

This can all
be checked with
Mrs. Harold Ganey of
Odessa, Texas

Harold Young, Chairman "For a Roosevelt Delegation from Texas", Dallas

Talking from Athens, Texas, where he was attending a barbecue attempting to get some money for his committee. Wednesday 11:45 p.m.

M: How is everything?

Y: Loosing weight and traveling fast. Never felt better. On a big high.

M: What are you doing?

Y: Trying to smile some money out of a fellow by attending his barbecue. Got it.

M: How is your Dallas meeting April 24 coming on?

Y: Fine. Will fill Fair Park, four thousand, may over-flow.

M: How about Josh Lee?

Y: He is welshing out, but it doesn't make any difference.

M: I thought he promised you absolutely, and you agreed to pay his expenses and give him a thousand dollars worth of radio time.

Y: Let's don't waste time on him. He is pulling the old conflict-of-dates racket.

M: How about A. J. Wirtz?

Y: Is he coming down? Wonderful! You bet we could use him!

M: It is possible he would not fit, because you billed that thing as a Southwest Four States Rally.

Y: No we haven't billed it yet except as a Dallas for Roosevelt date. We wanted to be saggy and hold off a bit, as we did not want too much transportation expense for the program if we could fill the Fair Park anyway.

M: Well, that's fine then. I think Wirtz might want to talk just to Texas.

Y: Let's make it Texas then.

M: Fine.

Y: Wirtz is surely coming? I have never known him to walk out.

M: Call tomorrow night, Harold, and there will be something definite on it. How about money?

Y: I am out of soap, but I am not bothered, as my credit is still good. Did Wirtz mean it a couple of weeks ago when he was in Texas and said I could have some?

M: When you call tomorrow night this will be definitely settled and you will know exactly what to do.

Harold Young, Dallas and North Texas, and C. E. M.

Tuesday evening 10:00

Y: Feel fine. Switchboard jammed after air talk. Just got off radio. Think response much more live than on controversial political subjects where I have talked before.

M: How are things going?

Y: Very well.

M: Is the thing getting down to a precinct basis?

Y: Getting names together has been a little bit slower than I thought it would be, but we are actually getting into action and we shall have solid precinct organization not only in Dallas, but probably in nearby counties by May 4, perhaps even in North and East Texas by precincts.

M: Is the general interest as against a week ago very definitely greater?

Y: Bill McGraw, former candidate for governor, came out for Roosevelt.

M: Will that be helpful to Roosevelt in Dallas, do you think? I am wondering whether his action in coming out for Roosevelt will alienate any other considerable section of people.

Y: I do not think so in Dallas for the reason that with Ferguson, Tom Love, Bill McGraw, and Harold Young for Roosevelt there is a general cross section of types, of liberals and mediums, to the point where I do not see how there can be any line up which would be "anti", based on the Roosevelt support.

M: Is there a specific Garner sentiment?

Y: Paid workers, but no real sentiment. County Chairman Muriel Buskner has been working intelligently and hard for Garner on precinct basis. Dallas headquarters for Garner has not had sense enough to know how to do it.

M: At the present time, with only the work done at the present time, if a vote were to be taken in Dallas, how would the election go in the precincts?

Y: The superior organization in Dallas would probably swing it to Garner.

M: At rate of present progress how will the situation exist on May 4?

Y: On May 4 we will win. I feel quite confident. Open Forum meets at City Hall at three o'clock every Sunday. Three or four hundred people attend. I shall address it Sunday. So far Garner forces have not found any satisfactory man to oppose Young. This is merely as an indication of vitality and interest that is growing. Neighborhood meetings are scheduled to be held all over the county and in Dallas.

M: How is the big meeting coming along? What date?

Y: April 24.

M: Where?

Y: Fair Park Auditorium. It holds 4,000 people.

M: How did you happen to pick such a big place?

Y: I think we will fill it.

M: You are not over-confident? You know your Dallas? Are you going to pass the petitions? After the petitions are passed, the question will be whether to move the idea over the state. Do you think it will go over?

Y: I think it will. We are getting letters from all over Texas, and I am answering them fully. We are making a state organization out of this one. We are all working for the common cause, and results are what we want, not credit. We are all in accord with each other. There is no jealousy. As I said on the radio tonight, "I am just one small voice in seven million."

Harold Young should be his own main speaker, if Josh Lee misses.

If the Dallas meeting lays a pattern which will carry on at secondary meetings until May 4, it must be as distinctly different from the work done by the \$250,000 and the old line politicians as it is possible to stage. In its way it should be as different as O'Daniel was from Thompson.

The tone must be spiritual truth--the petition to the leader of this country to carry on.

Such a petition is truly a marriage of national patriotism with religion at a time of great world chaos. The thing is bigger than Texas politics, bigger than national politics. It concerns the voice of our American people united behind its greatest man, calling to all humanity.

The people at the Dallas meeting are merely the point of start, and Harold Young is a voice of the thing as big as the thing that Harold Young is thinking about.

To get this message over in bigger form, there must be youth as a motive, because youth owns the future (obviously Garner and cohorts are of the past). The meeting must be religious, not political, in tone. Garner is not religious, he is political, and so no political figures need be on the platform, or should be.

The meeting opens with a prayer invoking divine heed to the world, to the oppressed and puzzled and beaten millions abroad. It should be a thankfulness for the peace that is ours, and for the great leader who has voiced for America and for humanity those things which the divine mind holds precious. This may all be said in three minutes or less if written down to its real meat.

As the young preacher's voice ends there should be no interruption, but on the last words of the invocation there should arise the voices of sixty to one hundred children, singing something very simple, such as Onward Christian Soldiers (one verse only to no music.)

And then Harold Young might arise with the very quiet voice which I have heard and say, "The time has come to speak in humbleness within our own family the things that must be said.

"The time has come to say without malice that which all of us know. The time has come for we Texans to be as simple as our forefathers in their love of Freedom, and in their ability to pray and work for the good things.

"The time has come for us to see clearly the mind of the man who has so well led us from the chaos of our deep depression among the things of 1930 to the high spiritual effort of this day in 1940.

"The time has come for us to prepare for May 4. You will have passed among you as quietly as possible by two hundred boys a simple petition which I shall read to you. It is called the "Carry On Petition" and after your name is signed there it will be sent to the President of the United States. I hope you all will have time to sign it, and if you are missed, you may come to the platform and sign after the meeting is over. I shall read the petition to you:

"We who sign this love you. We may not speak with little words the depth of our gratitude for what you have done in your labors for us. In humility, and yet in hope, we ask you to carry on. We feel your voice in high courage at home and abroad is that thing which this world at this time most needs."

(For whatever it is worth, I am having sent you again my own sentiments written under personal sincerity, the editorial on the voice. If you can get a thought out of this in your own closing of the meeting, or get a spirit from it, I believe you can say to those people at the meeting's close:)

"It is unthinkable that we not ask the President to carry on.

"It is unthinkable that the President will not carry on, God willing to spare him in health. It is unthinkable that all of you not go to the precinct primaries May 4, for only there may we act in truth and dignity that which we believe."

Harold Young can pitch this meeting through the greatness of his own spirit. First by not taking up much time at the beginning breaking his time into a very short beginning and a very short ending. If Young makes the regular "I accuse" type of talk--the kind of thing a Dan Moody would make--he might have a personal victory among his friends, but I do not believe he would rise to the height of the thing itself.

There will be much in between of that sort of thing.

If Young then introduces three or four three-minute speakers from the senior classes of the four state universities, speaking on the single subject "Roosevelt, the Hope of American Youth" with the statement that an award of excellence would be presented to the best speaker by, let us say, President Sealeman at the close of the meeting. There is a very close affiliation between education and religion and youth, because education is non-commercial, youthful, and hopeful. And while I realize this is just about as far away from an old time political rally as one could get, I still believe that the breaking away from all formal political rally lines is justified and that Roosevelt does stand for youth and the future, if for anything. So I believe that American youth in education has its place here.

One of your three minute speakers among the youngsters ~~that~~ may be selected by the Austin man (Charles Green). The man I know he will select does not chew, does not smoke, and goes to church every Sunday, and is in politics because he believes his service is there and not in the church. Such a man will move the tenor of the meeting in a natural flow toward maturity. Such a man might spend his three minutes or five minutes painting the picture of what would have happened to American youth if Roosevelt had not taken the hundreds of thousands off the freight cars in 1933 --the hungry girls and boys moving from state to state and finally reaching C.C.C. camps and girl organization movements.

The woman from Oklahoma, five minutes, saying what would have happened to American girlhood if Roosevelt as leader had not driven the necessary money back into the states lying prostrate under dust bowl conditions.

A young farmer who has taken public speaking at A. & M. or Oklahoma A. & M. might devote five minutes specifically to what would have happened to the farmers of Texas and Oklahoma if Roosevelt had not been behind Wallace.

All this in terms of human beings, forgetting and not wasting time on dollars and cents and money prosperity. Leave out all statistics possible and stay on the point that without Roosevelt there was no one else with the high courage and that today there is no turning back until America, perhaps in 1944, has had time to develop from among youth its own leadership as the man of courage lays down his burden. Certainly it is unthinkable that the leadership lies among the discredited politicians who have opposed Roosevelt; the discredited politicians who hate the things Roosevelt stands for; the discredited politicians who seek to enfold the body of Roosevelt in the mantle of a Judas friendship; of the discredited politicians who would silence the voice so that they may plunder, so that they may profit.

Enough of this, which shows that at fifty-three I am beginning to be excessively garrulous. But if I were able, I think so sincerely tonight that I would be on a plane for Texas. And I cannot conceive any Texan seeing this thing clearly who is willing not to be in spirit militantly on the job.

Washington, D. C.
April 8, 1940

Mr. Harold Young
410 Gulf States Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Harold:

Attached find Drew Pearson, writing from Chicago.

A good idea has just been expressed. On Wednesday or Thursday, after the Illinois results are in, you will have this on your desk. Why not issue a statement saying in effect, "Garner disappearing as a national figure, and arranging his Vice Presidential office for his return permanently to Uvalde, finished his political life in Illinois yesterday without much glory. His campaign managers in the dying days before burial sneered Roosevelt with an unbelievable blast of hate."

They said, using \$25,000 of Clara Driscoll Seveir's money, that Roosevelt is only supported by hirelings who would favor a fourth and a fifth term, and named the following: (Pick up list from enclosed column.)

To who love Roosevelt may well pick our own list. For thirty years:

Garner	\$10,000 per year
Mrs. Garner	3,800 per year
Occasional run-in, Tully Garner, son, Uvalde and Amarillo banker	1,100 per year
Ray Miller, Public Relations Council, Texas Gulf Sulphur Company, Generalissimo Garner Campaign	Profits from U. S. Gov. unknown
Amos Gail Carter, Fort Worth Star Telegram, and oil exploiter	Profits from U. S. Gov. unknown
Gene Germany, North South East West Oil Co.	Profits from U. S. Gov. unknown
R. W. Morrison, Delegate to World Economic Conference, Contributor-in-chief to Garner	Gov. salary varies
Myron Bloock, in host	
Clara Driscoll Seveir, wife of the late Ambassador to Chile	On Gov. payroll for limited time as host

On second thought, it might be smart to make list very simple with totals for the years. No one will have time to deny the accuracy, and I like your general statement regarding the gentleman who said, "Was it a dog, or was it a sheep?"

Yours very truly,

Charles E. Marsh

CEM:MLG
Enc.

Afterthought to Harold Young:

It has been suggested that this thing in 10,000 lots in circular form on cheap newsprint would cost very little. I believe that Frank Baldwin at Waco might run this thing off for you, about 100,000, by setting it up four to a page on a regular newspaper press.

My recollection of about ten years ago was that a newsprint and rotary press method cost very little. You might have to take them over to a job plant and use a cutter, which costs nothing.

It might be worth while to take it to a job shop with a rotary press in order to get the job shop's union label. In which case, I imagine it had better be done at Dallas, as that is the only place where there are high speed presses in job shops.

I believe a few hundred news boys distributing these circulars through Central Texas with the papers, or getting them distributed by using a Dallas circulation manager, hiring his organization on outside time, or by using the Western Union on a special job would put this material in enough places to start so many prairie fires that the boys would begin to preach in the churches on Sunday.

C.E.M.

TIMES HERALD—Around the Clock—MONDAY, APRIL 8, 1940
 Washington Daily
 Merry-Go-Round
 (Trade Mark Registered)
 BY DREW PEARSON and ROBERT S. ALLEN

(EDITOR'S NOTE—The Merry-Go-Rounders have been having a first-hand look at some of the crucial primaries now in progress.)

CHICAGO — The President and Jack Garner may be good personal friends in Washington, but out here in Illinois the latter's campaign managers are pulling no punches in the bitter fight for delegates.

They are socking the Roosevelt third-term ticket with everything in the arena, including the water bucket.

Chief Garner's shillalah is a four-page leaflet that is the hottest piece of campaign literature seen in these parts in a long time. It fairly sizzles, and blasts the third term and leading New Dealers more scorchingly than anything the G.O.P. has put out. Over 2,500,000 copies have been distributed in this State and 1,400,000 were used in Wisconsin.

Principal punch in the leaflet is a four-column inside layout under a big-type headline, "THE THIRD TERM—WHICH GROUP WILL YOU VOTE FOR?" Then follows a caption "FOR" under which appears this list:

Harold Ickes, salary from the U. S. A.	\$15,000
Henry Wallace, " " " "	\$15,000
Harry Hopkins, " " " "	\$15,000
Miss Perkins, " " " "	\$15,000
Ben Cohen, " " " "	\$15,000
Tom Corcoran, " " " "	\$15,500
Jerome Frank, " " " "	\$10,000
W. G. McAdoo, " " " "	\$25,000
Boss Hague of New Jersey, profits from politics	—unknown—
Boss Nash of Chicago, profits from politics	—unknown—

(NOTE—Bosses Pendergast of Kansas City and Jimmy Hines, patronage dispenser in Manhattan, are temporarily silent about a third term. They are doing their first terms in the penitentiary.)

"They and a horde of other job holders are riding the gravy train. It is a free ride and they will never get off unless we, the voters, put them off. They are for a third term, or a fourth, or a fifth."

Opposite this fusillade and under the caption "AGAINST" are four pictures—Washington, Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and Grover Cleveland. In addition are Coolidge's famous "I do not choose to run" statement and a quote from Jim Farley: "I place my country above my party."

Courthouse Dewey

MADISON, Wis.—Dewey's sweeping Wisconsin victory was particularly striking in view of the howling faux pas he pulled here.

It occurred during the New Yorker's address before a Saturday afternoon crowd of several thousand from the steps of the great, tall-domed State capitol, of which Wisconsinites are very proud. He was lambasting the Administration's failure to balance the budget, when he turned and pointed to the State House.

"I am proud," he said, "to be standing on one of the few courthouse steps that are paid for."

The capitol, built under the elder La Follette, was financed by a special tax on the railroads.

NOTE—Dewey and Roosevelt have one thing in common—both are down on critical newsmen. In the latest Dewey campaign leaflet is a paragraph angrily denouncing such writers for "misrepresenting him and his qualifications and achievements."

Radio Alumni

WASHINGTON — Significant fact about the radio business is the number of ex-Government officials on its pay roll. In no industry are they so numerous. Radio literally is studded with men who got their start to lucrative jobs as administrators of the law regulating the industry.

The list of these "alumni" of the old Radio Commission and the Federal Communications Commission is long, but here are a few of them:

DUKE PATRICK, general coun-

ton attorney for Columbia Broadcasting and a number of individual stations affiliated with the other networks, among them WLW, Cincinnati. He also is a partner of Frank Hogan, former president of the American Bar Association.

LOUIS G. CALDWELL, member of the Radio Commission, now attorney for Mutual Broadcasting Station WGN Chicago, and other radio interests.

PAUL SPEARMAN, former general counsel of the FCC, and FRANK ROBERSON, his assistant, now conducting one of the busiest radio law firms in the Capital. Among their clients are the Yankee Network and Station WLAC, Nashville.

ARTHUR W. SCHARFELD, former Radio Commission attorney, now representing Tri-State Broadcasting Co., of Texas, and Station WMEX, Boston, and a number of small stations.

BEN FISHER, former assistant general counsel of both the Radio and Communications Commissions, attorney for Station WCOP, Boston, and a number of small stations.

GEORGE SUTTON, former member of the engineering staff of the FCC, who studied law at night school, now looking after the interests of the Florida Broadcasting Co., and Station WOKO, Schenectady, N. Y.

EUGENE O. SYKES, recently resigned member of the FCC, who has joined the Spearman Roberson law firm and will specialize in radio work.

Chastened Hero

George A. De Cottes of the Capitol Police Force will vouch for the fact that a patrolman's lot is not a happy one.

De Cottes is the handsome young cop who singlehandedly captured a gunman who had held up a liquor store. On his way home from work, and unarmed, he chased the bandit into the basement of an apartment house and overpowered him. The daring exploit won De Cottes a lot of public commendation—but not from his superiors.

Reporting for work the next morning he was met by a sour-faced sergeant who informed him that "the boss" was very much displeased by his "behavior" the night before.

"But why?" gasped De Cottes. "I risked my life to uphold the law. That fellow might have bumped me off."

"That's beside the point," snapped the sergeant. "The boss is sore because you wore your uniform home. You had no business to do that. You know that's against regulations."

NOTE—Six feet tall, sandy-haired and 27, De Cottes is from Jacksonville, Fla., where he studied law, has a wife and child and is ambitious to be a G-man.

Merry-Go-Round

The "big three" farm organizations, Farm Bureau, National Grange and Farmer's Union, frequently differ on what's best for the grower, but at the Des Moines National Farm Institute their spokesmen agreed that Secretary Wallace's acreage control and crop loan program was the "best yet advanced to alleviate a serious condition." A Scotch friend of David Lehman, secretary to Senator Ed Johnson, of Colorado, has shipped him the family's pet Cairn terrier because of difficulty in getting rations for dogs in England. When Democratic Floor Leader Alben Barkley lunches in the Senate restaurant, he orders sweet potato pie for dessert. Most Cabinet press conferences have either grown dull or disappeared, but Henry Wallace still draws a crowd.

(Copyright 1940 by United Features Syndicate, Inc.)

Our

In 4 I at Hoover dollars and se for ad

My only in questio himself the h asked, as ex D. R.?

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Dir

Thur Wester drill at But the The wir "crack" up, but They a lot of comman ing abt right he pulled a ing muc tators. them an over ag then g when e veit sho And a chan Can it adjudge gardless because there a ficers a

(Four State Southwestern Rally, Dallas, between April 13 and 19.

Principal speaker Josh Lee. Called to express appreciation of President's work to date, and to ask him to carry on. Harold Young, presiding and the planner of the meeting, will manage the distribution and the signing of the following:)

CARRY ON PETITION

To Our President:

We who sign this love you. We may not speak with little words the depth of our gratitude for what you have done in your labors for us. In humility, and yet in hope, we ask you to carry on. We feel your voice in high courage at home and abroad is that thing which this world at this time most needs.

PRESERVATION COPY

Washington, D. C.
April 13, 1940

Mr. Harold Young
410 Gulf States Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Harold:

Because you are too busy at the moment to review either the Great American Tragedy or to read the Great American Comedy, I know that you are not in proper tempo leisurely to peruse how a Great American Saint is evolved.

The Coolidges and Mts. Roosevelts are obvious, but the biographer of America's George W. Norris has developed a humor as unique as the original efforts of a serious nature of Menken. This biography as humor almost equals that of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in the perfect absence of intent. Those of us who have done nothing to write about must admit such a character as Eleanor has done much. No one would fail to value the Great Norris for the genius of his intent and the sturdiness of his consistency.

I never did care for Sinclair Lewis because he worked too hard on the Great American Average. My same objection applies to Menken. But this American comes out of a \$3.50 per copy in a chronicle so naive that it should be put in every township schoolhouse cornerstone. I trust your mental equipment will be enriched as soon as you have the time, and I promise to send the book on.

Sincerely yours,

Charles E. Marsh

CEM:MLG

..... for a ROOSEVELT DELEGATION FROM TEXAS

HAROLD H. YOUNG

P. O. BOX 351

DALLAS

10

April 13, 1940

Mr. Charles E. Marsh
Doctors Hospital - Room 1008
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marsh:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 8. It will be necessary, I believe, to use material as you suggested and to get it in the hands of the voters.

