a little time. Hence the delay.

Dear Mr. President:

First comes Chicago. We hope that to those there you will say something as brief as your first inaugural address. Your voice then brought us up standing.

Chicago is important, for America must know and believe first. I was thrilled by what you said at Chicago two years ago. But America was not ready. At Chicago, in July, America will be ready. At Chicago, America, through the Democratic Party, will nominate you. World conditions demand that no other name be presented. A Democratic Party, in a democratic way, will tell Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini that there is only one voice. That voice the same day may tell the world very briefly:

America will protect herself.

America will protect the Western hemisphere.

America will not let yellows rule large bodies of whites.

America offers herself as an agency for peace to those at war, at all times, everywhere.

After Chicago what? The call is for high courage--not fear. The demand is for a Seer who may make others see.

As to the Eastern hemisphere--the seat of the trouble which is to be ended by a peace. Vienna, in 1815, is the first in modern times. From that we learn. We learn from 1848, 1866, 1871--the ending of the little and the merging of Central Europe. Nineteen fourteen to eighteen was more significant. But 1920-1940 saw the merging go on, merely interrupted by Versailles. Trappings of heredity, economic disaster to the small Versailles units, these have come and gone.

The thing moves toward an economic, and possibly political, federation of the European peoples. When the last gun is shot, there may be a peace which reaffirms English-speaking world dominance. But, if so, for how long? Such a treaty may reaffirm the Wilsonian historic language and blood line boundaries. But for how long?

Such a Seer may say: Money is a medium of exchange--not wealth. Life is measured in terms of richness. Money shall not rule if rule of money means death to education, to culture. Money must not mean starvation of mind or body.

You yourself have said these things beautifully when America needed you to say them. They again must be said in terms of the world scene. There must be free world commerce. That part of the world which makes things better and cheaper must send them to workers who make other things better and cheaper.

A statesmanship greater than the force of Capitalism will speak. Humanity is greater than that.

There should be no peace of debt--a peace dictated by creditors--or a peace dictated by nationalists shouting for Shylock indemnities. One may no longer fine a nation--fine mass peoples into future servitude.

If Capitalism survives the gunfire, an ungreedy peace, plus an American gold credit base, may save it. At its best Capitalism provides for large-scale production, free inventiveness, and world trade credits. Barter by government fiat does not seem the best way. A return to contracts lived up to, in peace and war, by individuals and governments, seems the better way. This peace must give hope within Capitalism. It must carry the hope that the cost of war and war preparation is to cease.

Back to America--labor must not interfere. Work is wealth. Time and speed are the essence of safety. The lobbyists of labor shall not stop production, nor unfairly dictate pay. Those concerned only with profits shall not rule. This is not a stock market era.

Average America knows more of all this than you and I know is known. A clear voice, speaking simply, patiently, seldom, briefly, and at the right times, should lead them.

In such high effort, a voice must not be overtired from overstrain. The man with the voice must not be overworked.

The Bulls and the Papes, the acts of Congress, official statements of what we are actually doing are the routine. They will provide the background for the Voice. The chaos of a world in fear does not call for such a voice to argue the rise and fall of daily crises.

The big thing is whether we live or die as free men. Debating and appealing may be overdone, if tired, fearful peoples hear more than they can understand.

The time has passed, perhaps, for talk with those who do not hear. It may be old fashioned, out-moded, today to talk to Mussolini, Stalin, and Hitler, a king here and a president there.

The one thing that must be saved, if we are to be saved, is the value of you yourself and what you say. The voice of America to the peoples of the world, is the direct line of your soul. A government with machinery, follows you in speech and action.

For what it is worth, a country editor speaks.

May 25, 1940

Mr. Harry Hopkins  
Department of Commerce  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Hopkins:

The other day at your office you were kind enough to say that a memorandum in letter form to the President was worth his attention. You said that letters from other people of similar unselfishness might also help a man under the pressure Roosevelt now has.

