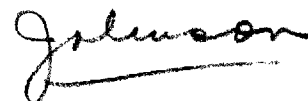


CONSOLIDATED OIL COMPANY

620 HAMILTON BUILDING
TELEPHONE 2-2136

WICHITA FALLS, TEXAS

June 11, 1941



OFFICERS

W. T. KNIGHT, CHAIRMAN OF BOARD
A. H. HERRON, PRES. AND TREAS.
S. V. WHITE, VICE PRESIDENT
E. F. FRUECHTE, SEC. AND ATTY.

Mr. C. E. Marsh
Adolphus Hotel
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Marsh:

In line with the telephone conversation had with you this date, the following is my view on the depletion provision of the Income Tax law.

The vast expenditures of money by the United States Government because of the state of total defense makes it mandatory that all income tax rates be raised. The oil industry which is already bearing its share if not more than its just share of the taxation burden will feel the general increase along with all other business and individuals but if in addition to this general increase, the depletion provision is removed from the law, the oil business will find itself taxed out of existence.

The depletion provision of the income tax was originally placed there because it was realized that the exploitation for oil was a most hazardous business, and that failure was to be found at the bottom of a hole more often than success. The law makers extended to this business the consideration which it was justly due at that time and is still justly due. The law in the past has given the oil operator and the producer of petroleum the right to deduct from taxable income twenty-seven one-half (27 1/2) percent of the gross operating income or fifty percent of the net operating income whichever is the smaller.

Aside from the equitable feature that it is a just allowance because of the extra hazard involved in the conduct of the oil business, there is the economic feature which must be given due consideration in the levying of any tax. For instance, there is no approximate figure which can be ascertained which would signify in percentage the increase in taxes to be paid by the oil industry but in one particular instance, picked at random, one oil producing company, an independent operator, would have been forced to pay an additional \$11,596.00 in income taxes for the calendar year 1940, had the depletion provision not been in force. And this particular company only had a net operating income of \$61,000.00.

Wichita Falls, Texas

June 11, 1941

CEM:WTK

Page # 2

If the oil companies throughout the country were permitted and could produce all the oil which it is possible to produce and could receive for it a just and equitable price, then there would perhaps be no economic reason why the industry should be given the advantage of depletion allowables. Under present existing proration laws, in wells below a depth of 3500 feet, the oil man can make no profit or get a cent of return on his cost investment in less than three and a half years. This deterrent development factor if supplemented by a removal of the depletion allowable would spell ruination for the greatest natural resource industry of this country and of the State of Texas. It is most difficult to put in figures the exact amount which such a move would cost the industry in Texas alone, but it would mount into the hundreds of millions of dollars.

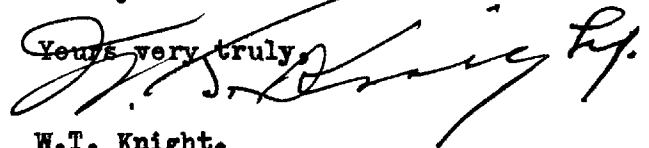
It is true that the depletion allowable is an arbitrary figure arrived at by Government Engineers and Geologists, and was considered to be an equitable allowance because of the millions of dollars expended annually by the oil fraternity in drilling disappointments and dry holes. The Government of the United States is interested in and is annually benefitted by the oil business and it is to its advantage that the business be continued along sound economic lines. The Government has in the past and will continue in the future to grant subsidies to certain undertakings because of public necessity or because of the general welfare of the Nation as a whole. For instance, large amounts are given every year to various phases of the distribution of United States mails and in other industries, certain privileges are given in order to encourage growth and development. The depletion allowable was granted and should be continued for the same reasons involved in these latter cited instances.

The removal of the depletion allowables in the income tax law would in effect legislate the oil business out of business and in the interest of the entire citizenship of the great State of Texas and its general well fare and its being, the movement to deny the oil business this concession must be stopped.

The depletion provision of the income tax law not only affects the operator, but every royalty and fee owner of oil properties in the State.

After Lyndon Johnson has carefully considered the matter, I would like his re-action to the same, and if his re-action is favorable I will want to place a copy of this letter, or as revised by him, in the hands of all my friends who are in the oil business.

Let me hear from you at your very earliest convenience.

Yours very truly,

W.T. Knight.

WTK:b



FIRE PROOF - 560 GUEST ROOMS
OPEN ALL THE YEAR

THE ARLINGTON HOTEL AND BATHS

HOT SPRINGS NATIONAL PARK
ARKANSAS

Johnson 194

Don't be pushed around!
O'Daniel is an old, old friend of yours.
You have known Jerry Mann since he was a football boy.
Dies has cleaned up the country. He got tired of
waiting for Roosevelt.

What do you know about Johnson?
The President says he knows him.
Let the President either tell us or keep still.
We don't know Johnson much.
Don't get pushed around.
We aren't at war.

Peace League



FIRE PROOF - 560 GUEST ROOMS
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THE ARLINGTON HOTEL AND BATHS

HOT SPRINGS NATIONAL PARK
ARKANSAS

Johnson

194

Give Roosevelt HELP now

The next year tells the story
Roosevelt is in a senate tight spot
He tells Texas he likes Johnson
Are you willing to let him have Johnson
Its between you and your defense leader
Use your own judgement
But pick a man you know.

Peace League
~~Speakers Bureau~~



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THE ARLINGTON HOTEL AND BATHS

HOT SPRINGS NATIONAL PARK
ARKANSAS

Johnson _____ 194

Why listen to Roosevelt?

We know our own people better than Roosevelt

O'Daniel has made a good governor

O'Daniel has complemented the old folks

by appointing Sam Houston senator

This is a peaceful country

Be your own boss

Elect O'Daniel senator and save America

Peace League



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THE ARLINGTON HOTEL AND BATHS

HOT SPRINGS NATIONAL PARK
ARKANSAS

Johnson 194

Vote Texas

We Texans are not mad at Roosevelt for pivking
Johnson for Senator .

Roosevelt says he is Johnson's friend

So what?
Aren't other Texans "just as good" as Johnson?

We Texans know O'Daniel Mann and Dies bett er

Vote for a Texan like a Texan

Don't let Roosevelt tell you

You tell Roosevelt

Peace League



FIRE PROOF - 560 GUEST ROOMS
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THE ARLINGTON HOTEL AND BATHS

HOT SPRINGS NATIONAL PARK
ARKANSAS

Johnson 194

YOU know your O'DANIEL

YOU don't know Johnson

Vote for the MANN if you don't like O'DANIEL

But vote for a Man ~~you~~ YOU know
DONT let ROOSEVELT tell YOU

Tell Roosevelt you don't know his friend

Make it DIES if you want to for DIES is
the man who told Roosevelt

We are not at war. We want no dictator

Vote Peace and prosperity and for a man you
know and respect.

Peace League
~~State Rights League~~



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THE ARLINGTON HOTEL AND BATHS

HOT SPRINGS NATIONAL PARK
ARKANSAS

Johnson 194

WHO IS JOHNSON?

There are lots of Johnsons.

Roosevelt says he KNOWS one Johnson

Who cares ?

Let's send Roosevelt our own MANN or

Our own O'Daniel or

Our own Dies but

Let Roosevelt do the fighting;

^W
We do our own pickin'.

Don't let Washington shove you around.

~~*Seneca League*~~



FIRE PROOF - 560 GUEST ROOMS
OPEN ALL THE YEAR

THE ARLINGTON HOTEL AND BATHS

HOT SPRINGS NATIONAL PARK
ARKANSAS

Johnson 194

Mann's a good Mann

Just and dependable in Texas is enough for us

We don't like to be told

If you don't like O'Daniel vote for Mann

If you don't like Mann vote for Dies

BUT DON'T LET ROOSEVELT TELL YOU

George R. ...

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
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SERIAL	DEFERRED
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NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

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WESTERN UNION

Johnson

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TIME FILED

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

To FRANK BLADWIN, EDITOR

JUNE 13, 1941

Street and No. 1400 NEWS TRIBUNE

Place WACO, TEXAS

LEAD ALL POLL: FROM TWENTY-FOUR THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED (CORRECT) TEXANS QUESTIONED ON THEIR CHOICE FOR SENATOR THIS WEEK, ENDING FRIDAY NOON, THE ACTUAL FIGURES SHOW JOHNSON FIRST, MANN SECOND, O'DANIEL THIRD, AND DIES FOURTH. THESE BALLOTS HAVE BEEN ADJUSTED TO CONFORM WITH THE FACT THAT LOUSTON HAS SIXTY-FOUR THOUSAND POLL TAXES, AND BECAUSE RELATIVELY TOO FEW PERSONS WERE QUESTIONED IN THIS CITY AS AGAINST RELATIVELY TOO MANY POLLED IN THE SMALLER CITIES SUCH AS AMARILLO,

****MORE****

Telegraph!
BIRTHDAY GREETINGS
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DAY PRESS RATE--COLLECT

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PRESIDENT

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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

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FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

To PAGE TWO FRANK BLADWIN, EDITOR _____ 19

Street and No. WACO NEWS TRIBUNE _____

Place WACO, TEXAS _____

~~TEXARKANA, WACO, AUSTIN, CORPUS CHRISTI, WICHITA FALLS, AND SAN ANGELO.~~

~~THE CITIES OF DALLAS AND FORT WORTH WERE NOT POLLED ADEQUATELY, BUT AN~~

~~ARBITRARY NUMBER OF BALLOTS WERE ALLOTTED TO THE DALLAS-TARRANT COUNTY~~

~~AREA IN THE PROPORTIONS OF FORTY PER CENT MAIN, TWENTY-FIVE PERCENT~~

~~O'DAHLIEL, TWENTY PER CENT JOHNSON, AND FIFTEEN PER CENT DIES.~~

~~IT IS BELIEVED THESE ADJUSTMENTS REPRESENTING TWENTY-FOUR~~

~~THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED ACTUAL BALLOTS AND ARBITRARY CORRECTIONS WHICH~~

~~WOULD MAKE THEM REPRESENT SOME THIRTY THOUSAND BALLOTS (CORRECT)**MORE**~~

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To ~~PAGE THREE~~ FRANK BLADWIN, BAYTOR _____ 19 _____

Street and No. ~~WACO NEWS TRIBUNE~~ _____

Place ~~WACO, TEXAS~~ _____

~~DOES REFLECT THE PROBABLE PROPORTION OF THE CITY AND NEAR CITY VOTS.~~
~~EVEN THIS POLL WOULD NOT BE FAIR TO O'DANIEL, AND POSSIBLY NOT TO MANN,~~
~~AS IS HAS BEEN IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH A FAIR PROPORTION OF THE VOTERS IN~~
~~THE EXTREMELY ISOLATED DISTRICTS. IN THESE DISTRICTS O'DANIEL PROBABLY~~
~~STILL IS FIRST AND MANN SECOND.~~

~~SO, AS THE SENATE RACE REACHES THE TURN AND SWINGS NEXT WEEK~~
~~INTO THE HOME STRETCH, IT IS FAIR TO ASSURE THAT DIES ONLY IS NOT A~~
~~SERIOUS CONPENDER, AND THAT THE OTHER THREE MANN, O'DANIEL, AND JOHNSON~~

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NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

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To ~~PAGE FOUR~~ FRANK BALDWIN, EDITOR _____ 19____
 Street and No. WACO NEWS TRIBUNE _____
 Place WACO, TEXAS _____

~~ARE BUNCHED SO CLOSELY THAT IT MAY BE A PHOTO FINISH, WITH ONLY THE
 FACTOR OF BRAINS AND DRIVE TO DETERMINE THE LAST MINUTE VICTOR.
 GAMBLERS' BETTING ODDS WHICH STARTED OUT THREE TO ONE FOR
 O'DANIEL TO WIN AGAINST THE FIEED, AND ALMOST TEN TO ONE AGAINST JOHNSON
 THEN CALLED THE UNKNOWN CANDIDATE, HAVE CHANGED TO ABOUT EVEN MONEY ON
 O'DANIEL, AND THREE TO TWO AGAINST JOHNS N AND MANN. BUT IT IS NOTORIOUS
 THAT BOOK MAKERS ARE CONSERVATIVE AND ARE SLOW TO CHANGE ODDS.~~

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~~PAGE FIVE~~

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

To WACO NEWS TRIBUNE 19

Street and No. WACO, TEXAS

TOTAL BALLOTS CAST TWENTY FOUR THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED.

ARBITRARILY ADDED SIX THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED (BALDWIN WILL ADJUST).

CANDIDATES TOTALS PER CENT: JOHNSON TOTAL PER CENT, MANN TOTAL PER CENT,

O'DANIEL TOTAL PER CENT, DIES, TOTAL PER CENT.

THE EL PASO VOTE HAS NOT BEEN ESTIMATED, AND IS NOT INCLUDED

IN THIS POLL. TELEPHONE ADVISES INDICATE JOHNSON LEADS THROUGH A

COMBINATION OF NEWSPAPER AND POLITICAL SUPPORT. THE SITUATION IN

FORT WORTH AND TARRANT COUNTY ALSO SEEMS TO BE IMPROVING FOR JOHNSON

Telegraph!
BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

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PAGE SIX--FRANK BALDWIN, EDITOR

To _____ 19__

Street and No. _____

WACO NEWS TRIBUNE

WACO, TEXAS

Place

WITH O'DANIEL SHOWING LOSSES.