Here is the play:- As you have stated, forces who are using Garner as a front man endeavored to smear, with an unbelievable blast of hate, not only in Illinois but in Roosevelt's home state as well. If this state pride business is such a great thing it looks as if they would have laid off of Roosevelt's home state.

As I promised you, I have put \$500.00 into this business and I was promised last night an additional \$500.00 from Arch Underwood. Underwood is highly solvent and very grateful to Roosevelt. I expect to get at least \$500.00 from another gentleman around here.

I talked to A. J. Wirtz over long distance from Austin, at which time he asked me to let him know exactly what money he needed up here. I wrote him yesterday and told him that \$1,500 more would be sufficient. I don't know what his object was in asking me unless his boss is rich and wants to help. The campaign looks very good and it will be necessary for some of us to get on the radio within the next day or so and expose this state pride hoax, using among other things the material which you sent me.

The papers are getting so many statements from so many people that it is a little difficult to get stories in the Dallas papers unless you use the radio station owned by one of the papers. In other words, if I make a speech over station WFAA the Dallas News will then quote a great part of the story in the paper. The Dallas News, however, will print little or nothing of a reply by me to a radio speech made by a Garner man over station WFAA. And, frankly, I believe the News will

..... *for a* ROOSEVELT DELEGATION FROM TEXAS

HAROLD H. YOUNG

P. O. BOX 351

DALLAS

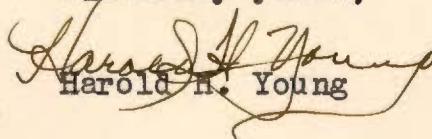


be just as fair to me when the situation is reversed.

I have received messages from Josh Lee's secretary. Although he has not turned down the engagement which he made when you and I talked to Senator Lee he is hedging somewhat. He wishes to broadcast out of Oklahoma City on May 1, letting us pay for Texas stations which will carry his speech. There is no objection to this but we are still insisting that Senator Lee address a mass meeting in Dallas on April 24. I will be grateful if you can clinch this matter.

I am informed that you are recovering rapidly from you operation which is fine.

Sincerely yours,


Harold H. Young

Washington, D. C.
April 14, 1940

Mr. Harold Young
410 Gulf States Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Young:

Both sides get a rebuttal in a debate. It was the thought of the stenographer that Texas and Louisiana, examples better known to me, have both had politicians who used the scriptures to their own ends, and who did at times call for a hymn. All the people I've known to use this device very much in politics have used it as a device, and not as the natural expression of a conception of the significance of Freedom, Liberty, and those things which are precious to the governing and those being governed.

The significance of what they are doing, I think, is very real to the people interested in this thing. I should not like to see it ineptly expressed. I'm sure it will not be.

Yours very truly,

The steno.

Washington, D. C.
April 14, 1940

Mr. Harold Young
410 Gulf States Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Harold:

This dictation has had two remarks made about it which I am sending on for what they are worth. It happens that two women heard it, one listening, and one taking it.

One woman said, "I do not know whether people coming to a political rally would want to hear even fifteen minutes of college boys."

The other woman said, "I think what you write is all right. But have those people in Texas the personal leadership to feel and handle the message in its spiritual significance without descending to comparisons which might call it a stunt similar to a Huey Long or an O'Daniel imitative party."

My rebuttal is that I see nothing similar between a child choir and a hill billy band, and I see nothing of real similarity between a Huey Long and a group of sincere young Americans at what amounts to a town meeting asking the boss to carry on, and not as Huey Long would be saying, "Make me the boss."

This all just merely to get different viewpoints on paper.

Sincerely yours,

Charles E. Marsh

CEN:MLG

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1207-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To HAROLD YOUNG ATTORNEY GULD STATES BUILDING

APRIL 14

1940

Street and No. RESIDENCE

Place DALLAS TEXAS

MERELY SUNDAY GREETINGS BEFORE I OPEN MASS EXERCISES FOR NURSING STAFF UNABLE TO GET TO CHURCH MAN FROM BONHAM INDICATES YOU HAVE SENSE IN THE SECOND DEGREE BY STATING NO ONE ELSE DOWN THERE HAS ANY INCARCERATION SOME DECADES AGO OF ONE PROMINENT COLLEAGUE OF YOURS IN REST CURE HOME PRINCIPAL SUBJECT OF CONVERSATION AMONG OPPOSITION IN THIS INTELLIGENT CITY ARGUMENT THIS SINGLE FACT SEEKS TO CONVINCE MAN WITHOUT LOCOMOTION THAT THE WHOLE IDEA IS SCREWEY HE IS VERY CUTE ABOUT HIS ANSWER BUT THAT WILL KEEP FOR THE BOOK AS IT WAS INFINITELY FUNNY ON THE JOKESTER FROM OKLAHOMA SUGGEST YOU CALL ME TODAY STATION TO STATION COLLECT REPUBLIC 4600 ROOM 1007AS I DO NOT TRUST HIM AND YOU MIGHT NEED QUICK SHIFT TO ANOTHER PUBLICITY PLAN

C E M

Sender's address
for reference

Sender's telephone
number

ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a message should order it repeated, that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this, one-half the unrepeat message rate is charged in addition. Unless otherwise indicated on its face, this is an unrepeat message and paid for as such, in consideration whereof it is agreed between the sender of the message and this company as follows:

1. The company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the unrepeat-message rate beyond the sum of five hundred dollars; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the repeat-message rate beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, unless specially valued; nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines; nor for errors in cipher or obscure messages.

2. In any event the company shall not be liable for damages for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of any message, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, at which amount each message is deemed to be valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing by the sender thereof at the time the message is tendered for transmission, and unless the repeat-message rate is paid or agreed to be paid, and an additional charge equal to one-tenth of one percent of the amount by which such valuation shall exceed five thousand dollars.

3. The company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this message over the lines of any other company when necessary to reach its destination.

4. Domestic messages and incoming cable messages will be delivered free within one-half mile of the company's office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or towns. Beyond these limits the company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender's request, as his agent and at his expense, endeavor to contract for him for such delivery at a reasonable price.

5. No responsibility attaches to this company concerning messages until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices; and if a message is sent to such office by one of the company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender.

6. The company will not be liable for damages or statutory penalties in any case where the claim is not presented in writing to the company within sixty days after the message is filed with the company for transmission; provided, however, that this condition shall not apply to claims for damages or overcharges within the purview of Section 415 of the Communications Act of 1934.

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1-38

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY
INCORPORATED
R. B. WHITE, PRESIDENT

CLASSES OF SERVICE

DOMESTIC SERVICES

TELEGRAMS

A full-rate expedited service.

DAY LETTERS

A deferred service at lower than the standard telegram rates.

SERIALS

Messages sent in sections during the same day.

NIGHT LETTERS

Accepted up to 2 A.M. for delivery not earlier than the following morning at rates substantially lower than the standard telegram or day letter rates.

SHIP RADIOGRAMS

A service to ships at sea, in all parts of the world. Plain language or code language may be used.

ORDINARIES

The standard service, at full rates. Code messages, consisting of 5-letter groups only, at a lower rate.

DEFERREDS

Plain-language messages, subject to being deferred in favor of full-rate messages.

NIGHT LETTERS

Overnight plain-language messages.

URGENTS

Messages taking precedence over all other messages except government messages.

CABLE SERVICES

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Telegrams of the categories listed at the right, to any Western Union destination in the United States

TELEGRAMS OF PRESCRIBED FIXED TEXT

TELEGRAMS OF SENDER'S OWN COMPOSITION (first 15 words)

25¢
35¢

HOTEL or TRANSPORTATION RESERVATIONS
TOURATE TELEGRAMS, for TRAVELERS

(first 15 words)

35¢

GREETINGS AT

Christmas New Year Easter
Valentine's Day Mother's Day Father's Day
Jewish New Year Thanksgiving

CONGRATULATIONS ON

Anniversaries Weddings
Birthdays Commencement
Birth of a Child

MISCELLANEOUS

Bon Voyage telegrams "Pep" telegrams
Kiddiegrams (No 35¢ rate) "Thank You" telegrams

ASK ANY WESTERN UNION OFFICE OR AGENCY FOR FULL INFORMATION

Washington, D. C.
April 15, 1940

Mr. Harold Young
410 Gulf States Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Harold:

Were I preparing a highly fervid spiritual delivery of myself, I would wash my mind with the re-reading of the Gospel According to Saint Mark. I would then read Ecclesiastes, Chapter 3, beginning: "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven."

Paraphrasing "There is a time for all things", I believe it could be worked into with the invocation of a sincere young preacher, or with similar exhortation at the meeting's close, or it might be worked into a climax of your own introductory speech.

It may be that I am slightly affected by illness, or because I have been lying on my back Sunday and have just listened to some spiritual music, so do not take me too seriously. But I see it very, very clearly that the way to beat these forces of self-interest which would permit six million Texans to go sloppy May 4 is to appeal to the thing that really makes the masses get busy. This thing is a resentment of the devil in man--it is the devil of self-interest.

You are doing a very disinterested act, and spending your own money to do it. I admire you. But to carry on this with humility to the masses themselves one must be spiritually sincere, and not merely clever. You are both sincere and clever. I want the spiritual element in you to dominate this next two weeks. That is all. I am sorry if it is a bum note.

Yours sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1207-B

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To HAROLD YOUNG

APRIL 16

19 40

Street and No. GULF STATES BUILDING

Place DALLAS TEXAS

TWO PEOPLE VERY HAPPY THAT YOU ARE ON FIRE AND ARE GRINNING AT EACH OTHER THINKING
OF YOU IF YOU HAVE A MINUTE RELAX YOURSELF BY PHONING ERICH LEINS DORF AT STONELEIGH
COURT AS I WANT YOU TWO TO SHAKE HANDS AGAIN JUST RECEIVED LETTER FROM HIM ASKING
ME TO HAVE HIS DALLAS FRIENDS GIVE HIM A RING WEDNESDAY MORNING AND I THINK IT WOULD
BE NICE IF YOU REMEMBERED HIM WITH A SMALL BOUQUET FOR HIS BRIDE WHO IS WITH HIM IT
DOES NOT HAVE TO BE ORCHIDS HURRAH AND REGARDS

C E M

Sender's address
for reference

Sender's telephone
number

ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a message should order it repeated, that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this, one-half the unrepeat message rate is charged in addition. Unless otherwise indicated on its face, this is an unrepeat message and paid for as such, in consideration whereof it is agreed between the sender of the message and this company as follows:

1. The company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the unrepeat-message rate beyond the sum of five hundred dollars; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the repeated-message rate beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, *unless specially valued*; nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines; nor for errors in cipher or obscure messages.
2. In any event the company shall not be liable for damages for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of any message, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, at which amount each message is deemed to be valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing by the sender thereof at the time the message is tendered for transmission, and unless the repeated-message rate is paid or agreed to be paid, and an additional charge equal to one-tenth of one percent of the amount by which such valuation shall exceed five thousand dollars.
3. The company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this message over the lines of any other company when necessary to reach its destination.
4. Domestic messages and incoming cable messages will be delivered free within one-half mile of the company's office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or towns. Beyond these limits the company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender's request, as his agent and at his expense, endeavor to contract for him for such delivery at a reasonable price.
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R. B. WHITE, PRESIDENT

1-38

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25¢

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35¢

HOTEL or TRANSPORTATION RESERVATIONS
TOURATE TELEGRAMS, for TRAVELERS

(first 15 words) — —

35¢

GREETINGS AT

Christmas	New Year	Easter
Valentine's Day	Mother's Day	Father's Day
Jewish New Year	Thanksgiving	

CONGRATULATIONS ON

Anniversaries	Weddings
Birthdays	Commencement
Birth of a Child	

MISCELLANEOUS

Bon Voyage telegrams	"Pep" telegrams
Kiddiegrams (No 35¢ rate)	"Thank You" telegrams

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CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

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1207-B

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PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. G. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

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To MR HAROLD YOUNG CHAIRMAN ROOSEVEET DELEGATION FROM TEXAS APRIL 17 1940

Street and No. ADOLPHUS HOTEL

Place DALLAS TEXAS

TWO VERY SMALL VOICES ARE TREMENDOUSLY PROUD OF YOUR RADIO SPEECH THIS SOUNDS BANAL

BUT ONCE IN A WHILE A THING IS A THING AND ONE AND ONE DOES MAKE ONE YOUR SPEECH

IT

WAS FINITE IN FACT MOST DEFINITE AND ~~TEXT~~ IS IN THE QUALITY OF ITS DEFINITENESS AND

AND FINITENESS THAT ANY SMALL VOICE FROM THE INFINITE MUST SAY IT WAS EXACTLY ON THE

LINE IN OTHER WORDS YOU DEFINITE AND FINITE SO AND SO IT WAS A PEACH OF A SPEECH

BALL AND CHAIN

Sender's address
for reference

Sender's telephone
number

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Birthdays	Commencement
Birth of a Child	

MISCELLANEOUS

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ASK ANY WESTERN UNION OFFICE OR AGENCY FOR FULL INFORMATION

Harold Young, Dallas, and C. E. M.

April 21

M: How was the afternoon?

Y: Debate was lousy on attendance. Slightly over 200 present, and 80 per cent of them were for Roosevelt, with the Roosevelt talker getting a big hand. Newspaper publicity has not been good, and that accounted for the smallness of the crowd. Also it was a fine Spring day.

The reporters have handled the publicity fairly well. I worked on them this afternoon, but I cannot guarantee that much will get into the papers, because apparently not much gets by the desks. Probably from owner's orders.

The Dallas Times Herald carries a very complimentary cartoon showing Rayburn declaring Garner the greatest Texan since Sam Houston.

Went to Denton Saturday and worked down through small towns to Fort Worth. Small towns are all for Roosevelt, and are working rather intelligently and definitely. Perhaps better than the bigger towns.

T. V. Smith, Congressman from Illinois, talked at the 50th anniversary of a college in Denton, and made some remarks in favor of Roosevelt, getting a big hand. Smith talked to 1,200 people. Young took him over, handling him, and taking him back into Fort Worth.

Young will meet Wirtz in Austin Monday night. He has already contacted Young, and will definitely speak April 24, and the radio time is arranged.

Organizing rapidly in Dallas County. Young does not feel confident yet, but feels progress is going to be such that by April 24 or 25 he will be able to say something pleasant.

DAY LETTER
APRIL 24, 1940

HAROLD YOUNG
410 GULF STATES BUILDING
DALLAS TEXAS

THIS BEING YOUR BIG DAY A COUPLE OF DEUCES ARE NOT GOING TO OPEN THE POT. BELIEVE HAVE ARRANGED PUBLICITY MATTER WIRTZ TO JOHNSON NIGHT BEFORE LAST. IT BEING HANDIED GREEN NEW YORK TO BALDWIN TO FULCHER. BELIEVE IF FULCHER OR HOOD FUNCTIONS STORY MIGHT BE WRITTEN RAPIDLY ENOUGH TO MAKE EARLY EDITIONS MORNING PAPERS THERE. THUS COVERING OUTSIDE OF THE CITY CIRCULATION. MY IDEA WOULD BE HAVE YOU TO SUGGEST TO WRITING MAN THE INFORMATION WHICH WOULD GIVE HIM A CHANCE TO WRITE EVERYTHING BUT THE NEW LEAD OF THE MEETING ITSELF. THIS MIGHT BE OFFERED ASSOCIATED PRESS UNITED PRESS AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE AS ADVANCE STORY LEAD TO COME. THEN THE SPOT NEWS OF THE MEETING--SIZE OF THE CROWD ENTHUSIASM PASSAGE OF RESOLUTION ETC COULD BE COVERED IN VIGOROUS HUNDRED WORDS. IN THE ADVANCE NEWS STORY OF COURSE THE WIRTZ ADDRESS IN FULL COULD BE OFFERED AS WELL AS THE DIGEST OF THE SPEECH FOR WIRES WHICH WILL NOT CARRY IT EXCEPT AS BRIEFED. MOPE YOU CAN GET FULL SPEECH IN DALLAS NEWS EARLY EDITION AS THEY NEED ADVANCE COPY TO FILL EARLY PAGES WHICH THEY THROW OUT IN CITY EDITIONS. IF TODAY ANY PUBLICITY HITCH TRY HOSPITAL OR VIRGINIA IF I AM NECESSARY. WOULD APPRECIATE CALL EIGHT A M YOUR TIME COLLECT CULPEPER 7151 STATION TO STATION ON RESULTS AS I WISH TO MAKE QUICK USE WASHINGTON BY PHONE BEFORE DAY GETS GOING ON CAPITAL HILL.

C E M

The Ginocchio Hotel

AIR COOLED

MARSHALL, TEXAS 4-25-40

Dear C. E. M.

Please do not let the name of this hotel fool you. It has nothing to do with any sexual disease.

The campaign as far as North Texas is concerned is in this shape: We have workers in many precincts. Before Monday we shall have workers in all of them. The Garner forces are very active.

We have furnished, and shall continue to furnish, Roosevelt resolutions. We are very hopeful. We have two radio broadcasts scheduled for Friday night of next week - one by Mr. McCraw, and one by my own voice.

Many people are offering to aid us - not with money but with work. We are welcoming them. If we win, there will be glory enough for all.

The Ginocchio Hotel

AIR COOLED

MARSHALL, TEXAS

Apathy, quoting Mayor Miller, is our greatest enemy. We should have had 4000 at our rally. We had 1000 or a few more.

However, we have more than 2000 in Dallas County signed up on the "Carry on" letter, and the other counties are with us. We have neighborhood meetings all thru next week - and Saturday night will know whether we've won or lost.

All good wishes to you my Dallas County friend. You began living at the Dallas Athletic Club on the day I returned. I just thought I'd let you know.

Yours with thanks,
Hered.

Boston, Virginia
April 25, 1940

Mr. Harold Young
410 Gulf States Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Harold:

There is a song in my heart. Your voice has firmed without clipping. Definiteness, clearness, and confidence is there without fear of loss of gayety.

Only one thing, as you re-see your acquaintances and friends in the new light, in the new tempo, in the new line of vision, which I believe is coming to you; do not be lonesome.

Growth in the brain needs no conscious giving up or conscious taking in. Increase of will, increase of speed and force takes care of itself. You will not be conscious of yourself, and should not be. You should not be puzzled by cries of, "He has forgotten me."; by sneers of, "He is big-headed."; or by idlers observing, "He is so busy he does not play any more."

All that happens in any change of pace or opening of the shutter.

And the greatest and the finest food for the gay in spirit is the feel of the faster pace.

So we don't have to worry much as to who wins what and how. And May 4 is fun either way.

Sincerely yours,

Morning News

Section Two

Want Ads
Markets

DAY, APRIL 25, 1940

Roosevelt-Garner Ticket Suggestion Received Coldly at Third-Term Rally

Crowd Reserves Full Enthusiasm For F.D.R. Name

(Picture on Page 14)

A Texas delegation to the national Democratic convention instructed for third terms for both Roosevelt and Garner was proposed by Mayor Tom Miller of Austin, chairman of a state draft-Roosevelt organization, at a North Texas Roosevelt rally in Fair Park auditorium Wednesday night.

"Some Roosevelt people may say leave Garner out in the cold, but I haven't forgotten his service to his nation and party," said Miller. "Let Roosevelt and Garner go together in harness, but I don't believe in putting the cart before the horse."

McCraw Cool on Garner

The proposal was received without enthusiasm by the audience of slightly less than 500 persons, who showed their desire for Roosevelt's renomination by applauding whenever the President's name was mentioned. Miller said Everett Looney of Austin, former assistant attorney general, prepared the resolution.

Former Atty. Gen. William McCraw expressed his unconcern about Garner's disposition by saying, "I ain't worried about the tail, it's the head of the ticket that concerns me. We can get a tail anywhere."

Harold H. Young, chairman of the meeting, said he had no objection if resolutions were adopted at precinct and county conventions and at the state convention instructing for Roosevelt and Garner.

Termed 'Stop-F.D.R.' Move

Undersecretary of the Interior, Alvin J. Wirtz, principal speaker, declared the Garner-for-President campaign in Texas is not being handled by real friends of the Vice-President and is a stop-Roosevelt-at-any-cost campaign.