In going back to the hotel, I happened to think of the most unselfish man in America that I personally know. He is so unselfish that his career has stopped as the editor of a paper of 15,000 circulation in Central Pennsylvania. But he has traveled Europe and America, is cultured and intelligent, and, to my knowledge, has never lied nor been cruel.

Either throw this away, or carry it on as you see fit.

Even if the letter does not get to the President's desk, I would appreciate it if you would drop Kennedy a line saying the letter addressed to the President was received.

Sincerely,

P. S. You may get one or two letters direct from other men of this type out of Texas, Florida, and Georgia. If so, handle them similarly.

June 21, 1940

Memorandum to Mr. Hopkins:

An unofficial check into executive officials under Lewis and the advisory chiefs of the C. I. O. indicates, and the rank and file of the coal miners indicates what you probably already know:

1. Lewis is almost alone among C.I.O. leadership.
2. The rank and file is with Roosevelt.

If you want details, say so.

Charles E. Marsh

Believe, however, Guffey needs help. Probably could use his name on politically sound administration measure.

Not sent

Dear Mr. Hopkins:

This assignment was given to Mr. Kennedy, of the Uniontown News Standard, by me. It was designed for page one, and I asked for a proof of the set up. I am not going to run it.

I attach also Pepper's seven points, and the last paragraph of a columnist on this subject.

Also attached is my answer to the challenge of this woman to American men. And to the Senate and the doers at the top, I say:

"The American was is that the chief not ask power, but be humbly asked by his people to assume power for the duration of the despot."

Start Kennedy to work for Guffey in any way possible beyond Uniontown.

Want Uniontown to run without Kennedy, if Guffey needs him at the moment.

Want first assignment and news item handled over weekend, to get it behind us. Have Kennedy bring down with him the material.

Want to see Guffey with Kennedy on Monday.

Seniority and political degeneracy is the routine of a peaceful democracy; if the democracy is big and fat, the people do not die.

When and if a lean, hardened despot moves into expansion, there is no chance.

The bigger and fatter the democrat, the faster and harder the despot moves. The barracuda after the sea bass passes up the sun fish.

The political acts of the last eight weeks in America correspond in time to the despot's acts of the last eight weeks:

Despot

Democrat

Despot:

Democrat:

He said, "Come here, Mussolini."

"What do you want, Mussolini?"

"Go home, Mussolini, Germany alone will decide the French terms."

"Give me everything you got, or else."

In seven days prepares English attack; information determines whether major drive is East or over the Channel.

We talk. We tell public plans of economic control of South America and distant plans for training of boys and girls.

We provide tax for one-tenth of the money we authorize for defense, and talk about how big taxes are to be if we go to war. (Child's play of politicians facing an election.)

We discover a Knudsen quarrelling with a Ford, and hope, in spite of no other information, something is doing.

We find some 70-foot boats have been sent abroad without telling some Senators or the public through some White House inadvertence which causes American newspapers and radios to give voice to publicity Walsh and publicity Vinson.

We appoint a couple of has-beens to head our war and navy efforts, instead of getting a couple of good boys between forty and fifty from the Army and Navy who know their business. The Democrats call this last deal coalition and national unity, while the Republicans yell "traitors" and call the national leader a "possum playing for war," to keep his job.

If the above parallel is unfair, it is because the despot is stripped for action, while the fat democrat is merely taking off his coat for a training spar.

Notes: From Norway a dated examination paper.

This is a private newspaper, printed for me in the only medium I have worked in for the last thirty years. I thought I would use the article, and have decided it is not in the public interest.

(Since the speedy despot turned West toward us, these things have happened over there and over here--the despot acts over there, and over here we act. Time is the essence of the contract. The clock ticks, and there is no calendar.)

Where are we now? (Head)

The Despot and the Democrat (Sub-head)

Editor's Note: This is an assignment to a man to make a parallel of the weekly events over there and over here since Hitler turned West toward us.

The editor asked the reporter to observe, as if from an airplane, and with the mind of a man without a country.