THE NORTHWEST, NORTH, AND NORTHEAST POLLS SHOW IMPRESSIVELY
 MANN, AND INCLUDE SUCH TOWNS AS AMARILLO, PARIS, AND TEXARKANA. IN THE
 EXTREME NORTH ARE DENNISON AND SHERMAN. FAILURE TO POLL DALLAS CITY
 WHERE MANN IS EXPECTED TO HAVE FORTY PER CENT WOULD APPRECIABLY ADD
 TO MANN'S NORTH TEXAS POSITION, BUT NOT ENOUGH IN ITSELF TO OVERCOME
 THE STATEWIDE TREND. THE TERRITORY FROM THE RED RIVER AT WIGWIPA FALLS
 DOWN THROUGH THE CENTRAL WEST TEXAS BELT AND INCLUDING SAN ANGELO HAS

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To PAGE SEVEN--FRANK BALDWIN, EDITOR _____ 19__

Street and No. WACO NEWS OFFICE _____

Place WACO, TEXAS _____

SWITCHED FROM MAIN LEADERSHIP TO JOHNSON LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE PAST WEEK, POSSIBLY DUE TO JOHNSON'S PERSONAL APPEARANCES AND LARGE CROWDS, AND HIS ALL OUT ROOSEVELT ADHERENCE. JOHNSON'S FORTY-FOUR PERCENT OF THE SAN ANGELO POLL AS AGAINST FOURTEEN PERCENT FOR MAIN AND TWENTY EIGHT PERCENT FOR O'DANIEL IS VERY IMPRESSIVE AS INDICATING THE DEFINITENESS OF THE WHIRL AWAY GAINS THAT JOHNSON HAS MADE SINCE LEAVING THE HOSPITAL. IT MUST BE NOTED THAT BOTH JOHNSON AND O'DANIEL HAVE NOT BEEN

Telegraph!
BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

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To PAGE EIGHT**FRANK BALDWIN, EDITOR _____ 19

Street and No. WACO NEWS TRIBUNE _____

Place WACO, TEXAS _____

CAMPAIGNING AS LONG OR AS CONSISTENTLY AS DIES AND HANN. ON A STRAIGHT
 HANDSHAKING BASIS MAINT FOR TWO YEARS WAS THOROUGHLY COVERED THE STATE,
 WAS THE FIRST TO ANNOUNCE, ~~AND THE COVERED THE STATE,~~ WAS THE FIRST TO
 AIR ~~THE~~, AND HAS COVERED ~~EXCEEDED~~ TWICE AS MANY TOWNS AS ANY OTHER CANDI-
 DATE, EVEN INCLUDING DIES. JOHNSON STARTED TWO WEEKS LATE, WAS IN BED
 WITH THROAT TROUBLE FOR ALMOST TWO WEEKS, AND HAS ACTUALLY BEEN CAMPAIGN-
 ING ABOUT ONE MONTH.

Telegraph!
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DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
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To PAGE NINE**FRANK BALOWIN _____ 19

Street and No. WACO NEWS TRIBUNE _____

Place WACO, TEXAS _____

JUST WHAT THESE FACTORS MEAN WHEN TRANSLATED IN TERMS OF A STATE CAMPAIGN POLL IS ANY READER'S GUESS. IT IS TO BE EXPECTED THAT ALL CANDIDATES, WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF O'DANIEL WILL BE ONE HUNDRED PER CENT ACTIVE FROM NOW UNTIL THE TWENTY-EIGHTH. WHILE NOT SO MANY VOTES ARE MADE IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS OF A CAMPAIGN, IT IS TRUE THAT THE ENTHUSIASM OF CANDIDATES' WORKERS GROWS IF THE CANDIDATE IS ON THE RISE. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT JOHNSON'S SENSATIONAL INCREASES WILL RESULT

Telegraph!
BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

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DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
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To ~~PAGE TWO~~ ~~FRANK BAILEY, EDITOR~~ _____ 19

Street and No. ~~WACO NEWS TRIBUNE~~ _____

Place ~~WACO, TEXAS~~ _____

~~IN RISING CROWDS, RISING ENTHUSIASM, AND BUNCH VOTES, AS HE WITS THE BIG CITIES IN THE~~
~~FINAL WEEK.~~

~~ANYONE WHO WOULD DISCOUNT THE STUBBORN CONSISTENCE O' DANIEL'S VOTE IN THE REMOTE~~
~~DISTRICTS, OR WHO WOULD DISCOUNT MANN'S VERY THOROUGH "GET OUT THE VOTE" ORGANIZATION~~
~~WOULD BE IN ERROR, FOR JOHNSON'S STRENGTH, WHILE IT SHOWS A RISE ALMOST AS SENSATIONAL~~
~~AS THAT OF OLD DANIEL IN HIS FIRST GOVERNOR'S RACE CANNOT YET BE TRANSLATED INTO ACTUAL~~
~~VOTES AT THE POLL. IT SHOULD ALWAYS BE REMEMBERED THAT PREFERENCES ARE NOT BALLOTS, AND~~
~~THE PREFERENCES CAST FOR JOHNSON ARE VERY RECENT. JOHNSON HAS ONE STRONG ADVANTAGE:~~

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IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

MORE

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CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
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N. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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To ELEVEN PAGE SEVEN FRANK BALDWIN, EDITOR _____ 19__

Street and No. WACO NEWS TRIBUNE _____

Place WACO, TEXAS _____

HIS RELATIVE CITY VOTE IS STRONG. THIS VOTE IS ROOSEVELT, AND JOHNSON AS THE STRONGEST
EXPONENT OF ROOSEVELT SHOULD GAIN THROUGH THE EXCHANGE OF LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS ON
PARITY PAYMENT AND OLD AGE PENSIONS WHICH HAVE GAINED DAILY IN EFFECT. THIS VOTE IS
MORE EASILY MOVED INTO THE VOTING BOXES.

INSERT: A SIGNIFICANT FACT IS THAT JOHNSON IS THE ONLY CANDIDATE WHO HAS
STEADILY GAINED IN EVERY POLL TAKEN.

SUGGESTED HEADLINES: FIGURES EDGE JOHNSON INTO LEAD. MANN CLOSE SECOND.
PHOTO FINISH INDICATED BY CLOSENESS OF THREE CANDIDATES. IT IS STILL ANYBODIES RACE.

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

WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

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

To PAGE TWELVE**FRANK BALDWIN, EDITOR _____ 19__

Street and No. WACO NEWS TRIBUNE _____

Place WACO, TEXAS _____

PICK UP AND ADJUST YOUR WIRE TO ME AS LAST ADD.

G. E. H.

CHAS. E. MARCH

#206 SCHARBAUER HOTEL, MIDLAND, TEXAS

Sender's address
for reference

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY
IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

Sender's telephone
number



PROPERLY
AIR CONDITIONED

June 14, 1941

The

BLACKSTONE *Fort Worth's Hotel of Distinction*
FORT WORTH, TEXAS

Miscellaneous Check-up:

Leinsdorf--for Dallas

Gordon Fulcher--tires at discount when reach Austin
2-8156 or 8-6881

Roy Miller (Bishop and Corpus)

McNeil: Only oil and gasoline broker of size in
Houston. He is a good man and perfectly
reliable. Frost does not know him. He
sold gasoline to Japan until it became
illegal.

Carl White--Johnson leader at Port Arthur. Follow up
on Port Arthur meeting.

Editorial: "How O'Daniel died."

Country Columns out of Austin: Who writes them.

Peace League: Get Stuff placed.

Movie People

Has Charles C. Bowie, San Benito, County Chairman for
Johnson, been contacted as suggested by Stein?

ADOLPHUS BUSCH, III
PRESIDENT

Hotel Adolphus

DALLAS
TEXAS

H. FULLER STEVENS
MANAGING DIRECTOR
OTTO SCHUBERT, JR.
RESIDENT MANAGER

Harlingen radio to be arranged.

Look up O'Daniel radio--and Mann--and Dies--for the
purpose of getting in front of or after them.

Waco speech--Agriculture ect.

Dallas advertisements of Belden poll.

Ads ahead of Harold on Sunday.

Rayburn letter to 20,000 voters of district.

Johnson



OWNED AND OPERATED BY THE
DALLAS HOTEL COMPANY

825 ROOMS—300 AIR CONDITIONED
CIRCULATING ICE WATER

ADOLPHUS BUSCH, III
PRESIDENT

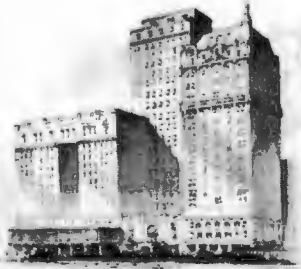
Hotel Adolphus

DALLAS
TEXAS

H. FULLER STEVENS
MANAGING DIRECTOR
OTTO SCHUBERT, JR.
RESIDENT MANAGER

Notes:

Old folks petetion in news columms and ads requesting O'Daniel to remain at Austin. What can I do in stopping or lessening newspaper publicity on O'Daniel this week? A good trained observer with O8Daniel to tell us what his mis-statements and sillinesses are in extemporaneous remarks. Probably good stenographer.



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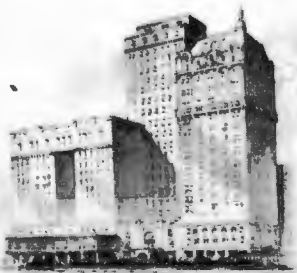
Young on the radio every day: The campaign today finds Gerald Mann saying, "-----"; O'Daniel saying, "-----"; Dies saying, "-----"; Johnson saying, "-----". Nothing new in any of this.

What Jim Glutz of Brownsville said is that he likes O'Daniel too well at Austin to be bothered about voting at all.

What Pete Smith of San Angelo said, etc.

All of these, of course, are simply things which Mr. Young has picked up by telephone from different people, and should be honest statements. The best editorials can be written in one-sentence simplicity of direct quotation. We want to go to the simple proposition of what people are saying and why.

If he could put a little different touch and tone to his position, I think in ten days we would have a very large audience, if he could have a time about 9:15 p.m. There is one period he could talk on, if he got up--the farm arising time. O'Daniel talks every morning at a time rarely used by anybody. (6 a.m. or 7). He is strongest in the remote sections and is still number one. If we could take a once a day Young snappy fifteen minutes, or two five minute spots twice a day, it might make him the Will Rogers of this campaign, if he could get by the censors. Censors seem pro-Mann.



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PROPERLY
AIR CONDITIONED

The

BLACKSTONE *Fort Worth's Hotel of Distinction*
FORT WORTH, TEXAS

Sunday--June 15, 1941

~~Harold Young on radio 8:30 a.m. from Fort Worth~~

~~Marion Miller on radio at 9:45 from Austin~~

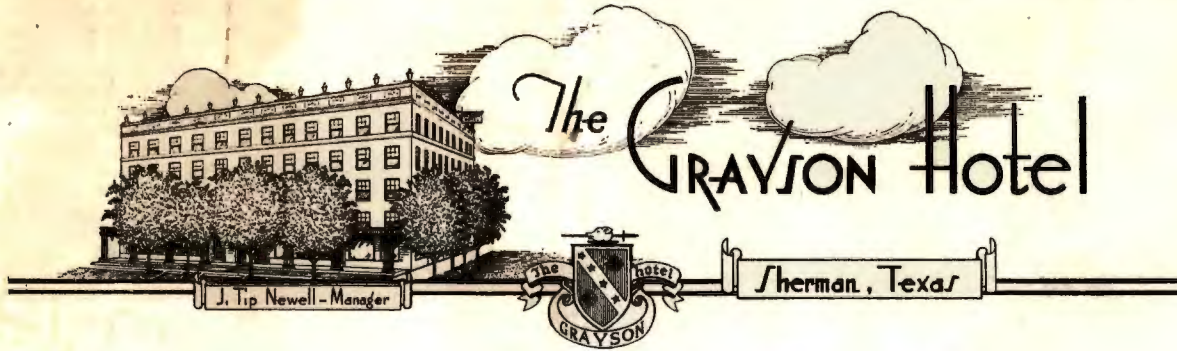
Call George Konkle - Corpus Caller Times 9:00 a.m.

Call J. M. Stein - Brownsville - 12:30 residence
station to station

Rayburn
Wallace

Copper

Hoodhills



June 14, 1941

Dear Mr. Bellows:

As you will note by the attached clipping Mr. Johnson will be in Sherman next Saturday. I have in mind some contacts which I would like for him to make while here.

Indications are that he is gaining in strength locally and I am glad to see that he is to speak here.

Very sincerely,

J. Tip Newell (Newell)

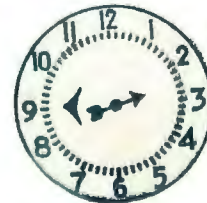
Syndon:

Read this & be sure to have Newell arrange this. He has been working hard & knows what the scores are.

JUN 16 '41 AM

B.

This man is important



He is the host & @ @ fellow Syndon must. for three minutes

"See America First"

Johnson Here Next Saturday

Congressman to Speak
in Sherman, Denison

Congressman Lyndon Johnson of Johnson City, near Austin, is to make two speaking appearances in Grayson county next Saturday, in the interests of his candidacy for junior United States senator to succeed the late Morris Sheppard.