Talks of varying length all in high praise of Roosevelt, were made preceding the Wirtz address by Mack Taylor of Fort Worth, Frank Baldwin, Waco newspaper editor; T. B. Hyder, ex-legislator from Denton; Ed Clark, former Secretary of State; State Senator Joe Hill of Henderson; former Lieut. Gov. Edgar E. Witt of Waco; and McCraw.

Former Gov. James E. Ferguson, scheduled to speak, was unable to leave Austin because of a dispute with a radio station over time during his campaign for Mrs. Ferguson for Governor. Chairman Young stated before the meeting.

3d-Term Petitions Signed

Petitions asking Roosevelt to seek a third term circulated in the audience.

See THIRD TERM on Page 14.

Vote for Roosevelt, Speakers Urge at Rally

Former Lieut. Gov. Edgar E. Witt of Waco called on Texas Democrats to vote for Roosevelt at a third-term rally in Fair Park Wednesday night. Seated are other speakers, left to right, Mayor Tom Miller of Austin, chairman of a state-wide draft-Roosevelt organization; former Atty. Gen. William McCraw; Undersecretary of the Interior Alvin J. Wirtz; Ed Clark of Austin, former Secretary of State; Harold H. Young, chairman of the meeting, and State Senator Joe M. Hill of Henderson.

—News Staff Photo.

a respectable share of the votes in any of the states where primaries have been held. His best showing was in Wisconsin where he was defeated by more than three to one. In no state where conventions have been held has he garnered a single delegate. The box score is now Garner 3, Roosevelt 320.

Wirtz said he was not speaking for the President in urging Texas send a delegation to the national convention instructed for Roosevelt and declared that not Jesse Jones nor anybody else can speak for the President regarding the Roosevelt campaign in Texas. Jones was recently quoted as saying the President did not sanction the Roosevelt campaign in Texas.

The speaker praised Garner for his long service to his nation and party and said he would vote for Garner for Vice-President again.

He took a backhanded slap at Garner, however, by saying he did not want him to leave a job in which he does not have the grueling grind that is required of the chief executive in which he does not have to make any speeches or even make his position known on the many important issues that come up from day to day.

"Hiding behind this kindly old figure are forces that dare not come out in the open," Wirtz said. "The Garner campaign is simply a Trojan horse with which to capture the Texas delegation. These ambassadors of Wall Street in Texas want to be able to play poker with the Texas votes at the national convention. They want to use the votes in some smoke-filled hotel room where those who hate the new deal will gather with their ill-gotten hoarding of favorite son votes."

State Democratic Chairman Germany performed an "astounding feat in arithmetic by adding the Garner and Republican votes of Wisconsin and then pronouncing his amazing coroner's verdict that the new deal was dead," Wirtz said.

Dirge Called Premature

"Gene Germany was simply apeing the Republicans and Liberty Leaguers and the economic royalists of the North," said Wirtz. "But their dirge for the new deal was premature, for the Illinois primary gave Roosevelt a vote greater than the combined vote for Garner and the Republicans. Then Gene and his crowd fell back on the one and only argument they have made to Texans, the plea of state pride."

"The trouble with Gene Germany and most of the others who have been managing the Garner campaign is that they started it out as a stop-Roosevelt campaign. Now that it has backfired on them, they are still trying to get a stop-Roosevelt delegation by protesting their loyalty to the very men and the very principles they have been attacking. They lack the element of good sportsmen. They welch when they lose."

Bluebonnets Attract Crowds

Special to The News. ENNIS, Texas, April 24.—Since opening of the Bluebonnet Trail here last Sunday hundreds of people from all over this section have been here to see the lavish growth of the Texas official flower, growing so luxuriantly in this vicinity. The trail lies to the east of the new city lake and, with the flowers and the lake recently largely replenished with water, makes a very beautiful drive.

Horse Sense Answers

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Ohio. | 3. Cloth. |
| 2. Ants. They herd and care for plant lice, called aphids, which excrete sweet fluid when the ants stroke them with their antennae. | 4. Old Black Joe. |
| | 5. Bricklayers. |
| | 6. Grandmother, excrete sweet mother and daughter, thus being two mothers and two daughters. |

Questions on Page 12, Section II.

Dallas party. He did not continue on the trip.

Thursday will find the party making a swing into Oklahoma, arriving at Elk City at 7:45 a.m., Mangum 10 a.m., Altus 11:35 a.m. and Frederick at 1:10 p.m.

The party will hit Texas again at Burkburnett at 3:15 p.m. and wind up the day at Wichita Falls at 4:30, the last night stop before heading back to Dallas Friday.

Third Term

CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE. were signed by 393 persons, Miss Roberta Fairchild, secretary in Young's Dallas County Roosevelt headquarters, reported.

Witt said drafting Roosevelt is carrying out a method advocated by the writer of the Thinking Out Loud column in The Dallas News, when he said recently the trouble with primaries is that the people are limited to announced candidate. Witt said he was proud of Garner's record but that more was at stake than honoring a Texan. He predicted Central Texas will go for Roosevelt and said a poll in West Texas gave Roosevelt 505 votes, Garner 1.

Mayor Miller, introduced by Young as "no kin to Roy Miller of the Texas Gulf Sulphur Company," said apathy is the only thing that can defeat Roosevelt in Texas. Efforts to nominate Garner are only an attempt to circumvent the wishes of the people, he declared. He commented Democrats have their work cut out—to beat Dewey.

Dewey Called N. Y. Tenor

"Garner reminds me of a race I made one time, only I had sense enough to know when I was beat," said McCraw in a typical speech mixed with humor and seriousness.

"Roosevelt may not be running, but he's in the fastest walk I ever saw."

McCraw referred to Dewey as a tenor from New York and said he'd put Franklin's crooning against his

any day. McCraw urged a delegation from Texas pledged for Roosevelt first, last and all the time.

People of the East Texas piney woods are for Roosevelt, said Senator Hill, who declared he had no fight to make on Garner but didn't want to go back to the old deal. Hill said the Texas delegation wasn't going to be under the domination of Roy Miller, whom he termed a "highly paid lobbyist of the Texas Gulf Sulphur Company."

Germany Claim Ridiculed

Clark said that State Democratic Chairman E. B. Germany, cochairman of the national Garner-for-President committee, "reached a high point in political assinnity" when he added the Garner and Republican vote in Wisconsin to show Roosevelt was dead. He termed advocating Garner for state pride "silly."

"Wirtz has had three conferences with Roosevelt and we can put two and two together in figuring out what Roosevelt will do," said Clark. "We think he will respond when the people call."

Wirtz' speech was broadcast over a local radio station, and the last half by two South Texas stations.

"Some of the people behind this Garner campaign have been trying to stop the new deal for seven years," declared Wirtz, former State Senator and an Austin attorney before taking his federal post Jan. 1. "They have no faith in the possibility of the nomination of their candidate. If they ever thought Garner had a chance, the results of the primaries so far held in other states have by now dispelled every doubt."

Managers of the Garner campaign cannot point to a single state which he has the remotest hope of carrying, save only Texas, Wirtz said.

State Pride Issue Raised

"In Texas it is such a forlorn hope that they are resorting to the time-worn plea of state pride," the speaker said. "Garner has failed to get even

ty, including Bailey C. Malone, William Z. Hayes, Hugo Schoellkopf and J. Durrell Padgett, were loaded into cars by Herefordites D. H. Alexander, H. A. Schroeter, J. E. Hill and E. B. Hedrick and taken for a tour of the shallow well district which has enabled irrigation to make this section highly profitable for the raising of potatoes, beans, melons, feed and dairying, as well as the raising of Hereford cattle. Dallasites were particularly impressed by the large farm of D. L. McDonald which lies on a section of ground and is the home of Advance Domino Mischief, the herd sire.

Dallasites found themselves listening to the popping of six guns and looking at masked cowboys for the second time on this trek Wednesday when he orange-shirted Clovis (N.M.) greeters headed by Pete Anderson, chamber of commerce manager, boarded the train at the Texas-New Mexico line.

Four Ride Elephant

Mayor E. A. Key of Clovis welcomed the crowd and Harry Seay of Dallas responded with the statement that the eyes of Texas were upon his section of the country with its fast growing trade and business. J. B. Adoue, president of the Dallas chamber, was presented a scroll from Gov. John E. Miles to attend the Colorado Cuarto Centennial celebrations of the state.

It was in Muleshoe, the home of James Aston's uncle, R. L. Brown, that four Dallasites assumed the role of maharajahs. William Moore, George Brewer, Howard Beasley Jr. and Lloyd Silberberger mounted one of the two elephants down to greet the rain and rode in style up to the center of the little city and back again.

Their City Manager, Aston's uncle, who is Mayor of the town turned over the huge key of the city to the party and Ed L. Agnew responded with the assurance Muleshoe would find the key to Dallas waiting for them at the state fair.

At Sudan, important trading center of Lamb County, Joe Salem, member of the board of directors of the chamber of commerce, welcomed the party and heard William Moore say he wasn't used to making an after-breakfast speech, but he felt amply repaid for getting up early when looking at all the prosperity and fine shape of the town.

Going Into Oklahoma

The day was opened in Littlefield, named for Major George Littlefield, where Dr. Ira T. Woods, president of the chamber of commerce, welcomed the party, and J. Howard Haylen responded for Dallas.

Thurston Dower joined the party at Abilene and had dinner with the



Boston, Virginia
May 1, 1940

Mr. Harold Young
410 Gulf States Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Harold:

Two or three days having passed, and the Eastern press checked, I think we now know that the job you have done is bigger than the original thought.

It would have been one thing to leave Garner at Uvalde. It is another thing for Garner to say to the country, "I shall not be the Al Smith of 1932 at Chicago."

Garner had gotten into the position of the man to rally around to beat the third term, and also as the man Roosevelt, the bully, was going to hit first.

Now, with order by agreement in Texas, we have Roosevelt not a bully, and Garner prevented from using his very considerable national influence against Roosevelt at Chicago and as an advertising point against the third term or Roosevelt domination of the convention.

I think it has been worth giving Garner complete veto power of the Texas delegation to get those words, "I won't join a 'Stop Roosevelt,'" into the Rayburn mouth. This thing got tremendous national publicity, and will get more from the columnists and the news magazines. It really spells the official end of Garner six weeks ahead of the convention. It serves notice upon those groups in and out of the Democratic Party who seek to stop Roosevelt that the only man of size in the Democratic Party who did say so has recanted under the fact that states already declaring had voted three hundred delegates for Roosevelt to three for Garner.

I do not know what the future of yourself as an individual, or a man in politics, will be; I only know that you should be pleased with your part in a truly substantial piece of work which I see in terms of Europe, the United States, and the social progress of this country. It just happened that you were one of very few men of courage on the spot who had also the energy and the ability and the generosity to function.

The gubernatorial thing is coming up. It has some bearing on Chicago and your position at Chicago. I shall be seeing you soon. I wish you would think over what the factors in the race for governor including O'Daniel, Dan Moody, Mrs. Ferguson, Heinz, and Saddler will be.

I do not know whether Dallas is entitled to two members of the League. But I note matter is optional pending confirmation from the President, and possibly action before the proper judges.

Mr. Harold Young--May 1, 1940--Page two

I am wondering whether judges always insist that notification of actions reach all interested parties by registered mail. This matter seems to be most important, as certain situations are very careless and it would be exceedingly a catastrophe if an ordinary letter be mislaid or not forwarded from a permanent residence.

Yours very truly,

C. E. M.

CEM:g

LEAKE, HENRY AND YOUNG
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 410 GULF STATES BUILDING
DALLAS, TEXAS

SAM A. LEAKE (1864-1935)
W. T. HENRY
HAROLD M. YOUNG
HAWKINS GOLDEN
J. MANUEL HOPPENSTEIN
HARRY M. STANFIELD

May 8, 1940

Mr. Charles E. Marsh,
1075 First Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Compatriot:

Alibis are the poorest things in the world. Nevertheless, it is true that starting from scratch we built up a tremendous amount of power for Roosevelt in North Texas. We had a solid week ahead of us in which to concentrate on precinct organization work and we bought a complete list of the voters in the precincts. The peace pact was signed and we discontinued our work. We know so well that we could have carried this county overwhelmingly if the Munich pact had not been signed. Even so, the opposition broke the agreement and beat us by only a few votes. For instance, a turn over of twenty votes in the County Convention would have meant victory. I am sending you the sad news in our local paper. We carried McClennan County, thanks largely to Frank Baldwin and the influence of your newspaper there. We carried Tarrant County and my old home county, Denton. Jefferson County, Bexar County and several other counties were instructed for Roosevelt.

It is my belief that notwithstanding the results in Dallas County, the agreement in the main will be kept and I expect to be a delegate to the National Convention. You may be interested in knowing that I am a delegate to the State Convention from Denton County, Jefferson County and Bexar County but not from Dallas County.

I feel that this whole affair, including the fiasco at the end of the affair, has helped me. I know that I have met a great many people and I can only recall one new enemy I have made.

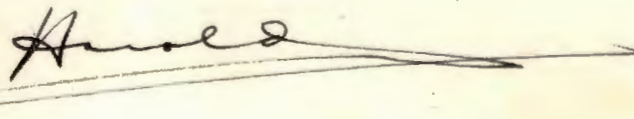
Your hernia operation was a success evidently, as you have not told me that you are suffering. If the operation gave you any strange new power, physically or emotionally, please let me know and I will gladly follow your example.

Your veiled allusions to residence were not very understandable. Let's discuss this question fully when I see you.

It was very nice of you to get me into this picture. In view of yesterday's results in California, it seems that Roosevelt will be nominated on the first ballot and it may be that some time, some where the President will learn that some of us have fought for him in Texas. Whether he ever learns this or not, we will know that once in our lives we have done something worthwhile.

You said in a letter the other day that you would see me and laugh with me again soon. I hope that the day will not be too far distant.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature, likely "Harold", written in dark ink. The signature is stylized with a long, horizontal flourish extending to the right.

HHY-D

Boston, Virginia
May 11, 1940

Mr. Harold Young
410 Gulf States Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Harold:

Tell Mr. Leake that I have been doing little for two weeks except sit in my own ashes.

This comes after hearing from Mary Louise about said Leake, and noticing that your letterhead carries the gentleman from 1864 to 1935, but no longer.

The laughs will come. Your intimation that my comments on residence are vague indicates personal irony.

Figure me in Texas about the twenty-fifth.

Without having had any information, I see you fifteen pounds lighter, which, after all, is a hell of a lot of pounds. I see your mind looking forward to that glorious visit to the tailor which follows the ceremony of cutting the third notch in the belt.

So, having nothing else to pick on you about, may I suggest that any person by the name of Harold, which is not to be connected with Algernon, or Eustace, or Clarence, should be defended somewhat as a christian name. Such a name should be carefully handled as a signature.

And so, in closing, I suggest that you reach into your files and see how you have been signing your name to your intimates where the great name of integrity and force called Young is not used.

You would never pass muster before the supreme court of handwriting experts.

Ask me when I see you.

Sincerely yours,

P. S. I have just found out by way of Grapevine, Texas, where the Garner forces beat you so terribly, that you are expected East shortly. That pleases me, as I may still be here, and we may be able to have a business meeting on the cost of residence rooms in the Dallas Athletic Club, not occupied by the Man Who Came to Dinner and his friends, including secretaries. Perhaps my special correspondent from Grapevine, Texas, will keep me informed as to when you leave Dallas.

C. E. M.

Washington, D. C.
June 5, 1940

Dear Harold,

Mrs. Pepper is writing you about an item which I know you haven't the time to handle, but which I believe you will handle because you are a sucker for promotions. I will promise you that I will never promote you again, and I feel responsible for having mentioned your name to Mrs. Pepper.

Let George Brown, of Houston, who is sitting in front of me, hear from you after you have covered the Dallas waterfront.

I feel that if you raise \$1,500.00 in Texas, the job will be amply done.

Sincerely,

Washington, D. C.
June 5, 1940

Mr. Harold Young
410 Gulf States Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Harold:

The states slip back, and the nation comes up. As we do go into national operations, the national operations of women will be more impressive, not less. The women will be the first to break away from merely party auxiliary organization. We have reached the point in politics where the women, following the men into a new male departure, will obviously come in as auxiliary units, then as separate units, as they work harder within themselves. Men are apt to have to make a living out of the thing they are doing. Women may very easily streamline their politics, so that they will be the first to break away from the designation of party. If a liberal leader uses his party as a stepping stone to getting his ideas over, while he is making his living as a politician, to the non-job-holding, sincere women in politics, he is very apt to evolve into a platform maker and an ideal seeker to whom the party label will mean less and less and the thing itself more and more.

It is a far cry to a woman president, and at the moment perhaps women would resent it as much as, if not more than, men. In thirty years I have seen women pioneer into very respectable political activity. Certainly Representative Norton is not a fool. Mrs. Caraway, though almost a political accident, has not been worse than the average Senator. Perhaps the best judge in Ohio is a woman, and Texas has a woman judge of high quality. All these hillocks are forerunners of mountains as far as public acceptance follows the isolated reality.

Certainly women are faster to seize the fashionableness of a movement. This means that women fundamentally are not as conservative as men in politics and in political thought. We have the fact of a Dorothy Thompson principally because she has had by training the benefit of meeting the very best masculine minds on their own basis, and has had in addition the speed that comes with, and is associated with, feminine intuitiveness. Feminine intuition is nothing more or less than the fact that more women than men use the flash of truth as they see it without checking back into the slower process of logic. The man of great genius always uses the flash of intuitive truth. But the man of genius who does any large productive work has learned to put an organization to work on his flash in order to be certain to have a higher percentage of base hits. The man of genius knows how to look at an answer brought to him by the logical checkers; while the woman of genius is impatient at this slower type of man who is the basis around which the man of genius balances and refines his quantity product into a quality product. As soon as the woman of genius is able to understand, work with, and inspire this great group of slower men without prejudice to their vanity, she will have solved the executive problem.

Perhaps Mrs. Reid, of the Herald Tribune, may come the nearest to being the modern and immediate example. A prodigious worker, she has gained the respect in a man's world, of large groups of slow-moving men who constitute her business domain. She first obtained the respect because of the quality of her work and the sincerity of her effort. I remember a man's telling me over ten years ago, with a light of great respect in his eyes, that Mrs. Reid had a conference with him at her house after she had had her business of motherhood taken care of following the evening meal.

The time may come when the individual greed of women for fat pay checks will foul the fine motivation which will drive energetic women from the missionary societies into the political forum. One from a distance sees a class in which the grandmother of this 1940 product who came in such numbers to Washington recently is the starting point. She got her excitement around a pastor and a church organization. Her daughter went in for politics as far as it affected the education of her child. Around 1900, in the countless small towns from the Allegheny Mountains to the Rockies, there were bi-sexual boards of education. They benefitted the school systems until the Parent Teachers Association movement resulted in the male superintendent's largely taking the women on the buggy ride of his own political journey.

But today, in the dawn of something very exciting, women will not be content to be jurors and titillate to the "My Day" column. They will learn, and, while their virtue remains, they will serve with increasing value on the through streamline of the public welfare. The men have taken them over very largely as auxiliaries. A God-awful spectacle occurs occasionally when the wife or daughter of a rich man buys her National Committee Woman-ship, or purchases an ambassador-ship for friend husband. We have had only three bad items of ambassador-buying in recent times. But even that indicates that women will spend their money for what they want.

No, these random, early morning reflections did not start as dictation, but a four-thirty wake-up finds me with the first thought that this is not a day of theory, but a day of action; also, that the man who does not take a chance in moving before the regular columns has to pay more than he can afford, or take a back seat. Competition in time and money is not here on this thing at this moment, so I feel the calling card of underwriting \$1,500.00 to be collected by some one, with 130,000,000 people to collect from, is not an expensive bet, with all summer to do it in. So, I am for it, and I like the title for it anyway. The above remarks are a sample of what I would say to intelligent women to make them like it. I would talk to them, and I would talk to them frequently.

I remember the boy who went to Rumania and Ireland--the gentleman from Denton who married the Mason jar fortune, and has now retired to Munsey, Indiana, to watch it as papa-in-law slips a bit. I think the new 1940 male has something politically in a national sense if he debunks political women in groups and makes them like it. I think this T. V. Smith has the technique. I am sure Claude Pepper is talented. But Smith is inherently the more able. I believe that you could learn from Clarence Owsley, who was good enough to get the big dough out of the Mason Jar. You can learn from Pepper who acts like a little Lord Fauntleroy, but certainly makes the elderly girls thrill with the purity of his intent. You can learn from Smith, whose very appearance permits the girls to say that the other girls won't think they are on the make if they get chummy with him.

You have Smith's humor, with the Owsley-an polish, and some Pepper smoothness. I have seen it go over with the girls, and have enjoyed it. Suppose you and I examine this thing in the light of a couple of high bulls on our next personal kick-off as a twosome. I find these three-somes and four-somes are the bunk, and force too much night work. United we stand, divided we fall in this masculine world of productive effort. Until our women learn, you and I had better operate in the masculine line on the stag side. If this is not out of place, I suggest you keep this as a rambling unformed sketch of an idea, so that when we next meet, probably in Dallas within a week, we will have it before us as a basis for practical concrete acceptance or rejection. If accepted, we begin at once. I am becoming increasingly impatient with theory.

Afterthought: Dody Sheppard is a beautiful study in American political success, but if we cut the record to pieces, it consists of one sincerity and the best job of political clerk work Texas has ever known. Prohibition was his one big shot of color, which put his political basis safely on the shoulders of countless women, and road him through to this day in spite of Smith-ing and Garner-ing and all that tripe. Who else in Texas could come through things like that with as few scratches as the man who is riding the shoulders of mass women?

Sheppard may have started with the fraternal orders, but he progressed to a broader and safer platform.

Remember that your T. V. Smith has only been in politics six years, and he is fifty now. Have you ever run for office? If not, why not? Also consider the business of creating a base and a foundation for the house, so that the house comes on as a matter of course, because I have seen Roy Miller want to be a governor, and Welly Hopkins jump around while the Allreds and the Moodys get the jobs. But we can, and do, know that Moody road a Ku Klux wave; that Allred had a staccato, modern, short-sentence, fighting drive, with the energy to get all over the place which made a Bobbit look like an apple dumpling. And, of course, O' Daniel had the reputation of the radio over many years, and I notice that a Governor Wilson, out in Iowa, is having a hell of a time beating a radio announcer for a re-election. Suppose you spend a little time with T. V. Smith finding out just how to use the radio in political organization work--that is, actual vote-getting as well as building up. And remember that Pepper is getting more out of his grabbing radio time than he is on the Senate floor newspaper reports. His actual telegrams and letters largely come through his direct contact through his voice.

Dear Harold:

Your letter puzzles me, although it is brief and to the point. Wherein my last letter to you was rambling and had no point. If I read your letter correctly, you are saying that Charles Marsh wrote Harold Young that he had an unusual ability in handling politically minded women in bulk, and here was a calling card to the national feminine political picture; and that Harold Young in replying says that he doesn't want a calling card and that he hasn't any desire to work with mass women, and that he is going to continue to be a Texas lawyer with no personal political future. He says that T. V. Smith is a great man, with great ideas, and that he represents a philosophy. He adds that anything that he can do for the country without losing his normal life and progress, he wants to do, no matter who suggests the place and the time.

I hope I have this clearly. I will receive a reply note from you if my premises are incorrect. I hope to have a meeting with you in Dallas between July 5 and July 15 because of an income tax meeting, and I am sure then, if you are there, that we shall have some time together. Normally I would wait, but by answering now we may have more time for lighter life. First, I think Smith is not the value that you have given him, and never will be. That can wait for ordinary conversation. But I would be pleased to have you ask me about Smith as a starting point for a conversation, as it probably is the point on which you and I are differing in our definition of what constitutes a useful man now. I shall always take my chances on being a useful man in the future as long as I am trying to be immediately useful. The man who attempts to head up his usefulness in the future is apt to be confused and examines too much his personal place in a scheme while he overlooks the work itself. I don't think that my letter to you was worth the time of my writing or your reading, and had value only as suggesting the always present necessity of every man worthwhile to have a broad objective of impersonal service in order best to serve himself. My suggestion of where I was observing your best talent may have caused you to believe that I thought you were

11
a woman worker. That is not true. I think you are one of the very few fine examples I have ever met of the dignity and fairness of human rights when property rights suppress. That fact that you are a lawyer at hire is a tough spot for one of your type. But I think Darrow, whom Smith worships, was one lawyer, just as Brandies and Holmes were, of the type of high spiritual value in law. But I don't think Dewey and Chief Justice Hughes belong; and I am inclined to think that Justice Black, inspite of poor legal equipment, does belong and will grow, as probably will Douglas, and possibly Jackson. In Black, Douglas, and Jackson, I am trying to give a modern version of the Darrow, Brandies spirit. You qualify emotionally with these high spirits. Whether your ability and your energy and your sense of direction qualify you is yet ahead. But all I am now saying is that it is a very tough spot for the exercise of true humanity with the economic problem of expense. The economic problem got John W. Davis and Newton Baker, turning natural humanitarians into high salaried property protectors.

Four speeches have been delivered over the radio lately, one over a nation wide hook-up, all by very prominent people, and all appealing to state pride. One of these prominent leaders said that there were a few small voices in Texas speaking for Franklin D. Roosevelt. I am one of those small voices.

One of seven million small voices in Texas speaking aloud because we are grateful to Roosevelt - seven million Texans who look and see the whole world, except the Americas, in flames, and who ask Roosevelt to carry on.

Tonight, because I do not have the money for a nation wide hook-up and because I cannot pay for more than this broadcast I hope that you, my friends and neighbors, will listen to my small voice.

Every Texan is proud of his native state. We know and are proud of the Vice President of the United States. We know that he was a congressman from the Uvalde district for many years, that he was elected Speaker of the House, and that at the age of 71 he has reached the Zenith of his career as Vice President of the United States, Assistant to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

We cannot believe that the Vice President wishes to be disloyal to his chief. It is those stop Roosevelt men who fought him in 1932 and in 1936 who are waging this war against Roosevelt. Now claiming to be for Garner, but realizing that he cannot win and depending upon a false cry of state pride to stop Roosevelt. We admire and respect the old gentleman who is Vice President, but we declare war - unrelenting war - war to the knife and the knife to the hilt, on those who are endeavoring to lead Texans

astroy and sail them down the river.

Vice President Garner said recently, "Let the voters decide." The voters have decided, 5 to 1 in Wisconsin, 7 to 1 in Illinois and unanimously in Maine and New York that they want Roosevelt again.

The prominent gentleman who spoke extensively the other night over a state wide hoo-up said that as a matter of state pride we should not adopt resolutions expressing our gratitude to and our faith in President Roosevelt. We should, said this large voice, instruct delegates for Garner. Why? Because Garner is from Texas, said he. Let us see.

I was in New York not so long ago. I saw a whole floor in the Commodore Hotel rented to fight a native son of New York, rented by those who are talking about state pride in Texas now. Tons of literature were placed in New York, Wisconsin and Illinois by those who wish to stop Roosevelt. Roosevelt has not even announced that he is a candidate and yet placards, literature, pictures, buttons and propaganda unfavorable to Roosevelt were put before the voters with only the small voices speaking in Roosevelt's defense, and yet Roosevelt won 7 to 1 because the people remember and are grateful.

If all of the 48 states instructed their delegates to the National Convention to vote for a candidate from their respective state there would always be 48 candidates, each with the backing of his home state. In such an event, either nobody would be nominated or else the leaders of the state delegations would do some trading.

Let us face the cold facts. Garner cannot be nominated for President. Therefore, these leaders who are asking us to show state pride must figure on turning to some other candidate on the second or third ballot. We do not believe they would vote for Roosevelt and, therefore, we say, let us instruct our delegates in the first instance for Roosevelt.

The leaders of the Stop Roosevelt and Instruct for Garner movement in Texas are Mr. Roy Miller of the Texas Gulf Sulphur Company, once well known around Texas legislative halls but lately of Washington, and Mr. Anson Carter, who has called us who were born and reared in Texas but who believe a good servant should continue to serve.-- Anson Carter has called us carpet beggars. These two men would like to control a delegation pledged to Garner to be used as they see fit. Around Uvalde there are sheep but seven million Texans are not sheep.

We are for Roosevelt and we shall attend our precinct conventions on May 4th, our county convention on May 7th, and our state convention on May 20th, and pass resolutions praising the magnificent accomplishments of the past seven years, and send true Texans who are proud of the record of our President as delegates to the National Convention.

Roosevelt received more than one million votes in a state Democratic primary last Tuesday. But, said the large voice the other night, after he had said that there were a few small voices in Texas speaking for Roosevelt - But, said the large voice,

President Roosevelt has not ordered anyone to speak in his behalf. That is true. We do not take orders from anyone, not even the President. We are offering him a job - a hard job. If he does not want it he can turn it down. We shall offer it to him by our actions at the precinct conventions on May 4th and our county conventions on May 7th. With his work not complete, with war raging abroad, with the overwhelming majority of Texans and Americans calling upon him to serve us once again, we do not believe that he will turn the job down. By the way, a million votes in one state for a man who wasn't a candidate was a lot of votes.

Will you who are listening call me at 7-5687 in the morning and tell me that you will attend your precinct conventions on May 4th? I ask you to do this because one of the leaders of the Stop Roosevelt movement wrote a letter a few days ago in which he said that if this matter is kept quiet and if only a few attend their precinct meetings that Roosevelt will lose in Texas. We, on the contrary, want each and every one of you to attend your precinct meetings. We want everybody to vote. You see, we believe in Democracy. We want the light turned on. Only those whose works are devious love the dark.

A week from this Wednesday night on April 24th we shall hold a mass meeting at Fair Park auditorium. You will see your friends there - a congressman, a senator, men from every walk of life, all for Roosevelt, all grateful.

We shall talk, at this mass meeting on Wednesday night, April 24th, of the bank deposit guarantee law that protects our savings, passed during Roosevelt's administration. Would you repeal that law, Mr. Roy Miller?

We shall talk about social security, which allows a man who is out of employment compensation while he looks for another job. What do you think about this, Mr. Amos Carter?

We shall discuss Federal Housing and lower interest rates for those who are buying homes. Are you against this, my large voices?

And so, on April 24th we who are for Roosevelt in Dallas cordially invite all of our neighbors here and throughout the state to be with us. We shall be at Fair Park auditorium and we shall see you there, where we shall ask the President to carry on.

On May 4th at our precinct conventions all friends of Roosevelt will gather together at 2:00 P.M. at Seagrville, Garland, Grand Prairie, Carrollton, Vickery, Irving, Mesquite, Lancaster and at 7:00 P.M. in the Dallas precincts. Please let me aid you in this glorious fight to see that the clock is not turned back, to make certain that the Bourbons do not return - to put only Texans on guard. Let us go to our precinct conventions on May 4th, vote our sentiments by first electing a secretary, passing resolutions praising Roosevelt's accomplishments, electing delegates to the county convention who believe as you do and then by seeing that your resolutions and list of delegates are sent to the County Chairman.

Let us fight the good fight. Please call us at 7-5687 tomorrow or write to us at Box 351, Dallas, Tonight.

May I quote a sentence from a letter I received today from Judge C. L. McCartney of Brownwood:

"I most heartily endorse what you have said about Roy Miller and Anson Carter. The time is overdue for a declaration of independence on the part of the real Democrats of this state and a freeing of the party from the dominance of those who merely speak the voice of the special interests."

Oh, yes, prominent men, our voices are small, but they are not voices of special interests, and you shall hear our voices in clarion tones for Roosevelt at our precinct conventions on May 4th at our county conventions on May 7th and at once on May 28th. In the meantime, we shall see each other at a large rally in Dallas on April 24th.

We ask our President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, to lead us once again.

George Brown

LEAKE, HENRY, YOUNG & GOLDEN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 410 GULF STATES BUILDING
DALLAS, TEXAS

SAM A. LEAKE (1864-1935)
W. T. HENRY
HAROLD H. YOUNG
HAWKINS GOLDEN
J. MANUEL HOPPENSTEIN
HARRY M. STANFIELD

June 24, 1940

Mr. Charles E. Marsh,
Care Miss Minetta Stockel,
1075 First Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Marsh:

I finally received a telegram from Mrs. Claude Pepper. Is this the same Mrs. Pepper whose picture was painted by the great Christy? What else can I do for the beautiful wife of the Senator?

To the women of America! It is true that Dorothy Thompson is as smart as they come, but most women refuse to admit it. Mrs. Reid has plenty on the ball. Women respect her more for her social standing than for her brain. Sarah Hughes- the divine Sarah - is hated by most of the women of Dallas County.

The way for women to get along with other women is to see that each member of the club is named chairman of a committee. That does not complete the job. Pictures should be run in the papers. Nothing short of a society page picture and write-up will suffice.

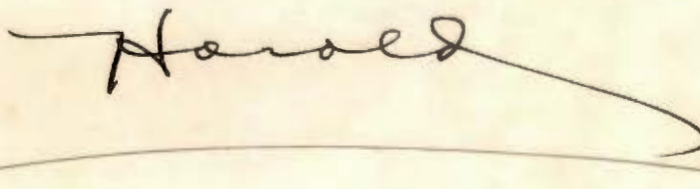
There is much in what you say about the appeal of a knight in armor to the imagination of the women of America. The women of Texas were largely responsible for the election of Dan Moody and Senator Morris Sheppard. Unfortunately, they also had a great deal to do with the election of Wilber Lee O'Daniel. He convinced them with his soothing, hypocritical voice that he was a good man because he said he was a good man, and being women, they believed him.

Your suggestion that I run for public office is very flattering, but I shall not follow it.

Mr. T. V. Smith was my guest here the other day. I am convinced that he is the best product that has come out of Texas and it is by no means impossible that he will some day be President of the United States.

If you can see any opportunity for me to make a lot of money or to be of some service to the United States of America without undue expense, I shall arrange to be in Washington for as much as three or four days at a time, especially since there will not be much law business in and around Dallas for the next two or three months. I call your attention to the fact that you have been highly generous in paying me in the past and I have not lost very much money in fooling around with you.

Sincerely your friend,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Harold", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

HHY-D

June 29, 1940

Dear Harold:

I have just written a letter which has stimulated my mind to say what I think the new lawyer is to be.

A significant lawyer in the scheme ahead is one who courageously helps to modernize a rather old fashioned and ineffective judicial framework, instead of defending the present 1940 legal operations as based upon wisdom or our forefathers and precedents of more judicial caste. I believe the significant lawyer will examine the judicial machinery for error in honesty and for the purpose of quickening justice at less expense in time and money for the American people. I do not know whether you will write a book on the future of law. I only know that a man named Wanamaker was a county judge in Eastern Ohio. When I knew him he was forty. He had seen much of human injustice in about the same way as a Brandies or a Darrow. He took as his work the simplifying of court procedure so that there would be less spread of judicial opportunity between the poor and the rich. He did not go into the capital and labor issues, but in his work of judicial reform he gave birth to much and went into the Ohio Supreme Court. Except for his political affiliations with the Bull Moose Party, I believe he would have gone to the United States Supreme Court. He died prematurely, but he put the soul of the law in purity before me at the age of 23, so that I had a more profound respect for a big mind working in the law for people.

If you, for instance, were to see a belief in the rapidity and necessity of changes ahead, and have with me the same great desire that the pursuit of individual happiness continue, I believe that your heart would quicken at the opportunity within the present knowledge and future opportunity. If that were the road, just as my road always must go back to newspapers and publicity and attempting to forecast the direction of the public mind, I think your mind must in maturity function within the framework of what you have learned since you were twenty. If that desire were strong enough, you would probably take a sabbatical year into Washington where you could study the thing at the center and browse with minds at the center, talking

as they talk of the future of justice and the way in the American scheme to accomplish improvements.

I liked very much what you said the other day about the necessity of law to keep up with events and values. The Hughes' challenge calls for workers who realize that a law degree and a license to practise does not form a union of privilege to buy and sell judicial processes, nor does it constitute a special privilege to act as a paid defender of crooks, nor does it emphasize a special right in presenting direct and indirect bribes to law makers and judges. These are subjects all men know of. The craft itself will, I believe, function before a helpless country attacks the craft as incorrect both in law making and in law operation.

Don't think that I don't see equally profound injustices and necessity for change in the ethics and procedure of the newspapers. But that is not of value here. I am merely saying that each of us in our skill as we see life should work with quickening effort for all, as against the up-to-now concept of most of us that the devil may take the hindmost as long as we get paid for taking the foremost.

Attempting the practical, I say that I believe your line of life and progress in the pursuit of happiness might be improved by a year's absence from where you are, or a job calling for a shuttle between Texas and Washington. But this back and forth should be centered around one package. If you could be in Texas frequently enough, you would be able to superintend and make stronger perhaps the law business which you have accumulated. At the present it is a one man show of personal service. If you represent the government as the run around man in the Southwest, checking the personnel of Federal Justice and assisting or directing the efficiency and speed of Federal justice through personnel superintendence, I believe you would be working directly in the Wanamaker-Brandies school of thought, that you would not lose materially in the long run, and that the job is one that you might begin to head into. It is a job that W. K. H. could have had if he had had the strength and virtue. The man who refused to give it to W. told me, "W. is a one case lawyer and an advocate. He has not the judicial and executive mind necessary to run 100 lawyers."

In other words I merely heard that W. was a sucker for flattery and did not have a mind big enough to deal justly between man and man in jobs, in the necessity of personal detachment. I believe that you have the strength and virtue that W. apparently did not have.

This is all theoretical and not job placing or job seeking. I merely became this concrete because I saw this job go begging because the man could not be found. I am sure that Jackson needs many men now with fifth column and war, and national defense warping and changing standard procedure to fit.

The legal red tape blocking production at this time is too pathetic for me to discuss. Some one is needed who will say we can go instead of we can't. I believe you are a natural in accomplishment and in law, and that you are not frightened by forms, and that you seek the best and simplest way to your point. Lyndon Johnson does this in his executive work. You would have little competition in Washington as a lawyer saying, "Will and can," I know of one working in the White House as a presidential executive secretary who at thirty is doing the "can". I would like to have you meet him.

Germany does not know anything about politics. Mrs. Sevier knows less. They are all split up. When Germany said after Wisconsin that the third term was dead he ruined the outfit.

Blaylock's speech that he loves Roosevelt is to offset the Germany mistake. Blaylock on Friday said that the Garner movement is not a sabotage of Roosevelt, but an adulation of Roosevelt and a promotion of Garner. This is not an anti-Roosevelt movement according to Blaylock. ^{Then} ~~When~~ Blaylock said Roosevelt had Garner in his arms and loves him.

Mrs. Sevier said in Fort Worth the same day, "There will be in all probability two delegations from California at the National Convention. But I am sure that the delegation pledged to Mr. Garner will be seated, and the one pledged to Mr. Roosevelt will ~~not~~ be denied certification."

Mrs. Sevier is Co-Chairman of the Garner for President Committee, and therefore very interesting. In other words, Mrs. Sevier says that in California there is a fight between Roosevelt and Garner, and that the Garner forces will prevent the Roosevelt delegates from being seated when the convention meets in Chicago.

But Blaylock, inferior in the organization to Mrs. Sevier, in Texas the same day says, "Roosevelt loves Garner, and Garner loves Roosevelt."

Mrs. Sevier and Mr. Blaylock should get together by phone and let Mr. Young understand it. Mr. Young wires Mrs. Sevier as follows:

"Dear Mrs. Sevier: Your assistant, Mr. Blaylock, at Dallas, Friday said----- The same day at Fort Worth you said----- . Please inform me what basis this May 4 decision really rests upon. Is it a contest between Roosevelt and Garner as you say it is, or is it a love feast in which Mr. Garner promises that Mr. Roosevelt loves him. I anxiously await your reply, as you are the superior officer. But, failing to get your reply in twenty-four hours, I shall be forced to ask Mr. Blaylock if you were accurate in your Fort Worth Statement.

"And while you are at it, Mrs. Sevier, will you please tell me whether you still are consistent and still believe the statement of your Co-Chairman, Mr. Germany, that the third term--that is the future usefulness of Mr. Roosevelt to this country--is at an end as the result of the three to one victory of Roosevelt

over Garner in Wisconsin?"