Mr. Johnson will be in Sherman about 4 p. m. next Saturday, speaking on the north side of the square, and in the downtown district of Denison at 8:15 p. m., according to Roy G. Baker, Sherman attorney, who is handling local arrangements.

Elected to congress from the tenth district in 1937, over 10 opponents, Congressman Johnson has

sponsored the rural electrification administration's spread, the building the world's largest naval training base at Corpus Christi, and the flood control measures on the lower Colorado river. He is former national youth administration in Texas.

Mr. Baker was to speak in behalf of Mr. Johnson's candidacy at a rally at Cooper Saturday.

New Livestock Center

LOS ANGELES, Calif. (AP)—Livestock—not oranges—led the list of products which brought \$305,000,000 to farmers of Southern California in 1940. It was the most lucrative year since 1937.

Dr. John T. Nall

Exclusive-Graduate Optometrist
Individually Styled Glasses
Scientifically fitted when needed
Established 1892
Above Skillern's
Phones 461 Residence 311

Johnson

HOTEL TEXAS

FORT WORTH

Harold H. Young
June 15, 1941
8:30 a.m.



This has been a pleasant week. While all of us are deeply concerned with the welfare of our country, while young men are in training camps, while countless thousands are working to swiftly produce the sinews of war, it is a good idea to look up a moment from our toil and smile. And we had some things to amuse us this week.

The first thing we have had to smile about is this: The Governor said this week, "I would never have let the United States Government go into debt."

But, Governor, you can't pass a tax bill and collect money while a robber is at your front door. You can't organize and equip a fire department while your house is on fire. Neither can you let people starve while a bill is going through Congress--and they were starving when Roosevelt took hold.

Another amusing event of the week was the Governor's statement that he only wished to be Senator for 18 months. Every school boy knows that Senators become valuable by



HOTEL TEXAS

FORT WORTH

Page two

long and faithful service. Senator Reagan, Senator Culberson, and Senator Sheppard served for years in the Senate of the United States. Every school boy knows that Reagan and Culberson and Sheppard were more valuable to Texas and our country after they had served more than eighteen months. Their committee assignments were better, and their knowledge of governmental affairs increased. Perhaps the Governor is afraid that he is not running very well. Maybe he thinks his only chance for a white alley is to say now that he will run for Governor eighteen months from now.

All of Texas is proud of our dams along the Colorado. We are indebted to Roosevelt, our Senators, and to our Congress. Especially to Lyndon Johnson. Those great dams have kept precious Texas soil from washing into the sea, they have made it possible for our people to enjoy all of the delights of a seashore and they have lighted the homes of eleven thousand families in the Austin District.

FORT WORTH'S LARGEST HOTEL ~ ~ ~ 525 ROOMS, 525 BATHS
THE CENTER OF THE CITY'S BUSINESS AND SOCIAL LIFE

CITIZENS HOTEL COMPANY
OWNERS

OPERATED BY FORT WORTH HOTEL CO.
AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL HOTELS

HOTEL TEXAS

FORT WORTH

Page three



Lyndon Johnson's district.

The Governor must have been fooling when he found
fault with the dams along the Colorado.

FORT WORTH'S LARGEST HOTEL ~ ~ ~ 525 ROOMS, 525 BATHS
THE CENTER OF THE CITY'S BUSINESS AND SOCIAL LIFE

In the leadership that is ours in Washington, a light comes when youth is spoken of. Nobility serves always. In service a great mind says youth has the first concern. It has been said that maternity is the greatest flower of the human race; that the mothers of this, our America, know that there is one more supreme quality in life and the mothers that hear me and their sons and daughters see that their _____ now and forever as time marches on.

But, to the youth themselves, who have such a magnificent start in the days to come I offer a simple suggestion: Remember always that if you would grow and serve the fellow man, never consider the cost to self alone. Youth may see ahead in certainty of life amid the perils of this day but the youth of America is not afraid. It was not born that way. It was not taught that way. It can not feel that way. But the youth of America in its freedom that comes only to free men, knows that it is the strength and the soul which upholds the light of the leader and the _____ that is to speak the best to come. Roosevelt, at sixty, would lay down and would arise to write his memoirs if it were not for youth; if it were not for the strength that youth gives him. If you think that in America the people in the sunset of life if it were not for the vitality of our young people that our

leader would have the strength to carry on. The Boy of Roosevelt in that supreme and definite light that comes to him is the privilege of his duties to the youth and to the promise of their future. All great men are that way and what is the duty and the proud privilege of youth save thus? Yet there are thousands who say that they do not wish to leave for training. There are secret meetings on Eastern college campuses which meet Lindbergh. Wheeler visits those who say they will not fight, no matter what the issue. But those are so few and their minds are so bitter and their fear so great, their bitterness and _____ is that I am sure Texas youth is not concerned. Through this state of pioneers and simple people, there is a strength and a courage lending intelligent power of humility which says: "Carry on, Roosevelt, we are proud to train. We are willing to work. We know that you are the father of us all."

Down the road of the years no one may see what is to be captured in labor and money. All those things may be jumbled but the spirit of youth, believing that good is cohesive and healthy and that evil is destructive and men will join in common brotherhood for the protection of the American way of life. The leader may not live long as he faces the sunset of life but youth will live on in the spirit and the

inspiration of a very great man and so I pledge as one who has felt his hand and seen the light of his spirit. I pledge you that never will I let him down should you, in your esteem, send me to the Senate to uphold his hand. Farm hours may be longer before this is over. Young women may be driving busses before this is over; boys may forget the clock as fatigue and sweat calls them to the making of the tools to defend our liberty. That American youth will forget. No Texas American boy will lay down a tool when danger threatens his mothers and sisters and no Texas youth I know anything about will uphold a Lindbergh if fear or a Wheeler plotting the peace with Hitler or a betrayal of freedom. There is a unity in the soul of man. Because soulless persons who for profit or for power seek to betray the soul of Texas shall be told in the election ahead that the gospel of fear is not their gospel! We do not see enemies behind every bush in Texas. We know the enemy is Hitler and the slant-eyed Japs who seek to profit as a _____.

There are no people in Texas that shall form a _____ for a _____ and when you vote your judgment on June 28th, please remember whether you vote for me or for someone else; please remember that you vote as a privileged person; that you vote as a person who has a stake of much time and much _____ in this stake that God has given us. Go to the

polls in faith; believe that the United States will promote the best now and forever with a gay and privileged spirit. Turn back the pessimist; at any price philosophy and the demigod who, through fear, would drive to power. In the sunlight of youth, we stretch out millions strong our hands to Roosevelt. He will carry on through the crisis. The best that comes will be a just best, your best, a freeman's best. It will be in a world of sweat and toil and that world will be yours. The world of the woman who love, the world that is to be in the parliament of man and in the dignity of plain man and in the dignity of the soul of the average.

In the leadership that is ours in Washington, a light comes when youth is spoken of. Nobility serves always. In service a great mind says youth has the first concern. It has been said that maternity is the greatest flower of the human race; that the mothers of this, our America, know that there is one more supreme quality in life and the mothers that hear me and their sons and daughters see that their _____ now and forever as time marches on.

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inspiration of a very great man and so I pledge as one who has felt his hand and seen the light of his spirit. I pledge you that never will I let him down should you, in your esteem, send me to the Senate to uphold his hand. I am sure hours may be longer before this is over. Young women may be driving busses before this is over; boys may forget the clock as fatigue and sweat calls them to the making of the tools to defend our liberty. That American youth will forget. No Texas American boy will lay down a tool when danger threatens his mothers and sisters and no Texas youth I know anything about will uphold a Lindbergh if fear or a Wheeler plotting the peace with Hitler or a betrayal of freedom. There is a unity in the soul of man. Because soulless persons who for profit or for power seek to betray the soul of Texas shall be told in the election ahead that the gospel of fear is not their gospel! We do not see enemies behind every bush in Texas. We know the enemy is Hitler and the slant-eyed Japs who seek to profit as a _____. There are no people in Texas that shall form a _____ for a _____ and when you vote your judgment on June 28th, please remember whether you vote for me or for someone else; please remember that you vote as a privileged person; that you vote as a person who has a stake of much time and much _____ in this stake that God has given us. Go to the

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would drive to power. In the sunlight of youth, we stretch out millions
strong our hands to Roosevelt. He will carry on through the crisis.
The best that comes will be a just best, your best, a freeman's best.
It will be in a world of sweat and toil and that world will be yours.
The world of the woman who love, the world that is to be in the
parliament of man and in the dignity of plain man and in the dignity
of the soul of the average.

Johnson

(2)

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Like Roosevelt

says youth has the first concern. *(is given)* It ~~has been~~ said that maternity is

the greatest flower of the human race, ~~that~~ *But* the mothers of this, our

America, know that there is one more supreme quality in life and the

mothers that hear me and their sons and daughters see that their _____

who have the humanity?
study & service to humanity is the supreme quality of this

now and forever as time marches on.

human voice

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perils of this day but the youth of America is not afraid. It was not

born that way. It was not taught that way. It can not feel that way.

But the youth of America in its freedom that comes only to free men,

knows that it is the strength and the soul which upholds the light of

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college campuses which meet Lindbergh. Wheeler visits those who say
they will not fight, no matter what the issue. But those are so few

and their minds are so bitter and their fear so great, ~~their bitterness~~
^{that we have not the time now to crusade for their education,}
and ~~is that I am sure Texas youth is not concerned.~~ Through

this state of pioneers and simple people, there is a strength and a
courage lending intelligent power of humility which says: "Carry on,
Roosevelt, we are proud to train. We are willing to work. We know
that you are the father of us all."

Down the road of the years no one may see what is to be ^{for capital} captured
^{of leadership in the making & selling of things and things as objects}
~~in labor and money.~~ All those things may be jumbled, but the spirit of

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Handwritten notes on the right margin:
... youth...
... no modern...
... the leadership...
... a guide to leadership...
... for all to re-own by...

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^{say to that era who produces straight ahead}
^{peace} pessimist; at any price ^{the danger into all the democracy would use} philosophy and the ~~denied~~ who, through fear,

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It will be in a world of sweat and toil and that world will be yours.

The world of the woman who love, the world that is to be in the

parliament of man and in the dignity of plain man and in the dignity

of the soul of the average.

These who have seen woman and may be said _____ see woman as that which justifies the _____ in the God we seek, for woman carries on the race itself. If there were an end to the job of living it would not be joined with good. There would merely be an end and that is a futile thing. So women who carry the burden of the race are now concerned about the race and its very great danger. No woman who bore a man child ever wished him to be in danger so the women are the greatest pacifists in the love they have for those they bear but I know women are greater than men. Women are also greater lovers of men. Women love their men to be noble. Women are not mean and small. As they flower in the love of man and in the giving of birth.

And Texas women seeing this thing in all the reality of the present know that their boys and that their job of carrying on the race will be a futile thing unless their men are noble. What Texas woman would want a coward turning his back upon the danger that is ours? What Texas woman would ask her man to lay down the tools of freedom at a time like this? What Texas woman wouldn't keep extra hours and extra effort as the price of freedom?

A very wise man who has been spoken of as amstic said recently:

"I have asked to take a part in the civilian moral ~~at~~ that is to be if we are to save ourselves. I know, he said, the moral of the men of Americanis no greater than the women will it to be. I know that men do little more than their women ask them to do for the men loving a woman and taking the responsibility for her safety and happiness expect her to draw the _____ and if women seek safety today, regardless of the dangers of tomorrow, they are not thinking of the horror in the days to come so Texas women whom I know have said to me "Be not afraid, Lyndon; we women know more than we seem to know. We women may _____ our men. We women will evidence to our men our love by saying those we do not mean know Texas man born of a Texas pioneer woman needs to be told that vision was hers. The daughter of such a woman can not be frightened. The daughters of such women shall not ask their men to sit and hope when the sights of death and slavery are apreading throughout a world ever closer, ever nearer in than space. Texas women want to see their men go forward. They want to say "We can take it. We can uphold the power. We will say that add is well". Sometime in those hours when the ~~men~~ of the world seems greater every Texas man has gone to some Texas woman for that strength which refreshes and stimulates and revives, so the

responsibility of Texas women is to know the truth; frequently to speak the truth and not to frighten or cajole either themselves or their men. Texas mothers will say to their sons "You are youth and in the days to come, you will not be afraid. You will do the thing that you may do to save the liberty of us all. Young women of Texas with their first child at the breast will not falter. They will know that the child is the dignity and the promise of their lives. They will say to the father; "Work in belief in the _____ and in the family and in God". In the former war Texas women were not willing. Some have gone on loving the heritage of their work and of their dignity but if I were to say what I believe to be the greatest promise for the defeat of Hitler, I would say that it lies in the clean soul of the American woman telling and expecting her man to save all for the safety of one and everyone.

Johnson

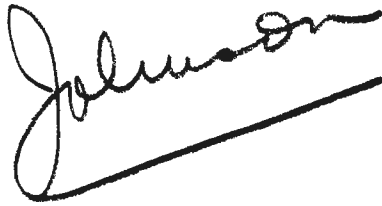
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a woman and taking the responsibility for her safety and happiness
expect her to draw the _____ and if women seek safety today, re-
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Radio Address
Austin, Texas
Monday, June 16, 1941
8:30 - 9:00 p.m.

My Friends and Neighbors of Central Texas:

In my opening speech in this campaign I said: Good will toward all and malice toward none and I hope they will let me finish it that way. And I continue in that spirit tonight. In a campaign, you know, we have to clean up the rubbish as we go along. Last week the rubbish was a mis-statement a candidate broadcast over Texas about how Congressman Dies and I have voted against parity against the interest of the farmers. This week the broadcast is about how honest the candidates are.

This candidate doesn't openly make any charges this time. This time he is intellectually biased -- that is, his mind is vague or weary or tired. There is only the implication that he is the one man who has a monopoly on honesty.

There's no time for ill nature. I have only a moment. He starts by talking about plaques in his office; then his income tax; his children who are not old enough to work. These have nothing to do with the defense of America, bringing happiness to our senior citizens, or establishing the defense program in Texas. They seem to be personal affairs of Gerald Mann. He spent one minute the other day, saying, awkwardly, that Candidates Dies and Johnson were friends of the farmer and he'd made a mistake. He spent the next several minutes establishing his claim to all the honesty of all honest men everywhere and putting his honesty-flag on the highest peak of the Davis mountains.

I have not purchased a plaque to hang over my desk or to use as a sign on my chest, attesting to my honesty. I shall not brag about a virtue I believe all the candidates possess or attempt to imply that

which personal courage isn't sufficient to charge. Will you people who have been eating and sleeping and living with me all my life, tell Texans what you have learned from association, not from my bragging?

Lyndon Johnson never mis-reads records, or misquotes votes, or waits for days to correct them. For me that honest verdict may be written by all with whom I have associated, from the humblest citizen who knows me, to the President who has honored me by calling me his old and trusted friend. You folks here know the fact I have not stolen is not an issue on which I should serve you and your President in this hour of peril. My income is derived as wages from you for my work as a Congressman. My mother lives off of a part of that income. A sick sister lives off of another part of it. A devoted wife lives off of what her mother left her and all the rest I can rake up. I realize some other candidates or some of their family may have made money they feel they were entitled to by making speeches or conducting a flour business. I have never made a cent for a speech and I do not operate a private business.

But because I haven't I do not question either the integrity or the honor of other candidates. I realize others may have brother-managers and former law-partners who go to Washington to promote pipelines for oil men. I know former law partners receive from the hands of men who wear plaques and boast of integrity, huge receivership fees which may or may not go to pay to broadcast daily isolated civic club polls and brass plaques.

Lyndon Johnson tells you none of his family or former managers or partners has come to him or will come to him on private or public promotions -- but he cheerfully accepts without regret the assertions of each individual that he is virtuous without expectancy of editorial comment or hope of front-page newspaper-space grabbing.

Lyndon Johnson knows the world is on fire and who can best defend

America is the only issue. He's not trying to dodge or evade.

I have no time and you have no time to chase up the hill and pull down this personal-honesty flag. Let's leave it there, while we gather seven-million strong behind the American flag and Roosevelt. I have no time to establish other things. Now let's talk about important things.

The most pleasant business in the world is coming home. Coming home in the rush of this stirring campaign for United States Senator to visit you, to tell you the score is in our favor.

You folks know me and I know you. You know what I think and how I work. And I know what you think and how you work. For many years we have worked together. We have shared trials and disappointments, as well as victories and progress.

Four years ago you and I entered into a contract. Twice since then you have hired me as your Congressman. You have been good enough to put me back on the job each time without opposition.

Back in 1937 there was a lot to do. We found our district a land of opportunity and we resolved to make the most of it. The mayors of our cities, our county officials, our chambers of commerce, American Legion posts, civic clubs, women's societies and clubs, churches and schools -- everybody -- banded together.

We were washed out by floods in those days. So we completed our Colorado River development -- fifty million dollars' worth of it. We stopped those floods, which cost us five million dollars a year and many lives. We're making cheap electric power with our flood waters tonight to pay for our four dams and to maintain a power reserve in Texas that America needs in this time of peril. We have run REA lines across this district and into many surrounding districts, and 12,000 farm homes here have electricity at \$1.25 a month this evening. We put our jobless men and women to work and kept them at work and on payrolls through the years.

We helped our farmers buy homes of their own. We fought all the way down the line for 100 per cent. parity. We have worked for equalization of freight rates, for better soil conservation and reclamation programs. We cleared out slums. We needed new schools and city and county buildings, so we built them. And we did many other things. As a result, our cities have grown, our people are more prosperous, we are all healthier and happier, and we all live better American lives.

How did we do all these things? We did them with unity of effort, one-ness of purpose, and co-operation in all things.

Now we have a bigger job before us and one even more important than all the jobs we've done. Across the Pacific and across the Atlantic everything we hold good is threatened. Fifteen free peoples have already been destroyed. England alone holds back the flood waters of conquest and aggression. Unless we can so prepare ourselves in the next few months that no one will dare attack us, we may lose our liberties, our freedom -- yes, our very lives. War is not far from us -- and peace is what we want.

Peace. I want it and you want it. But the day my conscience requires me to cast my vote to send your boy to the trenches to snatch your democracy and my democracy from the flames, that day Lyndon Johnson will leave his Senate seat to go with him. My senate seat will never be used to keep bullets away from me.

The job is this: To keep war away from our shores by getting aid to England now; to prepare ourselves so we shall be invincible, and to keep our country and our people sound and secure.

You home folks know how we have done our work, so you know how we can and will get the big job done. With unity, under the leadership we elected in our democracy. Last November we elected President Roosevelt for a third term and overwhelmingly endorsed his foreign policy. We sent our representatives to the House and Senate. But one key man has dropped out of the ranks. He was Senator Morris Sheppard. Morris Sheppard gave

his unstinted and unselfish and loyal support to President Roosevelt. He believed in national defense and worked himself to death that we might have it, fully and completely. On June 28, Texans must send to Washington a man who can take up where Morris Sheppard left off. The question is: What kind of a man will he be, and how will the man we elect fit into the pattern of Roosevelt and unity that our millions of votes have already endorsed and approved?

Central Texans know that when you're co-operating, to harness a flooding river in Texas or to stop Hitler and the Japs in their tracks over the seas, you don't want some heckler on your track sticking pins in you, distracting you. You want a good soldier and a good worker.

All except a little shirt-tail full of wishful-thinking isolationists in the United States Senate and Lindbergh are aware of our danger, and are united in determination and resolution to meet it.

There can be no compromise with the fundamental necessity to defend ourselves and to drive back the threat of slavery that now hangs over all peoples who are still free, and all of those who, now enslaved, long for freedom.

My mail shows that every day thousands of Texans are realizing which candidate in this race for the United States Senate is best equipped by experience, by work and labor done, to deal with that problem for them in the Senate. They know which man in this race has a realistic understanding of the fact that first things must come first, and what the first things are. The defense of America is our daytime and our nighttime job.

Texans know that they do not need a man in Washington to call the roll for them. They do not need men who enlist for eighteen months. They need a Senator who has coonskins. They realize that the Secretary of the Navy knows Lyndon Johnson, knows he can deal with him directly and

quickly without taking the time to get acquainted with him and check his facts. He knows that Lyndon Johnson has been bringing straight and accurate facts to the Navy Department about Texas and our nation's defense for many years.

Texans know something else. Texans know that oil is a vital source of revenue to the State of Texas. Texans need a man in Washington who can be called by his first name by the man responsible to the nation for the use of this defense resource. They need a man whom the oil co-ordinator knows. When he gets a call from Lyndon Johnson for an appointment, he won't have to call up Texas to find out: What about the junior senator from Texas. He will know about the junior senator from Texas.

And all through the government in Washington there are men -- in the White House, from the commander-in-chief down to the last secretary, in the Department of Agriculture, in the War Department, in the State Department -- who know that when Lyndon Johnson comes in to do business they are dealing with a man who has done the job for Texas and for the United States many, many times.

The people of Texas want to know, in this most critical hour of our country's history, that they are represented by a Senator who believes that our peril is great -- as they believe it is great. They want a Senator who is unafraid. They want to be represented by a Senator who believes that the way to meet our common peril is through the unity of our determination and the unity of our efforts in building up the greatest defense any nation has ever had. They want a Senator who will say and prove that, until the defense job is finished, there are no jobs of any greater importance to do.

Texas wants honesty of government, and Texas wants the President of the United States to be surrounded by the best available men to help him in his great task. Texas wants Communism and Nazism stamped out of

this country. Your President forcefully and effectively did a real job today when he ordered the Nazi consulates closed. This is better than talk.

Texas wants labor and capital and every hand and brain in the country united in the work that must be done. And you, my neighbors, and all of Texas know that Lyndon Johnson wants all these things.

There's a place in this world for things of the spirit. There is also a place in this world for the practical man. I don't claim to possess the great spirit which is President Roosevelt. A President Roosevelt comes only once in a century. I believe that God knew and does know of the need of this world at this moment. I don't believe that President Roosevelt is an accident in time, or it is an accident he's President for the third time. I believe that Franklin D. Roosevelt truly is the voice of liberty in this world.

And I believe that Texas knows this. Just because the President's voice spoke about me as an old and trusted friend is no reason alone why Texas should vote for me. But a few words from President Roosevelt mean much to me, as one of the men in the work with him to beat Hitler back on his heels. A few words from the President, calling me a friend, are rich payment for four years of work in fighting for a navy on two oceans, protecting us against the Jap and the despots of Europe.

A few words from President Roosevelt may appeal to the voters of Texas as worth listening to. But that is the business of the voters of Texas and the business of the President -- not my business.

If the people of Texas on June 28 believe it is a friendly act to give the President the man he wants in the Senate to fill the seat of Morris Sheppard, then the people of Texas will vote that way.

But I think this vote is more than friendship. I shall continue my work here for the Tenth District, whether I am in Congress or the Senate.

It is my very great desire to increase my labor so that I may help your Congress and twenty other Congressmen in defending America through Texas labor, Texas capital, Texas man-power and Texas resources. We Texas people can't see money when human beings are before our eyes. We know, because we've heard, that twenty billion dollars will be spent in the coming months to save democracy under Roosevelt. Five cents on every dollar must come from Texas to pay this bill. This means one billion dollars is Texas' bill for defense and liberty under Roosevelt in the first twelve months I shall be your Senator. So this is to be my job -- to see that one billion dollars of defense activity comes to Texas from Washington.

I've had some experience in this in a peacetime of depression while I have served this district. And with you people who hear me, I have brought almost 100 million dollars worth of peace-time work to Texas.

In defending America, my neighbor-Congressman, Richard Kleberg will tell you, I aided, through my membership on the naval affairs committee, the defense of America by helping locate the great naval training base at Corpus Christi. So our Gulf is safe now, our two oceans are safe, and now the job of the next twelve months is to be:

FIRST: The defense of America under Roosevelt, and

SECOND: The protection of Texas family life, by seeing that Texas gets her fair share of defense activity as she pays her fair share of the bill.

I'm not thinking of money alone in this. I am thinking of the men and women, the women and children. I'm thinking of men and measures. I know that if Texas farms lie idle and unproductive through low prices, there'll be no happiness here. So I shall fight for parity always.

I know that Texas cities cannot have happy families if the manhood of Texas is taken to the north and east by defense activity. There are in this state the materials and the men to beat Hitler. As your salesman

-- yes, as your yesman, as the water-carrier of the President -- as the man who believes in Roosevelt, not now and then but always -- I tell you that I shall bridge the line between Texas happiness and national defense.

I shall see that Texas families remain in Texas working for defense. I shall see that Texas cities get what is coming to them in the plan of national defense. No Wall Street shall run Texas into a ditch of post-war depression. No group of greedy companies shall center defense work where their plants are now located if Texas has the men and the materials to compete in serving Roosevelt and unity and America and liberty.

I can get into the White House with Texas' message. I can see the admirals. I shall see generals. I shall haunt the war and navy departments. I shall advise and meet with the men of Texas for I know that the Texas family is sending me to Washington June 28 and the Texas family wants to work with Roosevelt against Hitler in Texas.

The last war was not so good to Texas. Hundreds of thousands of Texas fathers and sons sought work elsewhere. Property values grew less. Vacant houses and stores and shops filled our cities. Payrolls went elsewhere and in the wake of it all was the anguish and unhappiness which always comes when men leave wives and sons leave mothers and the American family ceases to be under its own roof, and under its own shade-tree, and worshipping in the church of its choice.

I pledge you to protect the Texas family, the Texas home and Texas business and Texas wages and Texas workmen by bringing the money and the contracts -- not as a Congressman just to my district, but to business and towns in every corner of the State. In the defense of America your President believes Texas may help him stop Hitler. I shall never advocate our work for a single proposition which I think is waste or wrongly placed, but I shall fight with every ounce of a young man's energy for the rights of Texas to war work, against the greed of anyone, anywhere.

As I said when I started -- it is good to come home, to one's own people. You folks have been spreading our gospel over this state. I know, for I have seen your work wherever I have been. Out of Central Texas the great tide has risen, and it is stirring the remotest corners of Texas. We are going to carry on to victory with the things we have loved and fought for on June twenty-eight and Lyndon Johnson is going to Washington to take your message to the Commander-in-Chief -- and the message of all Texas: Here is our man, Mr. President, and with you we march ahead -- to victory.