Mrs. Sevier may be reached at Los Angeles, California tonight, as she spoke at Sycamore Park, a suburb of Los Angeles, today. It is possible that Western Union will give you her Los Angeles hotel, or may be obtained by having friend of yours telephone Garner headquarters in Dallas.

Dick Tullis, of Dallas, brought her a message from her Co-Chairman, E. B. Germany. After the conference with Tullis and Mrs. Sevier at Fort Worth on the general national situation, Mrs. Sevier left for California with the statement that California delegates would be Garner delegates, not Roosevelt, in Chicago.

"Only addressing this to you because you are making the statement and are superior to Mr. Blaylock. If within 24 hours you feel that the inquiry is not justified, and that your statement with E. B. Germany that the third term is dead as result of Wisconsin beating taken by Garner, and if you feel that your statement in Fort Worth that there is a fight on in California by the Garner and Roosevelt forces which Garner will win, would it not be consistent, so that we know what we are doing in Texas, for you to wire Mr. Blaylock that he is wrong when he says Garner has his arms around Roosevelt and Roosevelt has his arms around Garner? How can there be peace and love in Texas and civil war and fist fights in California? Let's get Blaylock right in Texas, or you get right in California."

Please put in the
waste basket and then
bring in to Wilson,

1. Success or failure of the afternoon debate.
2. Suggestions in regard to Mrs. Sevier.
3. Reaffirmation of the arrangements to be made with Wirtz about Dallas meeting.
4. The instructions to the precincts and how Young and Wirtz are to work it out.
5. Germany-Young precinct (Precinct 61). Convention held in Highland Park Town Hall. Let Germany have it. Make him spend all his time out there. Get him mad and balled up.
6. More and bigger Germany and Sevier statements. We like them.

Be it resolved that this meeting endorse President Roosevelt and the work of the Democratic Party under his leadership. And further, that it is the sense of this meeting that all persons attending the Precinct, County, and State Conventions be asked to adopt the following resolution.

"We endorse President Roosevelt and his work as the leader of our party, and pledge our delegates to follow his leadership."

(Young can see that the printing job is done, and that the right number of people get the right number of ballots, and I shall be very pleased to pay for same if Wirtz and Young want me to. This includes printing and mailing. I think it should not be mimeographed. It should be printed in very large type, because the lighting in these precinct meetings may be bad. Probably a bundle should be sent to each precinct so that the precinct leader can get them out and understood by his followers several days before the precinct meeting. Two hundred thousand should be printed. On this basis do you wish me to get hold of Young and talk accordingly?)

C O P Y

Carthage Missouri,
August 15th 1940,

Hon. Henry A Wallace,
Secretary of Agriculture,
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr Wallace,

As you probably already know the Commissioner of Agriculture J. E. Mc Donald from Texas has as a result of a visit to Wendel L. Willkie has swung over to the Republican side because of his resentment of the present farm program, most especially as it pertains to cotton.

I happen to be the author of a resolution in the 44th legislature in Texas to investigate the conduct in office of J. E. Mc Donald then Commissioner of Agriculture on several charges of misfeasance and malfeasance of office, among which was his connection with the Clayton Anderson Company of Houston, and Harris Kirby and Voss cotton brokers of New York.

Evidence in this investigation proved this charge to be true among others, and resulted in an eight day impeachment session of the legislature being called, and the result of this hearing was an admission of guilt on the part of the Commissioner of Agriculture J. E. Mc Donald of Texas, who agreed to the final resolution that he was aligned with these Cotton brokers of Houston and New York to defeat the then cotton program for selfish purposes. And he humbly begged the mercy of the legislature to escape outright impeachment. For verification of these statements I cite you to the records of the 44th legislature Mc Donald impeachment session.

I was discharged from the service of the Department of Agriculture because I would not accompany J. E. Mc Donald on a speaking tour of cotton states to defeat the then present cotton plan in favor of these Cotton Brokers, on a nice salary these cotton brokers paying the bills. This investigation disclosed the fact that a barrage of telegrams from farmers to congress against the cotton plan was paid for by these said cotton brokers.

There is no doubt in my mind that J. E. Mc Donald will do everything in his power to defeat the present administration because of his connection with these cotton brokers who is backing him up for the selfish purposes, and as you know they have plenty of money to pay his expenses. He will make speaking tours in the cotton States at the suggestions of the Republican Party and these Cotton Brokers if possible to brake the line in the solid south.

Some one to follow his trail with the records of this investigation would be a good antidote for the misrepresentations he will spread in the cotton growing States, and because of my thorough knowledge of this whole affair I would like to be that Man. If I can get an assignment with the National Committee I would like to curry this old Boy down with the records of this investigation.

As to my ability to meet the public, should you become interested I will give as reference Hon. Harry Graves Justice Supreme Court Austin Texas, Hon. George Mahon, and Clyde Garrett Members of Congress from Texas, Hon. James V Allred Judge Southern District Houston Texas, and many other leading Citizens of Texas on request.

With best wishes for your success as the running Mate of our matchless Leader our beloved President, and for your efficient and timely farm program of which I have defended in the past and still believe is the ultimate salvation of the

tillers of the soil. I am at your service to defend the present administration in all their accomplishments in the past seven years in what I am convinced is a government of, for, and by the people.

I will appreciate your consideration if you pass this on to the Committee.

Respectfully Yours,

(Signed) Leonard Westfall

625 Sophia St.
Carthage Missouri

C O P Y

Washington, D. C.
August 27, 1940

Mr. Westfall in his letter has, I think, given a true picture of Mr. McDonald's connection with the Clayton Anderson Company and other large cotton brokers. However, McDonald has not announced for Wilkie, and probably will not because he has been very severely criticized by the Democrats of Texas, and, should he announce for Wilkie, there is a chance that Democrats, by a write-in campaign, would defeat him for Agriculture Commissioner. It is obvious, therefore, that he will probably not make speeches for Wilkie, and, if he doesn't, there is no sense in hiring any one to follow his trail.

The simple truth is that the position of Agriculture Commissioner of Texas does not amount to very much. Most of the work in Texas, outside of that done by the United States Department of Agriculture, is done by Texas A. & M. College. McDonald's position pays a very small salary and no man of prominence ever runs for the job. The name McDonald is well known in Texas and McDonald continues to be elected by default.

In addition to the charges filed against McDonald mentioned in Mr. Westfall's letter, he was terribly embarrassed a few years ago by an incident in a dark alley in Fort Worth, Texas. A negro woman robbed him, he said, of \$400.00.

No one in Texas takes him very seriously, and the only reason for paying any attention to him is because the stories of his conversations with Republicans seem important in the rest of the country.

I do not see why the Democratic National Committee would need Mr. Westfall's services at this time.

1703 New York Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
August 31, 1940

My dear Harold:

By accident I have seen a gift which is designed for you which is unique in that I have never known a father to treat his son in such a manner.

When you have thoroughly gone into the chemistry, texture, preparation, manufacture, wearability, and stench of this little business, I would like to discuss with you the following: "Cheese Historically."

The why of cheese--in other words, the economic and necessitous position of the world order of cheeses. Two or three minor items such as the horse manure cured cheese of Quebec as discovered by the monastery involved. Then there is Font Lavez in all its silken fabric.

The movement from Lieder Kraus smellward takes in, of course, the titanic jump from the French Camembert and then passes on to that foul smelling thing which all are familiar with, Limberger. But as one passes Font Lavez on the way from Camembert to Lieder Kraus, one pauses on all the specialties of taste with a nose not too offended. It is, my dear sir, the royal family of cheeses.

When one crosses the Alps and fools around with the common Bel Paese, one pauses in the territory further south of the Neapolitan dirty finger boys, who in their cheese shaped, single roomed houses over the Appennines have been making cheese amid the pigs and chickens in one room too long for me. I fear the chickens pause over-long while roosting on the cheese tubs.

So one jumps to Gorgonzola, feeling that the little specks are more authentic as the black meets the white on the castilian front. So we journey up the back route of the old Norseman before they came south and fool among the Scandinavians. We have passed Edam on the flats of Holland where the Hollanders use a form of red paint on plain ordinary American cheese and call it good stuff. (On Wisconsin!) In our own dear country in the Mohawk Valley among the Dutch who brought over from the Rhine an idea which is now called Philadelphia Cream Cheese and (still following the Teutons) into the Wisconsin flat lands to the west of Lake Michigan where the contented cows give down for Horlick, we wend our way. But as a last turn of the circle, may we not cross the broad Pacific for a bit of Manchurian--Mongolian--cheese, which, as I say, at the end of the circle returns us to that little Quebec cheese after the horses have their way?

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

P. S. I have a feeling that your father is sending a book about plain ordinary English cheese, which, of course, would not rank at all--Cheddar and Stilton and such. My God! What a book that must be. It belongs to the primary of cheeses in the source of the thing itself.

P. S. 2. Send a piece of cheese to Baton Rouge for me. I am jealous of that man, and I think I want to meet the champ in the realm of psychology, having vanquished your dear father as we left him at England and traversed the world.

P. S. 3. I have purposely allowed some of Africa, Patagonia, and the Bush cheeses of Australia, as well as the Maori type cheese from New Zealand to come up for normal discussion in a normal way when we see each other. There is much too much.

September 13, 1940

Hon. Arthur James
Governor of Pennsylvania
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Dear Governor James:

Because Mr. Henry Wallace is busy campaigning, your illuminating letter of six pages, analysing his acceptance speech from the standpoint of the Governor of America's second most populous state, has been referred to me and has received more than careful attention.

The very large part played in the Philadelphia Republican Convention by you is known to all. Because Candidate Willkie has since Philadelphia received your indorsement and that of Mr. Pew, whose activities in your behalf have now been transferred to the Willkie candidacy along with yours, it is possible that you may desire to transmit a copy of your letter and this reply to Mr. Pew, who is sometimes referred to as the Republican boss of Pennsylvania and your sponsor, and to the Republican candidate.

Please pardon the brevity of my answer. I believe that what you call squandering money was wise expenditure in reviving banks, re-establishing agriculture and furnishing government activity in opening idle factories.

Some of this money, you say, could have been spent preparing for Hitler. Republican preparation had been in so conducting this nation that seven years ago labor, banks, farmers and business were prostrate, and Republican preparation had further been to sink battle ships - a \$250,000,000 squander. Under seven years of a far seeing Roosevelt more than \$250,000,000 of new naval strength was built. I ask you, who squandered? Who prepared?

Your statement about spending public money in buying votes is interesting. You are respectfully referred to the political history of Pennsylvania from Quay and Penrose through to Pew.

You seem to forget the battle that has been fought for more than fifty years for the gold standard, a battle in which Republicans have had a part, when you say that Roosevelt is linked with fiat money simply because he has courageously protected the gold standard.

Most informed Americans believe that a country without gold is on fiat money. You see, much gold was received from other countries in payment for merchandise sent out rather largely by busy factories in Pennsylvania. Mr. Pew knows about all of this and, therefore, it seems improbable that your letter was shown to him.

You were frank when you said in your letter, "Have you disavowed the Overton-Russell Amendment to the conscription bill? Has President Roosevelt disclaimed it? I am against it and I am both glad and proud to say that I know the overwhelming sentiment of this nation is also against it."

We have not disavowed the Overton-Russell Amendment. We have not disclaimed it. You have, since your letter was written, heard both the President and Mr. Wallace on that subject.

For myself I say: I believe that American youth, in proud willingness, faces the Hitler menace fearlessly in the protection of America. I believe that American industry, 95 percent strong, is equally patriotic. And, I believe, that both have become impatient with those who are greedy, who take swollen private orders for goods, while refusing the reasonable profit of defense orders for this government. Such, who fortunately for America are few, are to be disciplined under the Overton-Russell Amendment. Very proudly I say that I am for this amendment as the clear statement of America's will to maintain liberty. You say that the nation feels as you do. I say that the overwhelming sentiment of our people is for the amendment. Let the people decide.

Believing that this answers the basic thought of your letter, I trust you to transmit your letter and this reply to your candidate and to your sponsor, Mr. Pew.

Yours very truly

4-7

Governor Arthur James
Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Sir:

Your illuminating letter of six pages, analysing from the standpoint of the Governor of America's second most populous state, has received more than careful attention.

The very large part you played in the Philadelphia Republican Convention is known to all. Because Candidate Willkie, the successful one at Philadelphia, has since Philadelphia received your endorsement and that of big Ike Pew, whose activities at Philadelphia in your behalf have now been transferred to the Willkie candidacy along with yours, it is possible that you may desire to transmit a copy of your illuminating letter and this reply to Mr. Pew, sometimes referred to as the Republican boss of Pennsylvania and your sponsor, and to the Republican candidate.

I quote excerpts from your letter. You say: "Sixty billion dollars had been squandered by the New Deal at the time Mr. Roosevelt awoke to the need to prepare. These billions went for every frivolous purpose imaginable, but essentially they were spent for two purposes: one, to corner the world's supply of gold, which no one else wants; and, second, to buy votes for the New Deal."

Further, you say: "For eight years the New Deal edged nearer and nearer wildest fiat money. Roosevelt has protected the New Dealer's ridiculous corner of the gold supply, and further has driven down the American standard of living by bringing into America a long list of foreign commodities."

You ask: "Have you disclaimed and disavowed the Overton-Russell Amendment to the conscription bill? Has President Roosevelt disclaimed it? I am against it, and I am both glad and proud to say that I know the overwhelming sentiment of this nation also is against it."

Pardon the brevity of my answer: I believe that seven years ago when labor, banks, farmers, and business lay prostrate, the Democratic Party faced necessary expense in reviving banks, re-establishing agriculture, furnishing government activity which private industry had been unable to furnish, and in opening idle factories with government orders--all this you call "squandering money", adding that some money could have been spent in preparing for Hitler.

Republican preparation had been to sink battleships--a \$250,000,000 squander. Under seven years of a far-seeing Roosevelt more than \$250,000,000 of new naval strength was built. I ask who squandered? Who was intelligent?

In the matter of squandering public money and buying votes to the New Deal, I respectfully refer you to the political history of Pennsylvania, from Quay and Penrose through to Pew.

You link Roosevelt and fiat money, saying in the same breath that the courageous protection of the gold standard by Roosevelt is another squander. Some believe that fiat money, uncontrolled inflation, and ruin have been caused throughout the world by gangsters spending world wealth for war while America at peace received this increased

Governor James--Page two

gold in payment for merchandise sent out very largely by busy factories in Pennsylvania. Certainly a country without gold is on fiat money. It could not be possible that your letter to me was seen by Mr. Pew, who certainly knows his money question.

Fortunately President Roosevelt, in talking to Labor last night, spoke definitely his views on the question of industry's part in America's defense. The President said: (Quote from Roosevelt's address to Teamsters Union, September 11.)

For myself, I say: I believe American youth, in proud willingness, is to face the Hitler menace in the protection of America. I believe American industry, 98 per cent strong, is equally patriotic. And I believe that both have become impatient with the greedy, asking swollen peace-time orders while refusing the reasonable profit the offered defense orders of this government. Such, who fortunately for this America are of the few, are to be disciplined under the Russell-Overton Amendment. Proudly I say I am for this amendment as the clear statement of America's will to maintain liberty.

Your support of candidate Willkie is equally enthusiastic.

Believing this answers the basic thought of your letter, I trust you to transmit your letter and this reply to your candidate and to your sponsor, Mr. Pew.

PRESERVATION COPY

Tonight, while Mussolini, and all that Mussolini stands for, is using his brain and strength and power in Italy, I am very happy and very proud that on this platform sits a man in whom the blood of Italy also courses. While Mussolini has used his great ability for evil, this man has been, and will continue to be, one of the great humanitarians and one of the great liberals of the world. Mayor LaGuardia, the flower of the best that has ever come out of the great masses of good citizens who have come from across the seas, we wish you to know that we take the greatest pride in you.

September 17, 1940

Dear Harold:

It may be that, considering Roosevelt and Wallace elected, there should be a day or two in New York in which a simple inquiring Texan, helping Wallace, sees Mr. Rosenman, who, I am sure, is a wise man with a quiet wife.

A few months ago I said I thought your natural approach to women is sympathetic. I see you having a quiet dinner somewhere, with or without me, preferably you alone. I may be seeing Mrs. James Roosevelt at the same meal time. This in the spirit of service, knowing that women at their highest are good judges of value and are loyal to the thing itself. Their weakness is that too few people feed them spark and information which they may pass on. No one can give out who has not taken in.

I think Mrs. Rosenman and Miss Lehman are the two most powerful feminine people in political America.

Sincerely,

C. E. M.

PRESERVATION COPY

9 27
DAY PRESS RATE

HENRY A. WALLACE

NEW YORK TIMES WIRE CARRIED WASHINGTON POST THURSDAY
ROME DATE LINE: "SEPT. 11--THE REPUBLICAN VICTORY IN
THE MAINE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN GREETED WITH
PLEASURE IN THE ITALIAN PRESS AND ON THE RADIO. ANY
DEFEAT FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IS CONSIDERED HERE TO BE
A GOOD THING FOR THE AXIS, ON THE THEORY THAT MR.
ROOSEVELT IS A KNOWN EVIL AND WENDELL L. WILLKIE AT
LEAST A DOUBTFUL ONE.

INDEED, THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IS BEING BUILT UP FOR
THE ITALIAN PUBLIC AS AN ISOLATIONIST. EVERYTHING HE
SAYS TENDING TOWARD THAT IDEA IS PROMINENTLY REPRODUCED,
BUT HIS STATEMENTS IN FAVOR OF ENGLAND ARE IGNORED."
SOME GOOD WILL WOULD BE MADE IF DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMEN
EACH DISTRICT WERE MENTIONED. CHECKING UP YESTERDAY ON
FLOOR FOUND EACH CONGRESSMAN EAGERLY WATCHING YOUR
CAMPAIGN GIVING IT HIGH PRAISE. ONLY DISAPPOINTMENT
WAS FROM CONGRESSMEN WHOSE DISTRICTS YOU HAVE GONE
THROUGH WITHOUT MENTIONING THEM.

H. H. YOUNG.

September 19, 1940

sent H:
Memo to Young:

Wallace must face in California soon: How about Senator Johnson?

 Roosevelt has stated: "Johnson is no longer a Liberal."

Willkie today in California says: "Johnson is still a hero to me, and a great fighting fearless Liberal whose fearless investigation of facts I admire."

What shall Wallace say? Only this may be said: "Hiram Johnson has contributed as much as any Senator to the forward march of America. A grateful state knows this. It would be unthinkable if gratitude alone for a great name and a great work should not give its reward. But I believe Johnson is wrong about Hitler, and the way to whip him. I believe California knows that the Selective Draft with the provisions for factory control in the defense of America is the best way to defend America.

"I believe California knows that the President's trade of fifty destroyers for naval bases is a good one.

"I believe California knows that Willkie is not a Liberal-- a Liberal in California and a Conservative in New York. I believe California knows Willkie is riding Johnson's coat tails in California. I believe California knows there is honest difference of opinion on Draft and aid to Britain between Johnson and Roosevelt, and that California knows how to vote and knows what true frankness consists of. A straddle never goes in the West. Willkie is for Roosevelt's Selective Service of man power in the nation; for Johnson and against the draft of factories in California."

This may sound long, but I believe Wallace speaking in California has to hit the real issue, and that any speech he makes not frankly meeting the Willkie and Roosevelt statements on Johnson will find him in a sideshow tent, if he sticks to surplus commodities and things like that.

Farm talk, of course, but what the papers and the people want is: "How about Johnson?" This has the only color. Failure to meet it will be cowardly, and so would result in a smoke out. Before Wallace goes West, he should know just what he is going to say and the President should O.K. it.

This, I think, is a must, must, must!

C. E. M.

Dear H

September 19, 1940

~~Memorandum to Young:~~

Chicago is a skeleton, because no money has trickled from New York West yet. Have no information specific or direct from Lucas, as he doesn't believe his financial difficulties should be put before anyone except Flynn. But I walked through a graveyard yesterday, with yawning offices everywhere. Apparently no money for payrolls, no definite amounts to make planning for radio and speakers' bureau, farm division, labor division, and press operative.

My estimate is that two weeks more delay will be added to two weeks already lost, and that nothing will be under way before October, as Hatch Act makes it impossible for borrowing financing in Chicago in any amount.