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THE PLAZA IN CORPUS CHRISTI
AIR CONDITIONED
MATT TRACY, MANAGER



the
white-plaza
hotels

JACK WHITE, OPERATOR



THE WHITE-PLAZA IN DALLAS
AIR CONDITIONED
JACK CHANEY, MANAGER

Corpus Christi, Texas

June 17, 1941

Lyndon:

Johnson

Get a list of every reporter with you, and be sure to spend fifteen minutes with him alone so he can get a feature story if he wants one. This is important for next Sunday, and ask each man if he wants an individual picture or story, and if you can help him. A general picture or a back story won't do it, and there is 500,000 circulation involved. This job should definitely be done before noon Thursday.

I am giving a copy of this to Buck, and asking him to work it out without fail.

C. E. M.

P. S. This is as important as your poll last Sunday.

Jalruson

June 19, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

In the final days of a campaign, most candidates get very rough, swapping punches. Reverse this. You end as an idealist, a patriot, a good natured man who knows that in democracy this vote is merely the people sending someone to Roosevelt to help him, that the people are always right if they have been given the information. You should summarize the man at Fort Worth as per the attached, and then begin to say in a very fine and broad way what your vision is of a Senator statesman in defense days (at San Antonio where the defense work is so large) and in the days of defense and the victory of the democracies and the peace to come (this at Houston. You close there and take a plane for Washington and the job, being on it to step into the work the very moment you know you are elected. It is not a matter of being inducted into office, it is a matter of being on the job clearing our and moving into real work Monday morning. Time is very short.)

C. E. M.

There have been eight weeks of talk by twenty-eight persons who wish to be your Sneaker.

Four weeks ago it became apparent that one of four men would be chosen by Texas voters on June twenty-eighth.

These men are Governor O'Daniel; myself, Lyndon Johnson; Gerald Mann, your Attorney General; and Congressman Martin Dies.

Now, in the last week of the campaign, the business of selection is up to you--not up to me, or Dies, or O'Daniel, or Mann.

It will only take a moment for anyone to mark his ballot on June twenty-eighth. As a democracy we may vote in freedom without fear of punishment or hope of reward. The simple act of voting on June twenty-eighth is the highest privilege yet remaining in this world which governments may grant to any one. So at this moment as you and I are somewhat worn by all the chatter and all the talk, and all the arguments, I feel it fitting to sum up in the simplest words I know the things that you are to do next Saturday, and just what it means.

The act that you are to do next Saturday in one moment, and what it means to you, a Texan I want to sum up, but, first, may we pause a moment to clear away the rubbish?

I think you and I feel that Congressman Dies has had a good batting average voting for good measures in the last ten years more than he has voted for bad measures. I think, and perhaps you think, that his service in awakening Congress two years ago from a rather sluggish attitude of self satisfaction was a worthwhile work. But, when Congressman Dies passed over the line of reason and co-operation with the President about one year ago, I felt that unity between the Commander-in-Chief and Congressman Dies had become strained. I hoped good feeling would return. Instead, as the great machinery of this government moved into a motion policing capital and labor for the public good, Congressman Dies seems to have missed the boat. He became a captain of his own little mosquito fleet as the big

ships of the line swing into action on both oceans. He became a quarrelsome driver of a Model T Ford, chasing the Commander-in-Chief at the wheel of the armoured car. He became the ten cent/^{tent} show while the crowd moved in under the big top. It is often so. Men sometimes pause too long and too importantly as events move forward.

Your Commander-in-Chief is on the job on all fronts, inside this country and outside this country. The voice of your President talks to his people in Texas and in the forty-eight states. The same voice talks to South America in terms of unity and in the tone of the good neighbor. The Roosevelt voice tells the jeering Japs, and the Maniac Germany, where to head in. And I, Lyndon Johnson, thirty-two, and only a few years out of the Blanco Hills, believe that the voice of Roosevelt has come to us from Somewhere at the time of our great need. And I was shocked when early, and repeatedly, in this Senatorial race Congressman Dies told Texas, 99 per cent behind the President, that he felt it his duty to fight with Roosevelt at this, or any other hour he pleased. That is what Texas, on June twenty-eighth, will not send Congressman Martin Dies to the Senate. He stayed over-long, shouted over-loud, and picked the wrong time to fight/^{with} Roosevelt. I touch upon for a moment my personal objection to Congressman Dies as a candidate to succeed Sheppard. Sheppard worked always with the President. The soul of Sheppard was that of a gentle person, one who knew the meaning of the words Commander-in-Chief. Many a time have I heard the gracious voice of Sheppard say, "I am voting with the President on this." In fact, I never heard Sheppard say anything else before a vote dear to the heart of Sheppard's Commander-in-Chief, for Sheppard loved Roosevelt, and Sheppard trusted Roosevelt, and Sheppard had no personal ax to grind. I personally think that Congressman Dies sometimes is blinded in his very great energy. He has not always used the method of unity with his fellow Congressmen, with his fellow Senators, and his fellow workman--the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt. He has threatened. He has bullied. And, perhaps, he has not been wise in charging fees for speeches about the American flag.

He may not have been correct for taking money for telling people to look for spies. But that—the taking of money for talking patriotism—is a small thing. The fact that Congressman Dies has not worked well with Roosevelt, and that Congressman Dies says publicly that he will fight Roosevelt whenever he feels like it is the thing that makes him dangerous in this hour as we face Hitler under unity with Roosevelt.

Let us have a clean out of the cob webs from the attack at Austin. Let us have a clean house as we vote on June twenty-eighth.

Your Governor, who seeks to leave Austin after six months of a two-year contract which you gave him last fall, may not have cleaned up either the attic of his mind or the attic at Austin where he now lives. Governor O'Daniel has often said that he is a lonely man. His loneliness may have increased as the campaign crowds of former years grow thin. The sweet voice of former years does not sound the same. Perhaps the Governor has become confused about the people of Texas.

Wherein lies this confusion? ~~Is it~~ Why do we hear so many queer statements from the Governor's mouth? Why are so many people tired of coming to hear a man who only two years ago could draw a crowd of twenty thousand people to his singing?

I think the answer is that Governor O'Daniel fell asleep, in his loneliness, to the real needs of Texas people and of this nation. In this great year of Roosevelt and unity facing Hitler, he simply has become old fashioned, self satisfied, and ill natured.

He seems to be tired of Austin and his work there. He seems to be tired of Texas and his work for Texas. He has itching feet. He wishes to go places to help people who don't need him and don't want him. And after six months of a two year job, he seems to believe that he has earned the trip.

I don't think six million Texans agree with Governor O'Daniel about this trip. I don't believe any elderly farmers laying in the hay will want the farm hand to drop the pitchfork as the hay is being put in the barn and the clouds are gathering. That is the reason why the elder citizens of Texas prefer Governor O'Daniel in Austin on the job of getting twenty Texas dollars for elder citizens

during the next eighteen months of his contract while Lyndon Johnson hastens twenty Washington dollars to make the forty that the team of O'Daniel and Johnson should and can get for them in the eighteen months that they have to work this thing out. The money is already at Washington. All I am needed, as one of a two-horse team is to see that not one moment of delay occurs in getting the money from Washington to you just as fast as the Governor gets it from the Legislature to you. So on June 28 as you are voting on O'Daniel and Johnson, it will be Johnson to Washington with Roosevelt. This seems—eighteen months for O'Daniel at Austin, and eighteen months for Johnson at Washington—a good two-horse team to bring in the hay, if I know from Blanco days what a good team means, when time is short and the rain is near. If the team of O'Daniel at Austin and Johnson at Washington doesn't get busy June 29, the very great need of all hands out to whip Hitler may find our elder citizens without hands or teams to get the hay into the barn. I pledge that Lyndon Johnson will be at his desk on June 29 in the Senate to work for the elder citizens of Texas. The team and the work ahead is to get forty dollars for every elder citizen of Texas as soon as possible. It is later than we think. In the great peace to come after Hitler is no more, I shall work on it at Washington as your Senator to bring about that great hope of Roosevelt regarding every person in this land. He has often told me that he hopes before his voice is silent that every elder citizen in these United States by divine right and by divine justice shall be given adequate security in the afternoon of his life so that in dignity under the sight of God and with his fellow man he may pursue happiness to the end of his days. When that day comes, old age pensions will not be the football of politics by radio.

Such was the dream of Roosevelt in '32, when your Governor was selling flour by radio. And such will be the work of Lyndon Johnson, your Senator, when your Governor returns to private life. But during the next eighteen months, I pledge you I shall team up with Governor O'Daniel for the balance of his term to get the hay in. So I do not think it important whether Governor O'Daniel last fall whether Governor O'Daniel was one of the two Democratic Governors who spoke no word

I can understand how Governor O'Daniel may not have believed in a third term for any President, at any time, under any circumstances. I do not think it important whether Governor O'Daniel now says that he is a very great radio friend of the President, even though the Governor's radio voice was silent last fall.

Nor is it important whether or not Governor O'Daniel believes that he can run Washington better than President Roosevelt. Any man has a right to his own belief. And it is alright with me for Governor O'Daniel to believe that he is a man of destiny, that he is headed for the Presidency of the United States in 1944, but by way of an eighteen months work out in the Senate.

As a Texan, other things being equal, I would be proud to have a Texan in the President's seat at Washington, but I do object passionately to dishonesty of the kind. I object to the silence of Governor O'Daniel last fall. I object to his silence during the last sixty days on the real object which urged him to make this Senate race, and most of all, I object to the method and the means which fired the ambition of Governor O'Daniel, for I believe that no American, no one hundred per cent American, permits a personal ambition to rule his life when the life of a million must now survive or perish under unity with Roosevelt.

A third candidate, Gerald Mann, the Attorney General, has, I am sure, your sympathy as well as mine. I doubt that Gerald Mann knowingly has ever done anything wrong in his life.

Mann apparently is convinced that he has a peculiar sort of honesty, that of all the twenty-eight candidates in the senatorial race he stands supreme as a beacon light of all that is good and fair among men. That has been his campaign. On the issue of personal honesty Gerald Mann seeks to fill the seat of Morris Sheppard on June twenty-eighth. Mann has exhibited this honesty in symbol and in speech. A plaque above his office door tells of it. His every speech reeks of it. To my taste, and to my way of thinking, he has protested over-much of how good and kind and honest is Gerald Mann in his own eyes.

Of all the men I have ever known through my thirty-two years, the most honest have been those who never spoke of honesty. I do not remember a supremely honest man ever admitting, much less bragging of this very wide spread virtue.

In Texas honesty is as wide spread as the blue bonnets or the yellow daises. There is something in the very soil of Texas that favors the growth of plain speaking.

The word of the pioneer cattleman was his bond. The oil men in this modern time who get along best, are men who are jealous of their spoken word in trades amounting to the millions.

The business of Texas, at least until recently, has been largely done in the open spaces where no written, signed, and sealed document was possible. And so it grew up in Texas—a proud and silent brand of honesty which no one sought to question.

But I wonder whether any of you have found any honest man who has spent sixty days talking about it?

The record may be something different, unless we follow Gerald Mann and declare that honesty is a matter of dollars and cents. Was it honest in Gerald Mann last fall as one of three or four officially prominent Democrats of a great Democratic state to keep silent when the first man in the Democratic party was fighting for his political life against the bourbons of Wall Street and the bourbons of Texas? Is it honest of Gerald Mann to be faintly annoyed that there is such a thing as the defense of America to muddy up the waters of a serene campaign of the old fashioned kind? Is it honest of Gerald Mann not to speak strongly when the Lindberghs threaten Roosevelt and unity?

Is it honest of Gerald Mann to express privately a deep resentment toward Franklin D. Roosevelt for having called me, Lyndon Johnson, his old and trusted friend, and then to speak in feeble, though honest, words about the great leader Roosevelt concerning whom he was so silent last fall?

Was it honest of Gerald Mann to label Congressman Dies and Congressman Johnson enemies of the Texas and the American farmers and then to wait three days before admitting his mistake?

Was it honest of this same Mann to say that his charge is in error without stating that he had pursued the record very closely and that he had not found a

a single vote in the Congressional Record of either Dies or Johnson which was not friendly to the Texas farmers, the Texas ranchmen, and the Texas fruitgrowers?

Manliness is a strange and silent thing. Intellectual honesty is a pearl of great price. This campaign has not shown Gerald Mann showing much of either manliness nor of intellectual honesty. Flaques will not do it.

And so, as four men face the barrier of the last race week of this Senate campaign, I say with confidence that I believe Texas intelligence will speak my name first on June 28. I do not say this because I am honest, or because I am trying by a devious route to reach a presidency, or because I believe that I have a special message for the American people which no one else has.

I believe Lyndon Johnson is first June 28 because Texas people will say so. Texas voters, who have never heard Senator Sheppard ever say he was honest, will fill his seat with a man whom they believe is both financially and intellectually honest. They are favoring a candidate who has said plainly that he did not want the votes next Saturday of Lindbergh worshippers, or of labor racketeers, or of any men who put selfish ambition above the defense of America.

I do not ask for a vote in my favor on June 28 merely because your Commander-in-Chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt, has seen fit to recommend me as an effective and sincere workman. I value the recommendation, and it may be some guide for your decision. I have told you frankly that I shall vote and work under the guidance and direction of this very great man who has said he is my friend. But you know that he is your friend. You know that Franklin Roosevelt is very conscious that Texas three times has given a vote of 90 per cent behind his leadership. In times of want, and in times of danger, the man supreme in the regard of Texas voters has been Franklin D. Roosevelt. You know already that your vote of Johnson first next Saturday will please your President. But I know Roosevelt well enough to tell you now that he will love Texas just as much if Texas disagrees with the judgement of the Commander-in-Chief. That is the right of Texas, and when the President recently wired me to stay in Texas to carry the message of this and the need of an

all out defense behind Roosevelt to the Texas people that he had said all that he should say.

The rest is up to you. In the democratic way you Texas voters must decide--not Johnson and not Roosevelt--but you.

Awaiting only Saturday to go to work for Roosevelt and unity as your Senator, my final word is that you may not be one who approaches the ballot box with any other thought than to cast your vote for the safety and the peace and the unity of your country.

June 19, 1941

Note to L. B. J.:

Johnson

In these two general speeches there should be special inserts which I have not attempted. That is, the local paragraph on defense activities and needs of Fort Worth, Dallas, San Antonio, and Houston. These should be rather carefully prepared by telephone calls to your city managers or to newspaper editors, and should be short. But be sure that you hit the big item and not the smaller.

C. E. M.

Houston, Texas
Friday, June 27, 1941

Tomorrow you vote. My work takes me from this city of Houston back to Washington for unity with Roosevelt. My ballot has been cast. You, casting yours tomorrow, will cross out the names of twenty-seven Democrats, and leave the name of one unmarked. You, as Democrats, will cross out names appearing on the Republican side of the ballot, and so, one name will be left unmarked as your choice to take the seat of Morris Sheppard in the Senate behind Roosevelt. If the choice of all Texas is that I, Lyndon Johnson, am to be your Senator, it is fitting that I thank you now for your confidence. It is fitting that I tell you how I feel tonight as my work in this campaign ends, and my work at Washington begins. No man may speak of sureness of the future, but any man may speak with sureness of what he hopes the future will be.

I hope and pray for peace for America. I know that should your President and leader ever say that war is necessary to stop Hitler over there, that I shall also be a warrior for peace and liberty. Neither a Senate seat nor a draft card shall stop me.

But hoping and working for peace, I pledge that the prosperity and happiness of six millions of Texans shall be my only guide. He who would be a pessimist in the days ahead is not worthy of the spirit of Texas which votes when the next day dawns. I believe that God has ordered that free men shall exist upon this earth. I believe that Franklin D. Roosevelt is not an accident in the scheme of things which provides for the dignity and happiness of free men. I believe that Hitler will be beaten. I believe that this awful German drive for world slavery will fail.

I believe that history will write in the granite of permanence that the free spirit of a free America beat back a despot, in the early years of the nineteen forties. It may not be this year. It may not even be next year, but I do believe that before the 18 month's of this contract as Senator ends, which I hope tomorrow I shall hold from you Texas voters, that Americans brave, strong, industrious, and unified will stop Hitler over there--not over here. I believe that America shall

feel the foot of any German goosestep. And believing that the life and the health and the judgement of one man is our greatest assurance of this, I pledge you unity with Roosevelt.

Let all those who have for sixty days called me a water carrier, a yes man, a coattail rider, and all the names which mean so little in days like this, now cease this name calling. Tomorrow is another day.

I go to Washington, with or without this contract as Senator, but I do know that I go to Washington willing and fighting and voting and planning for peace. But I shall never accept the Lindbergh way of peace with dishonor. I shall never accept or vote the Wheeler way of a compromise with an advancing murderer so that we may sleep a while before slavery comes. I shall not fight with Roosevelt. I shall not attempt to take from him a Hull or a Knox or a Jones. I shall stay in there and pitch the Roosevelt way. Yes, and I shall carry a water bucket. I shall hold his hat. I shall dust off his coat, if that is the thing that I may best do, as this man works for you and me. It would be a proud privilege to pour a glass of water for this man Roosevelt, as he labors tired and thirsty the long hours of the night. And I know that every Texan who votes for me tomorrow would join me at Washington on the call of President Roosevelt. Your Commander-in-Chief has called me many times to do many jobs. He says that I have not failed him, and that you have been told makes me a water boy. So let's leave it at that, and I leave ^{it} tomorrow to you and your vote. But looking ahead as a man who may see forty more years of service for self and Texas, I say that Hitler is a passing thing. There are to be decades of peace ahead. This land, this Texas, which has been blessed to pursue happiness with God and family, in the days to come ^{shall have} days of peace, days of democracy, days of freedom, days of bravery, days of toil, and days filled with the dignity of the average man.

This is the privilege I seek--the service of Texas manhood and Texas womanhood as long as I may live in health and vigor. For me, it is enough to say, "God and freedom and Roosevelt."

Insert:

As heat has distorted this campaign, men have accused Lyndon Johnson of serving his President that he might serve himself. It has been said that tens of millions of federal money have been put into the tenth district to harness rivers, to prevent floods, give electricity to lonely country homes, to build for those in need of cleanliness and light for themselves and their children. I shall not defend the charge that this money has come to Texas because I know how to get on the good side of a great and powerful man. The man himself says that I have done well in planning and building and administering for three hundred thousand Texans whom I have served for four years. It might have been easier simply to build fences-- political fences--by moving around Texas during four years at barbecues and luncheon clubs getting acquainted with other hundreds of thousands who might vote for me. I am ambitious for greater service than that of a Congressman for three hundred thousand people. I am ambitious to serve six million people in twenty-one Congressional Districts. But I know that the easiest way to get a job from those who do not think deeply is to be on the move where the voters live and have their beings. But my work would not have it so. I shall have to depend Saturday, June twenty-eighth, on a greater thing. I must depend upon that very great wisdom which has made democracy supreme. This wisdom is a silent thing. Men and women go to the polls in hundreds of thousands Saturday to vote what is best for them as men and women. If my record of service is sound, I shall be named your Senator Saturday. Texas voters will not be afraid to vote for me because I have not met as many as some. Texas voters in silent multitudes will go to the polls and leave the name Lyndon Johnson uncrossed on the ballot, if they have heard from men who know me and men whom they trust that I am worthy of their trust. The people of Austin and Central Texas whom I have served, and know are so unanimously behind me for a Senator that I hesitate to forecast the vote of Central Texas Saturday. But I know that these same people of Blanco and Travis and Williamson, and all of the counties I have served have friends throughout the state to whom they have

recommended me as the best Texan to serve where Sheppard served. And at the other end of the line where I served from day to day, I have always with me now, and until the day I die, the statement of approval from the Chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

These recommendations from my people and from my President I give you-- you people whom sixty days has not given me a chance to see. In the days ahead there will be more time. I hope, as your Senator, to visit and eat and sleep and learn in every county of Texas--the better that I may serve my Texas.

The news of this week says that the beat-Hitler bill will cost Americans one hundred billion dollars in defense of liberty. If so, if Texas is not to be unfairly treated in this business of defense, a very strong representative is needed in the United States Senate, where Senator Sheppard laid down his life. This man must have strength, youth, and drive and loyalty, to get the job done. This job is to bring to Texas the fullest reality in the defense effort, if the books are to be balanced so that dollars and men are not drained from Texas. Every available resource and every available Texas man must be used in Texas in the defense of America, if our bill, as Texans beating Hitler, is to be five billion dollars. And I say your Senator in Washington should join as a fourth fighter for defense your Connally, your Jones, and your Rayburn. Two strong Senators, a great cabinet officer, and a great Speaker of the House of Representatives, should be your reliance that Texas be not bled white of men and money in beating Hitler. I can, and shall, work with Jones, and Rayburn, and Connally. There is unity in this thing.

I do not see this job as a money job. I see it as men and work in Texas, for if the vast resources of Texas in material and men are not used to the fullest in defense work in Texas, it is certain that materials and men and money now in Texas shall leave the state to the harm of Texas.

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June 19, 1941

Johnson

Note to L. B. J.:

In these two general speeches there should be special inserts which I have not attempted. That is, the local paragraph on defense activities and needs of Fort Worth, Dallas, San Antonio, and Houston. These should be rather carefully prepared by telephone calls to your city managers or to newspaper editors, and should be short. But be sure that you hit the big item and not the smaller.

C. E. M.

Houston, Texas
Friday, June 27, 1941

Tomorrow you vote. My work takes me from this city of Houston back to Washington for unity with Roosevelt. My ballot has been cast. You, casting yours tomorrow, will cross out the names of twenty-seven Democrats, and leave the name of one unmarked. You, as Democrats, will cross out names appearing on the Republican side of the ballot, and so, one name will be left unmarked as your choice to take the seat of Morris Sheppard in the Senate behind Roosevelt. If the choice of all Texas is that I, Lyndon Johnson, am to be your Senator, it is fitting that I thank you now for your confidence. It is fitting that I tell you how I feel tonight as my work in this campaign ends, and my work at Washington begins. No man may speak of sureness of the future, but any man may speak with sureness of what he hopes the future will be.

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Johnson

OFFICIAL BALLOT

FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR

DEMOCRATIC PARTY	REPUBLICAN PARTY	INDEPENDENT	COMMUNIST PARTY
JOSEPH DEAN	POLITE ELVING	W. D. JONES	HOMER BROOKS
DR. JOHN R. BRINKLEY	ENOCH FLETCHER		
E. A. CALVIN			
ARLON D. CYCLONE DAVIS			
MARTIN DIEB			
GUY D. FISHER			
W. E. GILLHAND			
A. B. HARDING			
DASH MUSS HATFIELD			
ROBERT GRAMMER HEAD			
G. F. HEATH, SR.			
DUBBA HICKS			
LYNDON JOHNSON			
W. W. KING			
GERALD C. MANN			
GAM MORRIS			
STARL C. NEWSOME, JR.			
W. LEE O'DANIEL			
FLOYD E. RYAN			
WALTER A. SCHULZ			
C. L. SOMERVILLE			
JOSEPH (JOE) THOMPSON			
EDWIN WALLER, III			
W. C. WELCH			
JOHN C. WILLIAMS			

Johnson

Radio Address
Lyndon B. Johnson
Waco, Texas, June 20, 1941
TON - 8:30 - 9:00 P.M.

My Friends of Waco and All Texas:

I'm glad tonight to see so many thousand faces here in this crowd for this rally in Waco. The boys who are speaking to 200 or 300 every day don't believe it--can't believe it--including the former favorite who packed them in by the thousands in the old days. It's difficult for him to realize the tables have turned and the thousands are flocking our way--to the Roosevelt, Johnson, and unity banner, but that's the truth. And how it gets them!

I know you folks realize these radio chains require us to submit a script and we must stay with it word for word. For the next thirty minutes we'll be on the air, and I want the folks who are listening in to know that you're here. And I want them to know that when we get rid of this microphone we're really going to get warmed up.

I'd like for someone--anyone--to tell me how many folks there are here tonight. (Pause) Well, let's be sure we haven't over-estimated, so all of you who are present, say I.

Folks, we have some serious things to talk about tonight, but in a campaign we always have to get rid of the rubbish before we can talk about them.

Three weeks ago the others in this race weren't giving me much trouble. Now that we're in the lead, they're all yelling at us and we can expect anything and everything from here on out. I expect them to charge me with everything from being a Johnson City ignoramus to a member of the late John Dillinger's highway-robber gang.

When you have thousands backing you and you know you're way out ahead, and thousands more are working faithfully for you day and night, you can laugh and be glad, and you don't have to go around worried and

Ugly and cranky, and spend all your time mud-slinging.

Tonight I must repeat what I have said on several previous occasions. I started this campaign without malice to any of my opponents and I want to end it that way. I have not engaged in personalities and do not propose to do so. Time is important to me and I can only spend a few moments getting some of the rubbish out of the way.

The people know why other candidates are attacking me. When they realize that I am out in front they cannot resist the temptation of doing what poor losers always do. They make personal attacks.

When he was running strong, the attorney-general didn't give us any trouble, but when he started slipping, when his percentages went down from the forties to the twenties, he charged that Congressman Dies and I voted against parity for our farmers. I called his attention to the error and three days later he retracted it and apologized. He said a man he didn't name gave him the wrong information.

Last night he quarreled with me about reading telegrams. Yes, I read a telegram from the President of the United States, pledging to work with me to take pensions for our elderly citizens out of state politics and off the radio, and to have a full federal pension. I read a telegram from the Secretary of the Navy and one from the ranking republican on the naval affairs committee. He doesn't know any of these men, he never worked with them, and I can understand why it irritates him. I can also understand why getting a federal pension and getting a navy bill approved, are more important than some of the things other candidates talk about. All I can say is that you folks and this candidate can expect more of the same thing from me, from here on out, for I get things done!