It is all right to believe that Willkie is whipping himself, but I believe the lower house of Congress may be lost by not getting money West now. I believe also that Wallace's showing in the Mid-West will be terrible if money does not go West now—terrible in relation to Roosevelt's showing elsewhere.

Nomination Anti New Deal Governor in Wisconsin clears the way for Roosevelt-LaFollette decision. Roosevelt only may do this, or give up Wisconsin and save all expenditures there.

Taking Morris into New York may be the right national place for him. I don't think so. He should be in Chicago. Four Morris speeches to farmers, made in four states, in towns of about 2,000 where the farmers can come and feel comfortable, is what Morris should do. Morris' strength is greatest where he has lived longest. Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Minnesota, Illinois, Missouri is where he should be.

Nebraska can be saved with Congressman in the wheat and corn belt pulled through by encouraging Morris machine in Nebraska with some cash.

C. E. M.

9-19

---Memorandum to Young:

If Wallace spoke in New York, a simple paragraph paying a tribute to the courage of the European-born citizens of America and their sons and daughters will reach the hearts of at least two million New Yorkers who have an inferiority complex now and are in a difficult position. If this is tied up with a single sentence identifying the "Little Flower" to this thing, pointing out his defense of Freedom in contrast with Mussolini's denial of Freedom. There is the simple contrast of the American spirit and the American enlightenment in which Wallace might well say:

Hatred for any one in this world is distasteful to me, for hatred is an ugly thing. So, if we name Hitler and Mussolini as the persons who trademark the thing that we love not and haters of the thing that we love, let us pause a moment: I am one of those who believe that if Mussolini had left his job in Milan and had come to this--your New York--that Mussolini, bathed in the American spirit of Liberty and with his very great ability, he might have been as heroic a figure as your own great Mayor--LaGuardia--the flower of proof that Europe and America in harmony of spirit have made this land.

But Mussolini did not come here. A youth in energy, seeing depravity in government, went another road. He went the road to Rome, and time passed.

There died his vision of Liberty. Here in America arose a growing instinct for the Europeans--the greatness of voluntary association in the dignity of the things we have grown here.

And a Hitler, representing the despairing millions of Central Europe may have come here. I do not think that he would have grown great in the American scene. He is not of those who see with sanity anything. But Hitler, with medals to give to Fords and Lindberghs, with consulates and embassies to fill with promises and propaganda; with men to send promising

appeasement and safety to international financiers and the corporate heads who do business in many lands--this man Hitler has, and has had, much to say here.

No one hearing me has not sympathy for those Germans without citizenship who hope to become American citizens. No one hearing me is without sympathy for American Germans, their sons and daughters, who have relatives in the Germany of Hitler.

For the Germany of Hitler has a long arm. For the Germany of Hitler has a relentless sword. Love of God have these Germans who are here. Also they have the human virtues inherent in all, and the emotion of the family-- then knowing that a Hitler strikes hard where he has the power to strike-- is ~~is~~ ever present among those Germans in America who have had reason already to know how Hitler strikes.

To those suffering from Hitler in America through their families in Germany and through the boycotts ~~is~~ here, I only may say: Your problem is understood by all America. But in the protection of America in the will to defend the very liberty which embraces you and consider no compromise with Hitler. There is but one choice for all of you. The choice is the American flag for regimentation so that Hitler shall not be ~~is~~ admitted here.

And perhaps the final word to those prominent Americans who have been noticed by the honor propaganda of Hitler--two very great Americans, one a hero of enlightened industry, and one the hero of adventure and courage, have been mentioned at various times as men capable of being President of these United States. It was freely predicted as long as fifteen years ago that Charles A. Lindbergh would be President of these United States in 1940. It is a matter of record that Henry Ford in 1920 might have had a nomination for a presidency. Not in the spirit of doubt as to the patriotism of such men, and I only use them as examples of many thousands more, but in the spirit of puzzlement, in the spirit of inquiry, ~~indeed~~ I ask where are the medals pinned by Goering and Hitlers ~~men~~ representatives on Lindberghs

[illegible]

In my personal admiration of Lindbergh, the flyer, I yield to no one. But when Lindbergh ceased to fly in the conquering of wind and wave, he flew elsewhere. I have not been able to follow him.

✱ ✱ ✱ ✱ ✱ ✱

Fifteen years. A forward, enlightened man, working with the human
touch--before the blight of prejudice--what a fall is there, my fellow
citizens!

C O P Y

September 19, 1940

4.
Memo to ~~Young~~:

Watching Lewis since Philadelphia, as a reporter I have heard from his inside group his informal position, which concerns me because this Government must buy a maximum defense in the face of greedy Capital and greedy Labor. I have checked Lewis' personal hold on Labor. I find:

Labor reports from Chicago, New York, down to his own coal fields south of Pittsburgh--state that Lewis lost great prestige by moving in on Roosevelt and by going to the Philadelphia Convention--that he can't move any one from Roosevelt and Wallace to Willkie. He was left too long and can't go right now. From people close to Lewis come queer reports. He may be seeing Labor and Capital against Democracy in an early German or Italian fashion as possible during 1940-44. He may see the road to high wages and low hours, time and double time, and power control over industry by Labor as Democratic government weakens, debt soars, and Capitalism despairs.

His attempt at this moment is to get Democratic candidates on record for present Labor and legal set-up within Government defense program, blocking out youth and training of a reservoir of young unemployed who threaten rising Labor costs through Union scarcity and over-time and double time. He knows 1916-18 by the charts in his files. He remembers \$20-a-day shipyard workers, sabotaging, slacking work to reach over-time. His charts of today show workers' weekly wages rising rapidly as long as he has no competition or threat from idle men trained for defense work by Government. He has veto and Labor price control through Union cards, and can force Capital or give up, indirectly stopping war profits, and indirectly drying up income tax.

If he wins his Labor policy for this Government, Labor will get all the money. Remember A. F. of L.'s Hutchinson, who is sitting in with Willkie, through Union cards restricts Labor supply, and has a membership average age of 51 years in the Carpenters' Union. Hillman knows all this.

Remember that the Government pays the bill; that we must obtain maximum defense within the dollars possible, both from Capital and from Labor, or perish.

PRESERVATION COPY

September 19, 1940

Dear Harold:

This is a memo that I have dropped on your desk, which you may want to pass on in this form as from me, or you may wish to take it as your own. Personally, I feel in full strength it should be as your transmission. In that way you will not suffer. And I believe perhaps my experience better justifies the authorship. I am willing to take it and defend it with data.

Obviously, I think, Wallace should listen, and promise nothing, as Roosevelt and Wallace are already elected, and Lewis' threats mean nothing now.

C. E. M.

PRESERVATION COPY

September 20, 1940

A World War ending in 1918 found soon a political campaign where the victor, Harding, cried, "Return to normalcy."

In this return to normalcy nine billion dollars of worthless European securities were sold without concern of a Republican administration by a Wall Street Commission salesman to American investors. This, added to eleven billion dollars of war advances to European nations by this country, found America facing a twenty billion dollar loss. This was all in the history of 1920-1930.

That was one of the big straws that broke the camel's back--the gamblers for commission selling things of no value to the American investor. A far-seeing, honest, courageous government would have prevented this greed campaign.

PRESERVATION COPY

September 20, 1940

A possible suggestion would be in opening a speech to say:

Tonight in a political speech, it might seem embarrassing to define Democracy and Liberty from an editorial of a newspaper which this week announced its support of the Republican candidate for President. But when a thing is said, and said beautifully, I believe in my humble way I should add to its effect and its understanding by the American people. The New York Times has in a most beautiful spirit told me again what I believe Democracy to be—a thing of growth, a thing always incomplete, a thing alive, a thing of experience, a thing of spirit. This is the editorial: (quote editorial.)

And this, I believe, is the spirit of the last seven years.

September 20, 1940

Tonight in the region of things grown, I wish to speak of Freedom and Liberty, as a thing alive. The Autumn corn is moving. The fruits have been gathered. The Winter reward of the Spring planting and the Summer growth.

This freedom, which today, and every day, perhaps, we are defending for ones to come. It also is a thing of planting, of growing, and of reaping.

PRESERVATION COPY

September 20, 1940

A few suggestions that I have made in this memorandum may be worthless, but I became a little excited after a second reading about one o'clock last night. You know how one speech brings on another, and, having a stenographer, I dictated something which may give you a little rest or variety at some other place you are speaking on the way West. You might put it in your pocket. It may be of some value some time. The line that I see is:

Here I am in the great Middle West, in the land of the corn crop, in the bread basket of the nation, where you by your toil and love of the land, and your service to the nation, help to feed the rest of the country. And I am looking today not simply at this bounteous region, but at the whole United States of America. The most precious thing that we have is not rich fields, and not fine crops, but Democracy and Freedom and Liberty. The New York Times, which is opposing us in this campaign, has expressed this sentiment more beautifully than I can: (Quote.)

Talk about Liberty.

Somewhere the statement can be made that you, the farmers of the Middle West, and the laborers in the factories along the Eastern Seaboard, and you compatriots who raise cotton in the South, and the men who keep the turbines turning, the men who run their stores--small or large--are the men who should run this country--not the wicked financier that juggles the ticker.

PRESERVATION COPY

September 20, 1940

The people are listening for a man to tell them how they are to proceed from now.

The people are not interested now in what happened from 1920-1940. The people have heard so often already about the terrible Republicans of 1920-1930, and the beautiful Democrats 1933-1940, that they are sick of both now as far as the represent both parties seeking office.

This decision November 15 is going to be made by people who want to know how the defense of America is to be carried on. The man who seeks for the job must tell them. Willkie is getting ready to try to tell them. He has a foreign policy speech in the making. He is ready to turn away from his present line, keeping only his Third Term Dictator speech, and say what he proposes to do. So a speech to keep ahead of a Willkie must beat him to the punch. So what would a man say, if asked the simple question: "How are you going to carry on?"

Of course, the first "carry on" is the defense of America. Every illustration should be that, whether it comes from 1920-1930 or what. This review business is very, very dull and tedious. So trying this line, an opening might say:

Being with you tonight in a land that grows things--the bread basket of America --I feel as if I were home again. This campaign has now reached a stage where there is no longer a boast for me to say that Franklin D. Roosevelt will lead this country into its destiny during the next four years. So tonight you are entitled to a frank and clear statement of what Franklin D. Roosevelt thinks and feels, about the responsibility which I, in a humble way, share with him.

You all know that he is at work. You all know what he has been doing.

I shall not review in any detail the period of 1920-30 which resulted in the selection of Franklin D. Roosevelt to correct a shattered economy. You chose wisely. I know by the progress of this campaign that you are satisfied with what he has done. So to the questions "What is to be done now?"

The defense of America is the task. This task contains many things which must be done if Liberty is to remain here. Let us speak of the certain things

PRESERVATION COPY

Page two--

for a moment.

It is certain that all must work for all. It is certain that no minority demand which causes a moment of delay in the haste and efficiency with which we must prepare to meet the advocates of force and slavery.

It is certain that we must pay much for the cost will be great. I should be untrue to the faith that I have in our people and in our leader were I to give you any other picture except the true picture which all already see.

It is certain that the youth of America in proud courage are preparing to train themselves for the business of defense.

It is certain that the American government will with fairness and efficiency encourage American industry to provide war materials. It is also certain that a strong government will stop each and every attempt to delay, sabotage, or profiteer in the defense effort.

Freedom there shall be. There shall not be the freedom to license the greedy. ^{for} There shall be no freedom for those who ~~know~~ self would delay the national effort. The nation, it is now certain, is not thinking of Republicans or Democrats. The nation is engaged in the simple process in the democratic way of selecting a leader. As I have said, it is certain that they have already decided upon this leader. So, after November, the problem becomes clear. As factories turn out defense material, as men in training reach adequate preparation, as events clarify the size and necessity and length of time this defense effort will require. So, not as a Democrat, not as a former Republican, but as one of those in the effort, I pledge you that only the defense of America, and always the defense of America will be the major effort until safety and freedom are no longer in doubt in this our Western World. It is certain that this defense effort will be accomplished by a people who know how in unity and intelligence to do this thing. The President, the Congress, the Army, the Navy, the hosts of workers in field and in factory will in unity carry on.

PRESERVATION COPY

Page three--

The foreign policy of the government has ceased to be other than a domestic policy. The domestic policy has ceased to be other than a foreign policy. Intelligence in leadership must provide for a knowledge of the past and an awareness of the present, and foresight as to approaching events. Your leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt has demonstrated these things. There is no way to predict future events. We do not know how far the march of dictators will carry. Tonight they have carried far. Japan pushes South, Italy threatens Egypt, Britain faces the Channel, France is dead. But as we see force expanding itself, also do we see Liberty arising in unity wherever Liberty still reigns. Tonight in this very dark hour, I am not downcast. Promising you nothing, and seeing nothing for any of us ahead but work and sacrifice, I say that it will be with happiness that we work; it will be in proud dignity that we sacrifice.

PRESERVATION COPY

September 20, 1940

A speech such as this should be made preferably toward the end of the campaign. The Times editorial should be used as the central theme of the first portion, the dangers threatening England and the Americas should be stressed.

Wallace should then say: Thank God there was one man in the world who realized these dangers long ago--because yesterday was a long time ago in this rapidly changing world. President Roosevelt said in Chicago on-- day of August, 1937: (Quote Roosevelt statement about mad dogs in Europe.)

I will confess that like you I did not see the danger as clearly as Roosevelt did. My mind was, as yours, on problems of production. A very rapid survey of young men going to training camps, factories turning on production of preparedness products, etc.

The proposition that we will not stand for greed in this preparedness should be mentioned.

The speech should end on a paraphrase of "This happy land--this demi-paradise."

PRESERVATION COPY

September 20, 1940

In connection with the statement about youth and this happy land etc., some thoughtless person might ask, "What have we to defend?"

This is what we have to defend: Added to the note of calm courage should come: This land is in this world, the safest and the best. This land has more of the things with which to make a defense. This land within itself suffices.

This land has the greatest reservoir of resolute youth to grow, to make, and to defend Liberty which is ours. I pledge you that Roosevelt will make it safe.

PRESERVATION COPY

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF
HENRY A. WALLACE

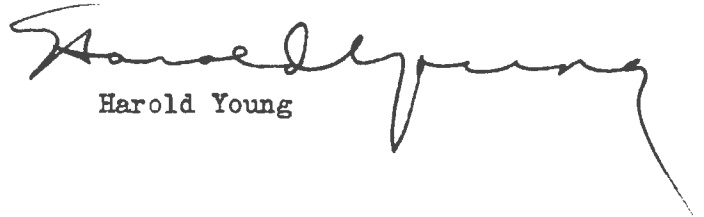
September 23, 1940

Mr. C. E. Marsh
Apartment "B"
Allies Inn
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marsh:

Thank you very much for your suggestion about Mr. Rosenman. You may rest assured that I will endeavor to see him and his quiet wife the next time I am in New York. Without discounting what you have said about two women, please allow me to say that there are many more who are also of tremendous value to America at this time-- Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, for instance.

Sincerely yours,


Harold Young

HY:jh

September 26, 1940

Willkie is at Omaha tonight. Think his speech will be delivered on farm problems, and should be in ten o'clock editions of tonight's papers. Think Wallace may be sucked off into an argument.

If Wallace wishes to explain the trend of the Mid-West farm states behind other sections of the country in the polls, he might take the offensive by not explaining or apologising, but state:

This campaign's main issue is the defense of America and who can best do it. The states facing the Atlantic and the Pacific and the Gulf are strongest for Roosevelt because they are more alive to the danger. States thousands of miles from either ocean still have many millions who are not so alive to the possibility of America's losing the American way of life. They have had false leaders--leaders of "peace at any price"--who have on the lecture platform and even in the Senate deluded them during twenty years of peace with the impregnability of America. But, thank God, these states far from the sea are waking up and joining their sister states along the oceans in awareness of the national peril and need.

PRESERVATION COPY

October 15, 1940

Today--this sabbath day--I speak of things that may be seldom spoken of in trade, in the business of arming, in the business of government.

Humbly I search for words. Words are such pathetic things when the heart would speak. This world--a part of a universal supreme being--is groping through a night horror, hands uplifted.

Only in the western world is there peace. Even in this--a democratic world--we know our peace is troubled. We know a peace throughout the world is our only guarantee that peace may remain here.

Our neighbor's house is on fire. Our house is threatened. So, as a good neighbor, we seek in every way to keep our house secure, promote the peace and put out the fire of war.

At Bunker Hill it was said that the Commander told those who staunchly defended this cradle of liberty that they should not fire until they saw the whites of the enemies eyes. We will not fire--we shall not extend the conflagration of war to these shores--unless the fire licks at the vitals of our free and peaceful people. But we will most certainly man the hose--man the bucket brigade. We shall and must in every way stop this fire from spreading here.

There are many ways to put out a fire. So many ways of meeting war danger have been suggested. A campaign to select the leader of the fire brigade has been going on for several months. A fireman on the job as leader of the brigade may be told to continue his efforts to limit the conflagration which is the war in Europe. Or this people may ^{say} ~~xxx~~ a new leader of the fire brigade should be named.

Certainly in a democratic way--the way of the old volunteer fire companies which covered America in villages and towns or an earlier year. This was the procedure. Members of the fire company elected a chief. And we on November 5, because of our passionate belief that liberty is its own best defense will go to the polls to register our ballots for fire chief.

At the moment--this Sunday morning--I am not concerned so much with the chieftan-to-be as I am with the will to and the method of putting out the fire--and saving the house of liberty.

Almost all who hear have watched a conflagration of either a country barn or a city block. The leader of the fire brigade sometimes orders buildings in the path of the fire to be destroyed in order to save the city as a whole. Sometimes windows are broken so that the hose may be inserted to strike out the demon of destruction. Who has not witnessed in thrilled horror what seems to be wanton destruction by firemen of precious things of use and value? But in our experience we see that the fire chief through his experience has found the way to the greatest saving with least loss.

So, looking ahead at what is to be this winter and this spring to come, may we not be as realistic as our fire chief must be if he is to be the leader over us all in saving the house of liberty. I think so.

But as I began to talk a few moments ago, I said that words were such feeble things to express what the heart would say. I do not want to speak of tens of millions behind the Hitler line of attack that must die this winter. I do not want to say that an effort to feed them would merely feed the mouths of the flames from hell that would reach the house of peace and liberty.

I do not want to speak of making war like things when God knows we all prefer to make peacetime things.

It is not pleasant to think of one's oldest boy leaving a peacetime farm to train in a war-like cantonment.

Who would not prefer this government to spend fifty million dollars for peacetime industry near Lexington, Illinois, instead of ordering the powdermaker, Dupont, to manage a fifty million dollar nitrogen plant to make bomb material. We know that nitrogen is the basis of the fertilizer which causes the great Midwest plains to restore fertility. But we must have this nitrogen plant now to pile up bombs to protect freedom's shores.

We in our calm faith believe that this nitrogen plant will be left for our use and the use of our sons to produce the fertiliser after the fire of war has been quenched.

One last word—a religious people facing the winter and the spring ahead move in myriads of highways and byways in the hours ahead to worship ~~and~~ their God. Do not, I pray you, go to your God today questioning his wisdom. A supreme God is the answer that we seek. His supremacy is our assurance that he knows what is to be. This human race in the progress of time on this world has moved from the bitterest savagery to its present glory in things and knowledge. Do not ask your God for overmuch. See this thing as it is. The human race has gone far in the benefits of peace and industry and carried more and more millions of human beings into wider experience and keener delights.

Trust in the Lord thy God. Lean not upon him in idleness, or with tears. Serve him, and in the serving will you save your country. Be alive to the danger. Be not afraid. Go forward for peace in defense.

October 15, 1940

Memorandum to Y.:

I am trying to write for a woman, for a family—with radio turned on—as the woman, without a servant, sits down to the Sunday breakfast with her man and three children in preparation of the weekly trip to church. This family is average America, at the center of the population of the United States—which is on the Indiana-Illinois line—on a farm hom of less than one hundred acres. Father and mother are reaching forty—children between twelve and twenty. The oldest boy may be registering Wednesday and was to carry on.