Another Congressman told newspaper men he hardly remembered why Lyndon Johnson was in the House of Representatives. He said he had

barely met me. I really think he's sincere in that. For the last two years, while we have been working on defense and other important things, he has been touring the country making chauteauqua speeches at \$300 to \$500 a throw. And so, of course, he hasn't had much time in the House. I guess he doesn't know me, or a good many others who have been there working on defense. As I started pulling ahead of him he started yelling yes-man at me. As I moved on by him, my good friend, Martin Dies, whose chief adviser is the Standard Oil and Humble Oil vice-president, Uncle Jack Dies, becomes the barefoot boy of this campaign and wants to investigate the election. He's a good investigator, and I have so stated all over Texas. I'll be glad for him to continue his present investigations and that election investigation, and any other he wants to make, to get his headlines and give him satisfaction.

Last night he tried to play his trump card. He referred to a letter I'd written a citizen of my district, a constituent, in which he asked me to give him information about his naturalization record and the passport Secretary Hull issued him. Because I transmitted this letter to the State department, and sent him information open to the public, over the signature of the State Department, I'm called a Nazi dupe in one sentence and in the next he attempts to cover up by saying he knows Lyndon Johnson is no Nazi.

I know better than to spend any more time on this man. He came to Texas sometime ago with great fanfare and he was going to bust the University of Texas wide open as a hotbed of communism. He went along for months and months and finally the President and chairman of the board of the University told him to "put up or shut up" about University communists, so he apologized, and backed off and retracted. He's the last man in the race, and all I have to say to the last man in the race about the whole attempt to smear me is that any citizen of this state

or any constituent of mine can write me for a copy of his birth certificate or his naturalization certificate, or any other public certificate, any time he wants to and get it, if he's entitled to it. Lyndon Johnson will not become a part of a Gestapo or join in hysteria of any kind to get in the limelight.

I've not spent my time criticizing other candidates or mudslinging, but the only candidate with any appreciable following left in this race started his campaign by saying I wasn't dry behind the ears, that I was a water-carrier for the President and a yes-man. Then he jumped the President, said he was weakened by having pussyfooting, back-slapping pie-eating politicians, who couldn't run a peanut wagon successfully, around him. It must have comforted Hitler to hear the governor talk like that. I don't think the President is weak. I don't think Jesse Jones, and Cordell Hull and Sam Rayburn are back-slapping, pussyfooting, pie-eating politicians. Do You?

Then when Lyndon Johnson began to run up along side the governor, and to pass the governor in every poll and report in the state, the governor suddenly became a friend of President Roosevelt and got out a poem and song he wrote about the President in 1932 to prove it.

Well, folks, it's worrying them to death, but we can smile. We're winning. We're going ahead now in every county from the Rio Grande to Red River and from El Paso to the Sabine district. We'll sell this election June 28 and settle the one next July by the greatest majority ever piled up in Texas.

During this whole campaign I have been discussing my official record of accomplishments in Washington. I have the testimony of the President, the Vice-President, several members of the Cabinet, the Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee on which I have served,

and the ranking Republican member of that committee, and today my good friend--that great Texan--Speaker Sam Rayburn cast his absentee ballot, and in doing so he said:

"On June 28 we Texans must decide by our vote who will serve us in the high station of United States Senator. These are fateful days, freighted with possibilities frightful to contemplate. Upon the ability and patriotism of Americans depends the fate of the world.

I know every Texan feels this great responsibility. It appears to me we need another Senator who will stand without fear foursquare with our program of total defense and victory. One who is in accord with our great Chief Executive and with the leadership in the Senate and in the House on issues both foreign and domestic. One who is in step with our splendid delegation from Texas and not unfriendly to it. For these and other considerations, with malice toward none, and being duly sensible of my responsibility as a citizen, I have today cast my vote for Lyndon Johnson."

Now I think that is a sufficient reply to the losing candidates, and we will talk about serious things; things that are vital to the preservation of this country and the freedom of our people.

Now we have more serious things to talk about. There is only one issue in this campaign. And that is whether your new Senator will go all-out to support President Roosevelt in defense to save America. Domestic issues must wait while we unite every force we have behind our President. The issue is whether your Senator will work with Cordell Hull, Secretary Knox, Secretary Stimson,--yes with Wendell Willkie, with democrats and republicans, liberals and conservatives, to save America. Or should he be a Senator who is "independent" like Wheeler; who will stand alone on his own two feet, like Lindbergh.

or a Senator who demands more and more investigations, like Nye?

When I announced I said the only issue is to get this country prepared and that I was all out for the President and defense. This brought all the charges from my opponents. Do you think a candidate who speaks thirty seconds, saying he'll go along with the President on foreign policy and then for thirty minute criticizes Lyndon Johnson because he has gone along with the President, should be your Senator? Do you think a candidate who says he will support the President, but refuses to speak out when the President is under attack, should be your Senator? Can any of these men get your country prepared quickly? Do you think a candidate who charges a colleague with being duped by the Nazis in one breath and admits he knows his colleague hates Nazism in the next, who uses his official authority and official records to question not only the leader of the country, but to question the Secretary of State about supplying information which any American citizen is entitled to, is one who will or can work in unity with his President and his fellow senators toward adequate and quick defense?

The truth of the business is that all these candidates have overlooked the main issue--defense. They all know it's a big question and a big job. So they're off name-calling or roll-calling and headline-calling.

Defense: Roosevelt and unity--that is the big job. My friends, battles haven't marked this present war. It's the bickering that has won the victories. Everyone of the fifteen countries now prostrate before Hitler were ripened toward defeat by internal strife, arguing, wrangling and disunion. From the seeds of internal strife grew the monstrous tree of defeat. Organized groups, insisting upon their

rights, killed every effort to promote unity--and the end was death and chains and slavery for all.

Mankind has never known a war which hung so closely upon TIME. Every minute and every second lost by men who are not working, by men who are fussing and quarreling among themselves, by machines gathering dust, serves Hitler and his ~~henchmen~~ ^{henchmen} across the sea. In one month alone we can lose the time it would take to build two battleships for our two-ocean navy--if we'd rather pull hair than work in unity, under our elected leader, Franklin Roosevelt.

No tools must be idle in this danger time. Capital, business and government must have no lookouts, no shutdowns, no strikes. All differences must be settled while production goes on. All our unemployed must be drafted and put to work training in defense industries where they can do the most good.

We must make the Islands across the sea our first line of defense. We must not wait until enemy bombers are destroying our American cities and strewing our American streets with dead American babies and women and old men and old women before we get ready. We must draft management to plan to produce war things for us when we need them and to get war supplies to Britain while they will do her some good.

We must support our President when he sends our \$21-a-month draft boys to open plane factories, shut down by radical leaders. We must make all America conscious and get it to emulate the fine spirit of Texas labor, which is free from strikes, keeps ahead of schedule and is under estimates of defense work. It is the spirit which does the job--not coercive laws.

We must guide through Congress the heavy tax bills to pay for our defense program. Unity and experience and training must get those bills through in the Senate--where the vote is sometimes very close.

Civilian rationing soon may be a problem for a Texas Senator who knows the defense needs and the defense business.

During the next few months your government will spend twenty billion dollars on defense. Five cents out of every dollar spent will be Texas' share of the bill. Patriotic Texas, paying such a share, will pay willingly and gladly to preserve American democracy. But Texas doesn't want fathers taken from their families, husbands from their wives, sons from their mothers, to go to some other state to work on defense contracts. Texas wants shell-loading plants, munitions-factories, flying schools, training camps--all kinds of defense work done in Texas. We want no ghost towns after the war, and we want no disruption of our population to hamstring and delay us when peace returns. Your Senator must be a man who can deal with this situation because he knows how to deal with defense situations, and because he can talk to your Commander-in-Chief and the strong men around him.

For four years I have helped build a two-ocean navy. We are building that navy now, although some of the candidates in this race told us it was "silly to spend money for battleships" back in the days when we went ahead in spite of criticism. Your new Senator must take the lead in bringing our armed forces to the highest peak of efficiency. We must have two million men in our army. It's going to take experience in legislation and an ability to work with your President and Senators and cabinet members to get that army where it should be. The job must be done in the next twelve months.

Because I have insisted upon these things, I have been called a yes man.

Now, folks, that is the Roosevelt and unity and Johnson program-

against the Wheeler, Hye, Lindberg and Disunity program. That's the program I've been called a water-carrier and a yes-man for supporting.

How many of you voted for Roosevelt and unity to whip the depression in 1932, against Herbert Hoover. Say I.

How many of you voted for Roosevelt and unity again in 1936, against Landon and return to the "normalcy". Say I.

And how many of you voted for Franklin Roosevelt and unity in the defense and preservation of our democracy in 1940? Say I.

How many of you are for President Roosevelt and unity and the strong men helping him, Cordell Hull and Jesse Jones and Tom Connally and Sam Rayburn and all-out defense of America now? Say I.

How many of you are going to leave your family and friends from now until election day and hit the high road and preach the gospel of Roosevelt and unity and Johnson to save America? Say I.

Thousands of you Texans have already been working for it already and thousands more of you are going to work for Roosevelt and unity and Johnson to save America. We're on our way. Victory is just a week away, thanks to you good Texans, you good Americans. We're going to make it a landslide the next 7 days.

Good night and God bless you.

P10 - Manuscript

Radio Address

Lyndon B. Johnson

Denison, Texas

Saturday, June 22, 1941

TQN - 8:00 - 9:30 P. M.

My Friends of Denison and All Texas:

You folks make me mighty happy here tonight in Denison. The thousands of you who are gathered here on the Main Street don't leave any doubt about Roosevelt and unity and Lyndon Johnson sweeping across the State of Texas. That's just what's happening. You make it mighty plain that next Saturday Texas is going to endorse that program of Roosevelt and unity and Lyndon Johnson with the greatest majority ever turned out. Friends, we're not only going to settle this special election on June twenty-eighth, but we're going to make it a cinch for next July at the same time. Everybody here who hears me -- you in the crowd here and you in those cars jammed all around -- say I and blow your horns. I want our friends listening to us on the radio to know you're here. Somebody tell me how many folks there are here -- so I can tell our radio friends. How many?

Well, we are happy, because we're winning. Lyndon Johnson, who started this race without anybody jumping on him, now has the whole pack on his back. It's really getting them down, folks. But as I've told you many times, I entered this race with malice toward none and good will for all, and I hope they'll let me end it that way.

When you're winning, when a rousing, tradition-shattering victory is just around the corner, you can take it. You don't have to do any mud-slinging to try to get votes or attract some bigger headlines. I don't need to make any wild charges. I'll let the other boys do that. They're all good boys, and they are all trying their best to get elected, but they're finding it's a hard pull.

When they weren't afraid of Lyndon Johnson, before he started run-

ning up to them and passing them in all the polls and all the reports coming in from all over the State, there wasn't a word said against me. But now that I'm out in front and they're behind, just look at the morning papers. Look at the Dallas News for today. This candidate and that candidate and the other candidate -- all of them threw everything down yesterday and took in after Lyndon Johnson and nobody else. You can expect anything now. They'll call me everything from a Johnson City furrow-jumper to one of the James boys. You know as well as I do that an army always concentrates its fire on the spot where it expects the most trouble. Every other camp in this race is scared to death that Lyndon Johnson has gone over the top. Well, we've moved from five percent and last to twenty-six per cent. and first, and the landslide is on.

Now, if I've been all the things these candidates are charging me with, I must have been them all the time. But no one noticed them until last week or two. Then they dropped their inuendos and their formal fussing and got down to grubbing on me.

My people over in the Tenth District elected me from a field of ten candidates. They've re-elected me twice since then without a single man ever putting his name on the ticket. Yes, without any opposition of any kind, in the primaries or general election. And some of the men who opposed me the first time have been supporting me. I have written a record as a Congressman in Washington and not one opponent has ever attacked one single vote in it. Those folks know me and I don't think that if I had all the bad qualities my opponents want to saddle on me I could hide them from my people.

I think that's a sufficient answer to the charge I'm everything from a Nazi dupe to a CIO lawyer, that I'm not dry behind the ears, when I point to the people I live and work with, and tell you what they say and think and do about me. What do you folks think? The greatest crowd ever to attend a political rally in the history of Austin heard

me the other night there. Those were my people -- my home people -- from all over Central Texas. The men and women I work with and live with and think with and love. Of course, that irritated the candidates who speak daily to two or three hundred folks, but I can't help that.

Four years ago I met President Roosevelt at Galveston. I had just been elected to Congress and he invited me to come over and visit with him, to ride on his special train back to Washington. I had to approach the President as a freshman, fresh from the Johnson City hills, without any recommendations or endorsements. Since that time I have worked with him -- for Texas and for all America. I have been proud to work with him -- for our democracy. He did me the honor to call me his old and close and trusted friend when I entered this race.

I have worked with Frank Knox, a Republican cabinet member, as a member of the House Naval Affairs Committee. We have been building a two-ocean navy to keep Hitler away from our shores. Secretary Frank Knox wrote me this last week: "You are one of the far-sighted members of Congress, who have been alert to the needs of this nation's defense."

Melvin J. Haas, ranking Republican member of the Naval Affairs Committee, says this of me: You have been one of the stalwart advocates of increased defense. Your brilliant work on the committee has helped not only to make Texas navy-conscious, but to make the nation conscious of the naval needs of Texas. By playing fair and being a square-shooter, you have made it possible for the minority to have confidence in you."

Chairman Carl Vinson of the Naval Affairs Committee, who has worked with me, says this: "I take this occasion to thank you for the invaluable services you have rendered in connection with the important naval legislation which the committee has passed during recent months."