If you can paint in words, do so. If this could be given to Wallace in the twilight, where you have twenty minutes, say before he leaves, read him what you have written so he may get it in his ear and in his soul. I believe it will have some effect on all his speeches.

My feeling is that the hate-Hitler, Willkie-appeasement, Roosevelt-defender business is getting a little stale through repetition, and a new tempo of more direct spiritual appeal must finish the campaign if we are not to have big war news or a new big Roosevelt action. Willkie must now do the hating and the scaring.

I am submitting for your reading in advance of your talk an August first statement of the campaign line which I think has been slightly lost in the heat.

C. E. M.

October 15, 1940

It is proper that we should be ready always to give an account of the faith that is within us. There are people in America who in the pursuit of pleasure or money forget their God. There are millions of our people who are sitting around their hearths today who have remembered and are proud of the faiths of their mothers and fathers and their own childhoods and their years of maturity.

We believe not only in God, but we remember that the greatest teacher of all taught us to render unto Caesar those things which are Caesar's, to serve our families and to serve our nation. It is not long until Armistice Day. Many of you remember joyfully the day which marked the end of a terrible war. Some of you have reared families since that time, and today some of your sons are preparing to spend a year of useful service in order that neither you nor they suffer the horrors of another war. I know they, having faith in God, having faith in your country, and most of all having supreme faith and confidence in yourselves and your children, that you will do your duty as you have always done it.

October 20, 1940

Young:As the President of a corporation might say, "I've handled the business pretty well. Here is the balance sheet, and here is what we have done. It is true that I bought twenty too many pencils this year, and maybe too much paper, but by and large the company is in good shape."

The house being on fire and nobody worrying about one of the boys having drunk a little beer last night is good.

The idea about raw materials for defense is probably a little screwy, but I don't know. All of those minerals except tin are in such small amounts down there, and so much of it already being purchased that that would not make any real difference. There is more money and power tied up in coffee than in all those things together.

Marsh: There is tremendous mineral production in South America. I did not take the trouble to go into this because it is on record. There are minerals there which we have to import if we are to have a war economy, and which are now almost entirely controlled by British mining interests. I might add that we would take over the actual stock in a British owned company in return for money for the British instead of making stray loans to them now, as the American people don't want to give anything to England as long as England has the money or the securities to buy with. The biggest remaining resources of British wealth in the Western Hemisphere is below the Rio Grande running from railroads and utilities through mines, and I believe amounts to over two billion dollars if not more.

Young: Certainly you ought to have bases on the West Coast either of Mexico or off the West Coast of Mexico and Gallipagos Island deal announced. The idea of having Knox and Stimson or Hull probably is better, though I see no objection to having the President announce it.

Marsh: I don't either normally, except that two or three days of yapping by Willkie would follow with 35,000,000 people following Willkie in the yap. They can't yap soon enough about Hull and Knox, and Stimson, and Knudsen, and Jones. The picture is to show all these men working while Roosevelt is politicking. This means that the nation is functioning and that answers 35,000,000 more people who say, "Why did Roosevelt quit defending America to talk at all?"

Young: A lot of good will has been engendered by the Republicans putting up a big sign in front of Republican headquarters--"The Republican Committee welcomes Roosevelt." Why not have the President in Baltimore say something like this: "I understand that some of our friends who may differ with us slightly are holding a meeting here today. I think it would be very fine if as many of you as can go to hear them."

Marsh: I think Roosevelt may say, "This is a Democratic country. I want every man who hears me to listen to the other side tonight, for Americans in the Democratic processes must see wisely and hear well."

October 23, 1940

Madison Square:

Hillman passing the word through the garment workers.

LaGuardia passing the word through city employees.

Coreorara helping Flynn, jacked up through Shirley, to get a Bronx crowd down. It is particularly important that Mayor LaGuardia not speak to empty seats.

Chance to have Republicans for Roosevelt, Mollen Chairman, have their crowd in special block because they have just been formed and may be phoned, as their slogan is, "Roosevelt to Stop Hitler," and that is a LaGuardia-Wallace line. They would provide "clap" enthusiasm, in much the same way that opera singers organize a clack.

A good Bronx section of Jews would give another clapping group.

The Wallace deal at Madison Square worries me. I think only strong punching, starting Friday morning for Monday night, will save a fiasco.

(And how about the speech itself?)

October 24, 1940

To All I love:

This is a broadcast. I have sent so much of my own writing in letter and memorandum form that I am more than pleased to send this.

The campaign is over except for the shouting. I am through with it. This man has said it, regardless of the results, and because it is said between brothers as each writes to the family units, I feel in it the unusual depth which only the real brings out. Obviously you do not need a copy of the letter to which this is a reply. A sidelight is that both brothers are lawyers—one working for a very great corporation in a high place, and the other scratching around, but at the moment donating his services for nothing to the thing that he sees and neglecting, I trust, no one much.

Sincerely,

C. E. M.

P. S. The second, shorter, letter was written by some one who had not read the first one, but was asked what was a proper answer to a man who had written his brother that Willkie and property were Siamese twins who together would save the rest of us.

C. E. M.

October 24, 1940

Dear Eldon:

I spent some time in writing you a letter in which I tried to do a brotherly act--reconcile a difference of view between two sincere persons of the same blood stream.

After writing the letter, which is enclosed, I had a sense of futility.

The second letter merely gives you this sense of futility, and so it is sent with the first.

With love,

October 24, 1940

Dear Eldon:

A copy of this goes to the family.

Admiring your success and sincerity, I read more than once and pondered many hours your letter concerning this campaign.

My individual answer is: A man sees the world in the truth that comes to his own soul from the world. The truth to me is that we reach mental maturity already formed as to this insight. Neither you nor I ever will change. The difference is simply, I believe, that you serve sincerely the immediate work ahead as you see it, and are, of course, affected by the intensity of such service. Your service is to property, its conservation, and its success--for which you are honorably and adequately paid. I am a tramp. I glow in pursuing happiness in vague places which I cannot justify. I come to earth. I see bank accounts. I go to courtrooms I try to pay my bills. But that is where I do not live.

With love,

Cable Maryflower



Telephone District 3000

The Maryflower
CONNECTICUT AVE. AND DE SALES ST.
Washington, D. C.

October 24, 1940

Dear Eldon,

Several months ago we discovered that most of the members of the Young family are for Roosevelt and Wallace. Since you have written a letter full of expressions of fervor, credos, and prayers to Almighty God, perhaps you will be interested in knowing why this is so.

While it is presumed that all men are equal before the law, it is not true that all men start out with good brains and strong bodies. We were fortunate in many ways. We were strong enough to work, had a fair amount of brains, and we were not pampered when we were young. Most of us started to make our ways in the world before millions of strong men roamed the highways, and before banks and businesses became bankrupt. Even so, it was necessary for us to help each other financially at one time or another. When the whole business structure of the United States broke down in 1929, it was necessary for the Government of the United States to aid not only individuals but big business as well. This was not charity at all. It was doing what we had been doing in our own family--aiding those who were in need temporarily until they could take care of themselves.

We must take the long look. We must not forget that farmers who labor that we may eat are entitled to at least some of the things that we enjoy. We must not let those who are a little weaker in mind and body than we are starve if they are willing to work. We must never forget that some people in the United States are not as lucky as we have been.

There are two ways to look down this road. You see a land where property rights are supreme, where a man, or a combination of men, either by inheritance or wealth, a merger of brains and money, in possession of a monopoly, or sheer luck, control the lives and destinies of other men. "Let him take who has the power," you say, "and let him keep who can." Looking down such a road led us to what happened in 1929 in this country, and to what happened a little later in Germany and in France.

Cable Mayflower



Telephone District 3000

The Mayflower
CONNECTICUT AVE. AND DE SALES ST.
Washington, D.C.

The other view is this: Use your money. Use your brains. But take a longer look and see that those who are diligent shall live and prosper. Provide for unemployment insurance, for social security, for guarantees of bank deposits, for the safeguarding of investments--guard against indiscriminate sales of Commonwealth and Southern stocks--keep the good soil of America from washing into the sea, harness the streams so that light and power may be generated and the people of the United States profit thereby.

It seems to me that you and Mr. Willkie have looked down one of these roads, and that Mr. Roosevelt and most of the Young family have looked down the other road. It is perfectly true that Mr. Willkie, who talks as you do about property rights, has endorsed collective bargaining, social security, unemployment insurance, the T. V. A. and the other humanitarian steps which have been taken during the administration of President Roosevelt. But is it not true that he endorsed these things to get votes? Is it not true that Mr. Willkie's life proves that he was against them and that in his heart he is against them now? If you and Mr. Willkie agree, as Mr. Willkie has stated publicly on many occasions, that not one single forward step of the past eight years will be re-traced, then what fault have you and he to find?

I gather from your talk about "God, give us men" that you want another man instead of Roosevelt because you think two terms are enough. You thought one term was enough. Here is why we must and will elect Roosevelt: In spite of your fears, which are the same as those Hoover had when he said in 1932 that grass would grow in the streets of our cities if Roosevelt were elected, this is a happier and a more abundant land than it ever was before. France was a land like ours. France has gone. America, our America, can only be saved by 130,000,000 Americans working in unity. Hitler and Stalin know if you do not that our nation led by a Roosevelt will fight, if fight we must. A lesser man than Roosevelt, whose hands are held high by the Lindberghs, by those who love Hitler, by those who would prefer a sleepy complaisance now to safety for all time, cannot lead us.

The Young family, except for a few recalcitrant members, will vote for Roosevelt.

With love,

Cable Mayflower



Telephone District 3000

The Mayflower
CONNECTICUT AVE. AND DE SALES ST.
Washington, D.C.

October 26, 1940

Dear Harold:

Attached is Who's Who in America on Bernhardt, Chief of the Sugar Section of the Department of Agriculture. You will note that he was Chief of the Sugar Division of the United States Tariff Commission 1923-24, and is a typical career Civil Service Bureau man who has never been in the field as a laborer, business man, or commodity trader. I am sure that a long record as a statistician qualifies him to the rating of a scientific man, but it is obvious that his approach to a piece of sugarcane is statistical.

It is of no importance whatever that he is of Jewish origin and was born in Latvia, because he was brought here at the age of six and has had the sheltered life of a student and civil servant. If he got out in a sugarcane field, he would feel very lonesome, I am sure. A statistical approach to the subject probably is more to any man's liking. I cannot see how an industry--even as small a one as sugar--can be handled by a professor of sugarcane statistics without a very great deal of help, a sense of humor, and a sense of proportion.

In my mind I see this man. I would not attempt to explain to him that as sugarcane is pressed and processed from raw to commercial white that it does not go through the relative manufacturing processes that raw sugar might go through if it is returned backward into syrup for the poor in this country to consume on their cornbread.

I would hardly attempt to tell him that the test of the business is whether the people benefit--that is the real people--by an order relieving some of the tax burden from the molasses or the heavy browns or the golden yellows. A true statistician would say that the sugarcane was pressed into raw and then processed. He would hardly know the difference between processing forward and processing backward, and I am sure, if he loved statistics sufficiently, he would not follow the lovely statistics much further than the statistics he loved--that is, the statistics of sugar. He hardly would have the vision to see the statistics on the matter of syrup--a very cheap and very wholesome energy food among the toiling Southern whites and negroes who love their molasses.

Cable Mayflower



Telephone District 3000

The Mayflower
CONNECTICUT AVE. AND DE SALES ST.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Bernhardt has lived a sheltered life in Washington, and I am sure loves his statistics, and remember all his life it has been sugar statistics, and not necessarily concerned with molasses.

I don't think I have said anything, but what I have implied is that the real truth lies in whether human welfare is benefitted by relieving a tax barnacle off the cheap, regional-consumed syrups in a low wage area. I understand, of course, that there is a law or an agricultural regulation which Mr. Bernhardt is supposed to interpret. But if the intent of the law is to impose additional taxation as sugarcane reaches the higher and more expensive commercial products, such as cane sugar, it certainly was not intended to be a tax on raw sugar when melted backward into a generally consumed, low-priced, energy food.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Excerpt from
Who's Who In America
Volume 21, 1940-41
Page 816

Bernhardt, Joshua, economist; b. Windau, Latvia; Sept. 21, 1893; s. Hirsch and Deborah (Lipkin) B.; brought to U.S., 1899; A.B. University of Rochester, 1916; Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University, 1921; m. Hanna Giehner of Washington, D.C., June 12, 1923; children--Henry, Max, Joseph, William. Mem. staff Statistical Div. of U.S. Food Administration., 1918; chief Statis. Dept. U.S. Sugar Equalization Bd., Inc., 1919-20; instr., Johns Hopkins, 1920-21; mem. sr. staff of Inst. of Govt. Research, 1921-22; chief of Sugar Div. U.S. Tariff Comm., 1923-24.

Note: Windau is located in Courland, or Kurland, one of the Baltic provinces of Russia. (From Encyclopedia Britannica, P.320)

~~Lee~~ Hunter
Canessy 87

8
~~31~~
Oct 28

November 29, 1940

Mr. Harold H. Young
Gulf Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Harold:

After you left there was some discussion about a Brownsville Latin American named Augustine Celayo, who is a member of the lower house. I remember him in the hot oil investigation as doing better than a senator from East Texas.

Ben Belt says that he has sat in with him socially in Houston, that he speaks beautiful Spanish, beautiful English, is between thirty-five and forty-five years of age, and has knowledge which is impressive on both Mexico and the United States.

Edgar Perry said that he often goes to Brownsville and would recommend to Butler to tell Jones that Celayo to be an honest and effective unit in seeing that any money spent by America in Mexico's defense was not wasted.

I am sure this last thought isn't in the picture, but it is impressive that both Perry and Belt has an A-plus on this chap.

In some way I think we should check him without too much overhead. It might be done when we are in Houston through Belt. We might be running down to Brownsville to check him on his own hillside. Or in a pinch we might have him come to Washington. The last is clumsy, because we get him there on too big a basis. I am thinking of him as one who could talk to Wallace. I am sure Belt will come to Washington and at that time I am sure that Mexico will be a general subject with Wallace and Belt.

If the Latin American from Brownsville who is an American citizen, is the best Latin American, he seems important to me.

Sincerely,

PRESERVATION COPY

November 30, 1940

Dear Harold:

I did not exactly forget your brother as something the cat brought in, but I did not pay much attention. I heard something fine about him. Belt works with the same company. Belt said: "Don't overlook Eldon Young. He is a queer bird. The company knows that he is the best man it has to handle labor and make labor see the company's position. They have taken him to Pittsburgh and other places when there was strain more than once."

Obviously this background is much more important than to say that he is a good oil lawyer, because if he has that faculty recognized by the Gulf Company, we can build behind him an experience record which will make him valuable as labor negotiator with a legal training, and God knows there is the next civil war.

C. E. M.

LEAKE, HENRY, YOUNG & GOLDEN

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

SUITE 410 GULF STATES BUILDING
DALLAS, TEXAS

SAM A. LEAKE (1864-1935)
W. T. HENRY
HAROLD H. YOUNG
HAWKINS GOLDEN
J. MANUEL HOPPENSTEIN
HARRY M. STANFIELD

December 2, 1940

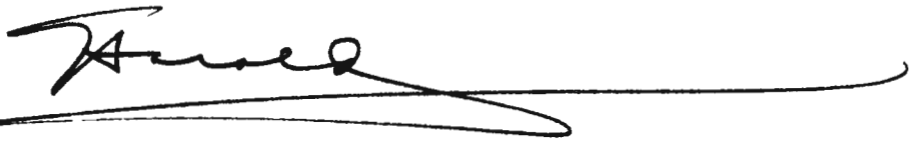
Mr. Charles E. Marsh,
Care Mayflower Hotel,
Washington, D. C.

Dear C. E. M:

This is in reply to your letter of November 29th regarding Augustine Celayo. Augustine has been under my observation for a great many years. He is half Mexican, smart as a whip, has a great sense of humor and not too much honesty.

It is true that he can talk Spanish perfectly and talks English the same way. He represents a boss-ridden district and has never been known anywhere, any time, as a liberal. I like him personally, but would not trust him as far as you can throw a horseshoe that has a horse attached to the shoe.

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Samuel', with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

HHY-D

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1230

(08)

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

DA90 104 DL=DALLAS TEX 9 1256P

CHARLES E MARSH=

1940 DEC 9 PM 3 10

MAYFLOWER HOTEL WASHDC=

BENEATH MY WINDOW A SALVATION ARMY BAND IS PLAYING WHY DO
BELLS AT CHRISTMAS RING COMMA I HAVE RINGS ON MY FINGERS
AND BELLS ON MY TOES COMMA THE BELLE OF THE BALL COMMA TAKE
ME OUT TO THE BALL GAME AND POLITICS IS THE SECOND MOST
INTERESTING GAME IN THE WORLD PERIOD NOTHING SHOULD BE
WATCHED MORE CAREFULLY. CHARLES O'DONNELL WITH INSURANCE
MONEY SAID TO THE LASSIE BEATING THE DRUM QUOTE I WILL GIVE
YOU ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS IF YOU WILL CEASE THAT BEAUTIFUL
NOISE UNQUOTE NOT ENOUGH SAID THE GIRL WITH THE BONNET AND
DRUM AND SO THE CHRISTMAS SPIRIT IS RAMPANT=

HAROLD.

Young

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

PRESERVATION COPY

1940 DEC 9 PM 3 25

M WASHINGTON D.C

1940 DEC 9 PM 3 25

1940 DEC 9 PM 3 25

PRESERVATION COPY

LEAKE, HENRY, YOUNG & GOLDEN

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

SUITE 410 GULF STATES BUILDING

DALLAS, TEXAS

SAM A. LEAKE (1864-1935)
W. T. HENRY
HAROLD H. YOUNG
HAWKINS GOLDEN
J. MANUEL HOPPENSTEIN
HARRY M. STANFIELD

December 11, 1940

Mr. Charles E. Marsh,
Mayflower Hotel,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Marsh:

The people, the great mob, turned out to honor Sam Rayburn last night. Three United States Senators, scads of Congressmen, an Attorney General or two, and little Joe Bailey, who was a little drunk, were at the party.

Senator Sheppard and Senator Connally came out flatfootedly for all aid to the allies short of war. They asked that even our squirrel rifles be sent to England. The crowd liked this sort of talk. Nobody said a word about Claude Pepper, but you and I know that Claude Pepper paved the way. Not so many months ago the same senators who battled for Britain last night sat sneeringly by while Pepper waged war alone.

Many compliments were paid to Lyndon Johnson. Toastmaster Banker Thornton said: "Speaker Rayburn and the President called on Lyndon Johnson to handle the congressional races, (Thornton called them 'congregational races') and what a job he did! Due to his hard work, our majority in Congress is bigger than it was."

Here's the comment of a beautiful stenographer (beautiful stenographer's italics): "He talked like a plain country boy." Lyndon made a good impression on the crowd and since his speech was broadcast over both the Texas Quality Net Work and K. R. L. D., the magic name of Lyndon Johnson should be familiar to most of the people in Texas.

Sincerely yours,



HHY-D

New York, New York
December 18, 1940

Dear Mr. W. T.:

Anderson

Many a literary reputation is built by this simple method: the writer throws names about—names like Proust, Freud, Einstein, and Gallup. He deals in fantastic illustrations, like the time machine, and invents impossible characters, like the bear who walks like a man. Kipling used fifty years of a valuable life in warning Britain against the bear. All of the time the real enemy was a sausage-eating German peasant.

You have not committed sins like these. Your sins have been many and Scarlet. You have talked of people who live around you—Uncle Bob Persons, negroes, and Roosevelt. You have glorified the red hills of Georgia.

It would be impossible for Marsh to send you a ham one half as good as your own. Not many years ago the best advertisement of the year was a billboard (newspaper men should encourage billboard advertising) which portrayed a little girl carrying a little boy. The caption was, "He is not heavy; he is my brother."

Georgia hams are better than Virginia hams because they are from your "ain countrie." Please send me a Georgia ham, express prepaid.

Sincerely yours,

Harold H. Young

Young: Sam Rayburn says that Wendel Willkie appeared before the committee in opposition to the Wheeler-Rayburn Bill. He says that he sat across the table from Willkie over a period of about a month and that the statements of Willkie were taken down and transcribed. Willkie's statements before the committee should be studied and used. If he did not unburden his soul, certainly the way Willkie opposed a law which has become very popular should be brought to the attention of the voters. Rayburn says that he is going to make the voters antagonistic to Willkie every time they look at their electric light bills.

Marsh: Now in background, remember Roosevelt, as Governor of New York, in his first term sought the passage of the Saint Lawrence Waterway International Power Bill. He was opposed by Niagra Power, which is tied up with Morgan, as is the Electric Bond and Share, through General Electric. Also remember that Roosevelt, facing a second term as Governor of New York, had in opposition besides the Republican candidate the powerful financial opposition of Insul and the Public Service Company of New Jersey, whom he said had sent \$250,000.00 across the Hudson River to beat him. Remember Roosevelt mentioned these directly and personally and the amount, and said he might have to turn demagogue and talk directly to Mr. Brown and Mr. Smith. He hoped not. This merely to indicate that that speech would be down the President's alley because he almost did it himself.

New Young has made that speech himself in a state campaign behind Culbertson. I think Young can beautifully dramatize it. He should go to the Public Service Company of New Jersey and move around. I think he should see the 25,000 people wearing Willkie buttons, and no Roosevelt buttons, there. I think he should see that the wearing of a Willkie button there is more necessary than wearing a shirt. He should hear their jibes and songs, "Roosevelt for Ex-President," which is taken from "Of Thee I Sing" and has music to it. I think he should check the Insul deal through to his own home state of Texas to show that the Insul companies fought the little T. V. A. in his own home state which is now serving ten thousand people at one-third the rate that Mr. Insul would have

charged them. I think he should have a farmer's bill for electric service for the month of August and a Public Service Company of New Jersey rural bill for the month of August showing how much kilowatts cost in New Jersey, a very popular state, as against how little they are in a thinly populated ranch land. I should say that a public service company that doesn't like Roosevelt knows why it doesn't like a Roosevelt when it has three thousand customers on a ten mile line in rural New Jersey pouring dollars into its tills while Uncle Sam can take light to people who have for generations used candles and kerosene and only get a fraction for the investment which the public service gets. I believe this story is the fact story as it should be told rather than a general attack on Willkie as a utilities executive. The rate structure of the Little T. V. A., unfortunately, is much lower than the T. V. A., but a Texas man would take a Texas light bill into New Jersey, or any rural community, and by suggestion take it in to any city dweller. I believe that every speech has to have a big S. O. B. in it. I don't think this S. O. B. is Willkie. I think the S. O. B. cannot be Wall Street because that is an old one. I think the S. O. B. should be the Public Service Company of New Jersey, which tried to beat Roosevelt, and the two second S. O. B.'s should be Insul and the Niagra Power Company. Because at this time Roosevelt has made Canadian and American defense a new and vital issue. Here is the Niagra Power Company fighting for private greed to prevent the cooperation of two great nations in a peacetime effort--an effort which, if it had been consummated by Roosevelt, the Governor, would now be making nitrates and sulphates for the North American defense.

Young: Both the Democratic and Republican Parties have broken precedents this year. The Democratic Party broke one of the oldest precedents of all by nominating Roosevelt for a third term. Whether this was right or wrong, I don't know. I only know that in a time of great emergency the Democratic Party picked its ablest man. I only know in a time when experience is badly needed the Democratic Party picked its most experienced man. The Republican Party broke two old precedents by nominating Willkie. The Republican Party, which

has always been a slave of Big Business, finally came out into the open and nominated a big business man for President. The other precedent which was broken by the Republican Party was this. No man who has been without experience in government has ever been nominated for President before by either major party. This year the Republicans nominated Willkie, a man without any experience in government. (Applause to T. V. Smith, Congressman at Large from Illinois.)

Marsh: Suggest a pleasant, smiling person in Newark, New Jersey, would collect many small statements from employees of the Public Service Company, such as, "No Willkie button, no job." "How can a fellow get a raise without a Willkie button?" "If we don't get good rates, we don't have good wages." And a few from housewives might say: "You can't do anything about this company, it's so big." And some dividend-getters might say: "She certainly is a sweet company, and as solid as a brick." The whole thought should be to have a speech showing two things in relief:

1. The little fellow and the big fellow with the big price and the private greedy dividend paid, contrasted with the little price for the little fellow from the low interest-bearing capital structure of Uncle Sam-- a thing made possible by Roosevelt.

2. A contrast of Roosevelt in New York and Washington, doing this for the little fellow while Wendel Willkie was elsewhere doing something else--defeating the low electric light prices for the high electric light dividend sharer at \$50,000 a year. A bit of humor might be had by saying the people had had the best of it for eight years because they pay Roosevelt only \$75,000 a year.

I don't think the threadbare attack that a Rayburn might make --charging Willkie with being a Wall Street utilities fellow at \$50,000 a year-- would be anything at all, because it is old stuff discounted before Philadelphia. Just as I think a farmer should see Hitler, the electric light consumer should see his light bill. Bring this down to the voter on his own door step.

Mr. Young:

Here is copy of the Agricultural speech
we did Sunday. They haven't decided where it will
be given. I just kept a few copies here for our in-
for_mation. I'm not giving anyone a copy except
you.

MHuss

I am happy to talk with this audience of farm people. I want to talk with you about your future on your farm.

Many of you, in years gone by, have suffered privation and distress. Things are better now, but you can not help wondering about the months and years to come. You want to improve your home and help your family. You want to guard the future of your children. And above all you want to retain your liberty to think and speak and worship as seems good and right to you.

These desires are inevitably in your thoughts this fall, as you are making up your minds about national policies and national parties and national candidates.

We all know what farmers have been through in the last 20 years. We recall that summer and fall of 20 years ago, when farm prices tumbled, and the wartime boom collapsed. We recall how discouraged we were when these prices failed to rise again. We remember the heart-breaking struggle of thousands of farmers to pay off high-level debts out of low-level incomes. We remember how farmers organized and appealed for help from Washington, and the cold shoulder they got from the interests that ruled the Republican Administrations then in power. We recall the frustration farmers felt, and the hopelessness that deepened when the depression of the farms crept at last upon the cities.

For 12 years--12 disheartening years--you hung on grimly, hoping against hope for a turn in the tide of your fortunes.

And then, in 1932, there was a voice of cheer--the voice of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

You found in Roosevelt a man who understood you and your problems. You found a man with courage to balance up the scales in your behalf.

And so the 12 disheartening years were followed by 5 years of progress. You now have a National Farm Program you can call your own, and in the operation of that program you have the sympathetic and understanding help of a friendly President, a friendly Congress and a just Supreme Court.

Let's look back for a moment at some of the milestones that mark farmers' progress during these years:

1933--the recognition of farm equality in the first Agricultural Adjustment Act.

(see next page.)

1934--decisive and effective action to meet the calamity of drought.

1935--the beginning of the rural electrification program.

1936--the Hoosac Mills decision of the Supreme Court and the farmers' answer: soil conservation, to reclaim the nation's fundamental resource.

1937--a permanent marketing agreement program for the producers of milk and special crops.

1938--the second Agricultural Adjustment Act, with parity payments and an Ever Normal Granary.

1939--launching of the Food Stamp Plan.

1940--a vital role for agriculture in the nation's program of defense. We had piled up in the Ever Normal Granary the surplusses necessary to meet any drouth or any defense need and at the same time had prevented these surplusses from shattering the price structure as had happened in 1932. We had protected the consumer, the nation and the farmer.

These accomplishments have been wrought by more than 6 million farm families, acting together. The aims of the National Farm Program have been equality, conservation, stability, and abundance. The method of the National Farm Program has been the method of democracy.

I do not want to claim that the farm program is perfect. There is still room for much improvement. But it has benefited farmers and the nation in many ways. One of the most important has been the increase in farm income. You have heard from the Republican National Committee that farm income in the seven years since 1933 has averaged less than it did in the seven preceding years, when the Republicans were in power.

The fact is that, when you take into consideration the prices of things farmers buy, as well as interest and taxes paid by farmers, the purchasing power of farm income has actually averaged more in the seven years since 1933. And all the statistical sleight-of-hand of the Republican National Committee can not blot out of farmers' minds the fact that during the three years preceding 1933, farmers were rapidly sliding down and down, toward what the Republican vice-presidential candidate has called the "black year" of 1932. Nor can this statistical sleight-of-hand blot out the record of the steady increase in farm income since 1933.

I am glad to report tonight that farm cash income, which in 1932 was less than \$4,700,000,000, has risen in 1940 to around \$9,000,000,000--approximately equal to the highest farm income in 10 whole years.

The healthy flow of dollars to the farm has brought an equally healthy flow of dollars away from the farm to the cities and towns. Those dollars, spent for

(See next page)

a host of manufactured articles, are sending smoke from factory chimneys and keeping millions of men employed.

The truth is that the Ever Normal Granary program is working. It benefits the entire nation, as it should, but it works first of all for farmers.

Take the experience of corn and hog producers, for example. Without the corn loan corn prices would have been less than 25 cents last year and hay prices would have been down to \$3 this year. Hog supplies have been kept in line with markets by the corn loan and the corn acreage allotments, and the price of hogs on the farm in recent weeks has averaged nearly \$7 a hundred. The corn loan assures cooperating farmers of a loan value on their corn which this fall will be not less than 57 cents a bushel and is likely to be 61 cents. The reserves of corn in storage protect both farmers and consumers. The acreage allotments of the conservation program help keep corn supplies in balance with livestock numbers. And the parity and conservation payments not only finance the whole program, but also make a net addition to farm income.

If the Corn Belt Liberty League, which was encouraged if not actually sponsored by Republicans, had had its way two years ago, and the Ever Normal Granary program had been knocked out, you may be sure that this fall the price of corn would be around 25 cents a bushel, and the price of hogs would be around \$3. a hundred.

That would be a disastrous blow to corn and hog producers, to the towns which derive their prosperity from corn and hog income, and to the business of the entire nation.

Another example of the value of the Ever Normal Granary program is the experience of wheat producers. A year ago cooperating farmers stored their wheat under loan at an average of 63 cents a bushel. This enabled them to hold their wheat. A few months later, war in Europe and dry weather in the United States caused the price to rise to 90 cents a bushel. And you know how the farmers with the wheat under loan cashed in. By conservative estimates they got \$80,000,000 more income from their wheat than they would have received if they had had to sell their grain on the world market at harvest time. For once, farmers instead of speculators got the extra profit.

The price of wheat in the United States has receded somewhat from the high level reached last spring. Because of the war, huge supplies of wheat are backed up in Canada and Argentina, and in competing with those supplies United States producers need the wheat loan all the more to keep a floor under their price. Either way the price goes, that wheat loan helps the farmer.

I have not time today to discuss in detail all the many phases of the farm

(See next page)

program--crop insurance, marketing agreements, the Food Stamp Plan, export subsidies, the tenant farm purchase program, rehabilitation of low-income farm families, the work of the four new regional research laboratories in seeking new industrial uses for farm commodities, readjustment of mortgage credit, the building of a true cooperative credit system, conservation of the soil, or local land-use planning.

These and other projects, as you know, are being carried out by the farmers through their own groups and committees.

One of the strongest reasons for the success and permanence of the Triple-A program, for example, is the fact that local administration is in the hands of committees that are elected by the farmers themselves. And it doesn't make any difference whether the committeeman is a Democrat or a Republican or a Socialist or a Prohibitionist. All that matters is that he be the choice of his neighbors for the job.

This insistence on keeping the farm program non-partisan is one big reason why the Democratic Party has kept the confidence of the public over the last eight years--and why it will go on keeping the confidence of the public.

Now that the farm program is so well established, some farmers who have consistently supported it are wondering if they can't afford to ^{switch} their vote to another party. They have read the words of the Republican presidential nominee who has said:

"If elected President, I will not take away any of the benefits gained by agriculture during the past few years."

This was a promise which on its face seemed to remove the farm program as an issue in this campaign. But let's look at this promise, and at the record of the party which is supposed to carry it out, and see how much that promise is worth.

First, let's look at the wording of that promise: "If elected president, I will not take away ..." But he seems to make no allowance at all for Congress, which every year approves or disapproves funds for the farm program and payments to farmers. If he is elected President, what does he intend to do with Congress?

The United States is still a democracy, and what Congress does about farm affairs is all-important to the farmer. For that reason, the record of the Republican party in Congress gives the real answer to the question of what the farmers can expect if the Republican Party is returned to power next November.

Let us look at that record of the Republicans, for "by their fruits ye shall know them."

When the farmers cried out in pain at the time of the 1921 deflation, what did the Republicans do? They enacted the Fordney-McCumber Tariff, which proved

(See next page)

to be a millstone around agriculture's neck.

The farmers then organized behind the McNary-Haugen Bill, to make the tariff effective on farm products. Farmers remember how this bill, after being twice passed by Congress, was vetoed by a Republican President. They also remember how they were crushed under the steamroller of the Old Guard Republicans at the Kansas City Republican convention in 1928.

"By their fruits ye shall know them."

After farmers were denied the McNary-Haugen Bill, which they had asked for, they were given the Farm Board and the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, which they hadn't asked for. It was under these Republican substitutes for real farm relief that American agriculture in 1932 reached the darkest hour in its history.

"By their fruits ye shall know them".

The Republican record of unfriendliness to agriculture continued after 1932. In 1933 Republicans in Congress voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act by 62 percent. In 1936 they voted against the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act by 75 percent. In 1938 they voted against the second Agricultural Adjustment Act by 85 percent. In 1939 they voted against parity payments by 82 percent. In 1940 they voted against parity payments by 82 percent for a second time---just to show how consistent they are---

"By their fruits ye shall know them."

Last June the Republican Party in convention made former Senator George Wharton Pepper, of Pennsylvania, chairman of its platform committee. Mr. Pepper, you recall, was the attorney in the Hoosac Mills case who persuaded the Supreme Court to kill the old Triple A. Evidently he got in his work once more, because the platform came out against production control.

By his fruits ye shall know him.

In spite of this threatened blow at the farm program, the Republican platform did contain the usual pious promises of help for the farmers, this time including among such help commodity loans. And six weeks later, in Des Moines, Iowa, on August 5 of this year, the Republican standard bearer made the pledge to which I referred a few minutes ago: "If elected President, I will not take away any of the benefits gained by agriculture during the past few years."

But the Republican standard bearer failed to tell the farmers that the Republican party platform and his own pledge had both been nullified only four days before, on August 1, when the Republican members of the House of Representatives had voted against funds for commodity loans--corn loans, wheat loans, cotton loans, and other loans--by 106 to 38.

The Republican standard bearer failed to tell the farmers that this vital

(See next page)

part of the farm program had been saved only by the strong support of the Democratic members of the House, who voted for the loans by 100 percent.

And the Republican standard bearer failed to tell the farmers that the vote in the House had been led by the Republican minority leader, Joseph W. Martin, whom he had personally selected as the Republican campaign manager.

Now the attitude of Mr. Martin goes to the heart of the whole campaign so far as agriculture is concerned. If the Republican party wins in November and controls Congress, Mr. Martin will undoubtedly be the next Speaker of the House of Representatives.

So let's take a minute to look at Mr. Martin's record. He has been a member of Congress for 15 years. During that time, so far as I can find out, he has not voted for one vital and constructive farm law. He voted against the first McNary-Haugen Bill in 1927. He voted against the second McNary-Haugen Bill in 1928. He voted for the Farm Board in 1929 and for the Smoot-Hawley Tariff in 1930. He voted against the first Agricultural Adjustment Act in 1933, against the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act in 1936, against the second Agricultural Adjustment Act in 1938, against parity payments in 1939, and against parity payments in 1940.

A year ago, when he sent a committee headed by Clifford Hope, of Kansas, out to get farmers' ideas about a substitute farm program, he condemned the present program in advance by calling it a "demonstrated failure."

His unfriendly attitude toward agriculture was frankly expressed on March 21, 1933, when, in opposing the first Agricultural Adjustment Act on the floor of Congress, he said: "Agriculture is not going to climb back to prosperity over the prostrate body of industry."

Farmers of course do not want to rise at the expense of industry, and they know that, in general, agriculture and industry rise or fall together. But Mr. Martin apparently doesn't want to give agriculture any direct help at all.

By his fruits ye shall know him.

Mr. Martin's record and attitude are important not only because of his own key position in Congress but because he has been highly praised by the Republican standard bearer and contrasted with Edward J. Flynn, chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

All right, let's look at Mr. Flynn. He comes from Greater New York City. Presumably he has some influence with the Democrats in Congress from New York City. And when we look up the voting record of those Democrats, we find that over the last seven years they have been consistent supporters of basic farm laws.

Which man is the real friend of the farmer? Joseph W. Martin, who year after

(See next page)

year has slapped agriculture in the face? Or Edward J. Flynn, who has cast his influence on the side of constructive farm help?

Which Presidential candidate is the real friend of the farmer? The man who selected Joseph W. Martin or the man who selected Edward J. Flynn?

Both Mr. Martin and Mr. Flynn are from the East. But, over the years, the Eastern Republicans have voted almost solidly against farm legislation, while the Eastern Democrats have just as consistently stood by the farmers.

The truth is that agriculture should not and can not take a chance on having a Republican administration in power. Republican control of the next House of Representatives would sound the death knell of fair play for the farmer. And Mr. Martin as Speaker would be chief executioner.

For years, many farmers have looked forward to the time when the farm program could be taken out of politics, with both parties giving it wholehearted support. I myself have hoped that farmers' interests could be safeguarded in this way. But the consistent opposition of the Republicans in Congress has dashed this hope. The farm program can never be entirely safe as long as it is menaced by the hostile knives of four out of every five Republican Congressmen.

The truth is that the dominant elements in the Republican party have been against the farmer for the last 20 years and are against him today. There is no reason to believe they will change after next November 5.

More than ever in the next few years, farmers will need a strong farm program to guard them against the changes that are sweeping the world. Foreign markets that once took a substantial part of the production of American farms are closed and may not soon be reopened. Farmers of the United States must look to the farm program to help them make whatever adjustments are necessary. They must look to the farm program to protect their prices and their income.

If markets abroad are closed, they must look to an expanded consumption in the United States. The best way to get this increased domestic consumption would be through an increase in city employment. But until this is brought about, farmers must look to an extension of the food stamp plan, to the school lunch program, the low-cost milk program, the cotton stamp plan, and the home-made mattress program. We must get these farm surplusses into use where they are needed.

Not only have the farmers a big stake in keeping the farm program strong and healthy, sympathetically administered and adequately financed. They also have a big stake in the President's policy of fostering military and economic solidarity in the Western Hemisphere.

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The nations of the New World and the business men of the New World can not take a chance on economic appeasement of the dictators. If we fail to unite and are willing to trade with the dictator nations on their terms, we shall be forced to make one economic concession after another, and in the end we shall find we are no better off than Poland or Norway or Rumania.

Fears have been spread by opposition interests--appeasement interests--that economic cooperation with South America would mean dumping South American farm surpluses in this country. That is completely contrary to the thought of any responsible official of the United States Government. The fact is that such economic cooperation and solidarity, far from being a detriment to our farmers, would be a help to them. For, in any dealing between the German-controlled European continent and the New World, it is only through such cooperation and solidarity that our producers of wheat, cotton, pork, lard, and other export farm commodities can be sure of having their share of the available export market. New World solidarity will benefit and protect us all.

With Roosevelt policies in effect, farmers can be sure that their interests will be guarded both at home and abroad. They can be sure that agriculture will have its full place, along with industry and labor, in the national unity which must be attained and maintained if the country is to present the strongest front to the dictators.

Farmers want to make their full contribution, in this time of stress, to the national welfare.

I have tried tonight to lay bare the real issues at stake for farmers in this campaign. I have tried to show which party ticket offers the farmers of the United States real assurance for the future--which party policies and which party leadership will safeguard your farm homes and the future of your children.

You have struggled for nearly 20 years to gain a place of equality in American life. Through 12 of those years the darkness deepened about you. But in the last eight years you have been coming up into the sunlight once more. At your side, always friendly, always understanding, have been President Roosevelt and the Democratic majority in Congress.

This year, as in 1936, you are faced with a fundamental choice. You must decide whether to retrace your steps or to keep on going forward.

My belief is that you will stick to Franklin D. Roosevelt. My belief is that, once having put your hand to the plow of genuine farm progress, you will not turn back.