The second most powerful man in our government, the man who has served you for thirty years, the man who is now the Speaker of the House of Representatives, your own Sam Rayburn, casting his absentee ballot for Lyndon Johnson yesterday, had this to say: "These are fateful times

freighted with possibilities frightful to contemplate...It appears to me we need another Senator who will stand without fear four-square with our program of total defense and victory."

Now, I think that is sufficient reply to the losing candidates, I am not telling you these things to brag, but I think you should know the facts. Those are men who know me. Those are men who work with me and have every opportunity to know whether I'm a Dillinger or an ignoramus or a Nazi dupe, as my good opponents would have you believe. These men, from the President down, have no ulterior motives in saying those things about me. Their endorsements, their expressions of friendship for me and confidence in me, can't be bought with money, or plaques over my door. They are bought with hard work, fair play, and patriotic, courageous service.

I think what my own Central Texas people say and do about me, and what such men as President Roosevelt, Frank Knox and Speaker Rayburn say about me, is the best answer to the yelling. Texas people know what they're doing, and June 28 they're going to shout their decision for all the world to hear -- that Lyndon Johnson is the man who can pick up the defense load that Morris Sheppard laid down.

That clears up the rubbish. Every morning our campaign neighbors throw their rubbish and the leavings from their mud-slinging political pionies in our front yard. We have to clean up the litter before we can get about serious business, but there is something more serious in this campaign than the rubbish.

The other candidates got sidetracked a long time ago, and the wild charges they're making one day and taking back the next have kept them off the issue.

I know it irritates them for me to work with President Roosevelt to get our elderly citizens a full federal pension. But it will have to irritate them. It irritates them that your President and your Congress have put up a twenty dollar bill in Washington -- in the treasury for

every senior citizen in Texas -- every month. That's not a promise. It's an accomplished fact. I helped put that twenty dollars there for you. If your state can match it, you can have all the \$40 that's due you every month as your pension. You aren't getting it because Texas can't raise the Texas twenty dollars. You ought to keep your governor and your legislature right on the job in Austin working day and night to raise that twenty dollars for you -- or as much as they can. For we'll match every Texas dollar they can raise with a federal dollar, up to twenty-dollars. Your governor and legislature can't raise that money in Washington. They've got to raise it in Austin, Texas. I don't believe they'll ever raise it. For that reason, long before this campaign, I talked with President Roosevelt about a full federal pension. Yes, and he sent me a letter, in which he told me he'd work with me to get you folks a 100 per cent. federal pension. My opponents objected because the President wrote me on this important question. It irritated them. But we can't help that. They don't know the President and they've never worked with him -- and, of course, it irritates them. It irritates them because I got a wire saying your President and your Congress were going to match the June Texas money, which raises your check this month. I asked that this matching be expedited for our senior citizens. The day my request hit Washington the money was matched. I intend to get in every lick I can for Texas old people -- no matter who gets irritated.

We want forty dollars a month for them, now and every month until we can get them a full federal pension. Your federal government is ready to do its part of the forty dollars a month. The next move is up to your state. And remember, all the radio pensions you've been getting every Sunday. How much did you hear about going to Washington for all of it until Lyndon Johnson hit the cold water at San Marcos and started work on the President to get him to help?

It irritates my opponents because I urged the President to sign the parity bill he had on his desk. He wired me, telling me he would sign

the bill, and he thanked me for my ardent and long support of parity, to get some money into the pocketbooks of our Texas farmers. Because I worked for the farmers, my opponents called me a water-carrier and said I voted against parity. But as long as I can help get parity for our farmers I don't care how much the boys yell and misrepresent and pull their hair and claw the air. It gives them satisfaction and it gets them headlines. And I don't mind packing water for the three million folks who live on farms in Texas.

I have said and I repeat again tonight that the one big job in this country is getting prepared to save American democracy. Just as we got ourselves out of the depression of the thirties by uniting, so can we protect ourselves from this world danger of the present months, by Roosevelt and unity. Roosevelt and unity, and you can remember when Republicans and democrats alike put their shoulders to the wheel to end the depression which threatened our democracy in 1933. Republicans and democrats, conservatives and liberals, old and young, uniting behind President Roosevelt in this danger time, will again save America in 1941. But division, discord, and internal strife can get us only what they brought to prostrate France and tottering England. They can bring us only what Hitler brought the fifteen whipped nations under his domination today.

The big job is defending America. That's why the Republican leader, Wendell Willkie, has joined forces with us. That's why able Republicans like Frank Knox and Henry Stimson and Robert Patterson, have joined forces with us. That's what we mean by Roosevelt and unity. And that's the spirit in which Lyndon Johnson is going to work with your government for you.

Do you want a Senator next Saturday who will work with and for Roosevelt and unity, one who has a record for doing that?

There hasn't been a battle of any consequence in this war. There have been some famous routs. There was the routing of the Allied troops at Dunkerque and the routing of the allies in the Balkans. Why did

these routs take place? Why did France fall without half trying -- France, with the greatest army in the world and the greatest line of forts in the world? This war has been won by the sowing of internal discord. Group against group, leader against leader -- all have done their fateful work. Nothing could make Hitler happier than to know that America is divided, in discord, unharmonious, unable to work, because it can't get its forces together. Nothing makes Hitler happier than to hear it said that our President is weak and his advisers are back-slapping, pussy-footing, pie-eating, professional politicians, who couldn't manage a peanut-wagon successfully. That's sowing discord. That's winning wars for Hitler. Hitler likes inexperienced legislators, who claim to stand on their own two hind feet -- all alone -- like Wheeler. Hitler likes those fellows who say they are "independent", and others who can't work with their colleagues, who stand off in their own corner, and who go around telling how they can't even agree with their wives.

What kind of a Senator do you want your Texas Senator to be? Do you want him to be a man who spends thirty seconds of his time saying he'll go along with the President, and then for thirty minutes criticizes a man who has a record for going along with the President and working with him? Do you want a Senator who says he'll go along with your President, but says over and over that the President is weak and the men he has around him, working with him day and night, men like Sam Rayburn and Tom Connally and Cordell Hull, are back-slapping, pie-eating, politicians?

So you want a Senator who uses his official investigative authority and official records to hamper the President, yet says he'll go along with the President, reserving the right, of course, to be independent anytime, anywhere, in any crisis? A Senator who says he can't always agree with his wife -- and he'll have to deal with his President,

his wartime commander-in-chief, in the same way?

No! You don't want that kind of a Senator. You want a Senator who, while he may disagree and has disagreed at times on matters of domestic and local importance, still will go all-out for Roosevelt and his foreign policy when the world is on fire. That's the kind of Senator Lyndon Johnson is going to be. He's going to give the President all-out support to save America.

I have given the President that kind of support in building a two-ocean navy, I'm giving him that kind of support for his 50,000-plane and his two million army, air corps, and as your Senator I will continue to give him that support. I can work with him and I can work with the cabinet and both houses of Congress and the government. I don't have to promise you. You know I'm doing it already. Which one of the other candidates is doing that -- or CAN? Wendell Willkie's doing it, with President Roosevelt, Cordell Hull and others, but my opponents can't and won't; they won't say more than: I'll go along, but be independent, or clean up the outfit, or disagree, as I do with my wife,

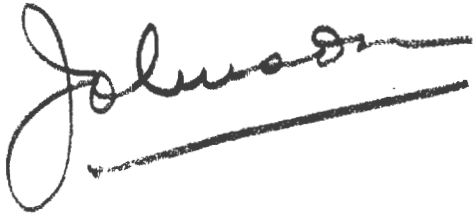
Your Senator must give all-out support to the \$21-a-month draft boy the President sends to open airplane plants closed by communistic, radical labor leaders.

Your Senator must get all America to emulate Texas labor. Labor, organized and unorganized, with the finest, cleanest, most wholesome spirit in the world. Texas labor, which has no radical or communistic or off-color leaders or members, and keeps them out. Texas labor, which has pledged itself to work all the way through this defense emergency and settle its problems by agreements, rather than with tear gas and bombs. Texas labor, which keeps under estimates and ahead of schedule -- which builds four-year projects and commissions them in seven months. Texas labor -- which gets the job done now, and doesn't get the job done because petty, coercive laws make it get the job done. We all owe

our tribute to the men who ride the rails, the men who build our projects the men who keep defense humming.

Your Senator must tax to the bone. He must keep politics out of medicine. His job is to support the FBI in wiping out all isms but Americanism in a quiet, unpublicized, but effective way. His job is to draft management if the government needs it and to draft every jobless man in America and train him for defense work. His job is to see that we have an army of two million men, equipped as the strongest mechanized army in the world -- on a par with our two-ocean navy which I've worked on for years and helped build. His job is to see that Texas, which pays five cents on every dollar of defense bills, has a chance to work on defense contracts in Texas. We will spend twenty billion dollars this year. He must see that our Texas families aren't broken up, when Texas men move to Michigan to make tanks and planes and trucks and bombers and shells. We don't want a dislocation of our people. We want shell-loading plants, munitions factories, training fields and flying schools here in Texas. We want no ghost towns and no post-war depression agony here in Texas. Your Senator must bring industry to Texas and industrialize areas like Denison and put them on the hum working on defense. Capital business, government and labor must not strike in these days and nights of peril. We must occupy the necessary islands out in the water to keep Nazi bombers away from our cities, away from our babies, our women, our old and weak. He must see that America's first line of defense is out yonder-- not here. We must produce all we need to protect ourselves and get England all it needs to win this war -- and get it there now.

That's the program of Roosevelt and unity. That's the program Lyndon Johnson has advocated in every speech. That's the Roosevelt-Rayburn program. That's the program I'm called a Nazi dupe, a CIO lawyer and a water-carrier -- a yes-man -- for supporting. I can say yes to Roosevelt and Rayburn and Hull and Willkie in that program. But I'll not be a yes-



RADIO ANNOUNCEMENT, NEWS FLASH, AND
INTRODUCTION FOR RADIO SPEECH GIVEN
BY JUDGE ROY HOFMEINZ OVER STATION K P R C
JUNE 23, 1941, TIME-7:30

We now bring you a program for 15 minutes from the studios of K P R C, the
time for which has been paid for at the commercial rate.

(Another announcer)

Good evening, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Lyndon Johnson is now leading all over Texas in every authentic
poll released over the week-end. As reported on the front page of the
Houston Post, Sunday, June 22, yesterday, Lyndon Johnson is now in first
place in Texas with 26.5 percent of the votes, leading all other candidates
and jumping from 4th place to 1st place in six week's time.

This information is taken from the Joe Belden Poll, recognized as
the one authentic poll in Texas. It showed conclusively that Lyndon Johnson
is the only candidate in the senatorial race who has climbed each week, while
every other candidate has lost support. The Belden Poll definitely showed
that Dies, Mann, and O'Daniel lost strength each successive week while
Lyndon Johnson is gaining strength each week, and now is coming into the
home stretch.

Substantiating that figure in another story on the front page of the
Houston Post, a special poll conducted by the Post, interviewing five
thousand qualified voters in Harris County, indicates that Lyndon Johnson
is now approaching a clear majority over all the other candidates combined.
On the basis of 5,000 votes, the Post poll showed:

Johnson.....	2,161
O'Daniel.....	1,118
Dies.....	981
Mann.....	734

In the Houston Chronicle yesterday morning, Page 1, Second section,
the Houston Chronicle said "Lyndon Johnson, candidate for the United States
Senate, spoke last week before some of the largest crowds ever to attend
political rallies in the history of the State." The Chronicle went on to
say, "Everywhere he has gone, crowds have flocked to hear him. Crowds
hearing him in this campaign have exceeded crowds which have previously
greeted O'Daniel in other campaigns." "Congressman Johnson," said the Chronicle,
"has outdrawn every candidate in the field. His presentation and unusual type
of campaigning have made all Texas take notice. Various polls over the state

show that he has climbed from 4th to 1st place in the greatest driving campaign ever witnessed in Texas." That was taken from yesterday's Chronicle, Page 1, Section two, underneath the picture of two of the greatest crowds ever assembled for political rallies in Texas. Look in Sunday's Chronicle for those two pictures.

And Walter Winchell, last night in a flash in his broadcast heard by five million Texans, said that all of Washington's eyes were now focused on Texas, and particularly those of the President because Lyndon Johnson has now climbed from 4th to 1st place in the race for the United States Senate.

It appears from all of these authentic reports that Lyndon Johnson is coming into the home stretch, the fastest campaigner ever to make a state-wide race in Texas. And thousands who previously had intended to vote for other candidates are notifying state headquarters and local headquarters that they are now working for Lyndon Johnson with malice towards none, and are joining the multitude of his friends who have been carrying the banner in his behalf.

(Another announcer)

Ladies and Gentlemen: Tonight speaking in behalf of Congressman Lyndon Johnson we present an outstanding public official of South Texas who during the past seven weeks during the evenings and on week-ends has made in excess of 100 speeches through this section of Texas advocating the candidacy of Lyndon Johnson for the United States Senate.

I present, Judge Roy Hofheinz, County Judge of Harris County.

Judge Hofheinz.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Tonight it is really encouraging to look back over the past six weeks and see in that period of time as revealed by the authentic polls that Lyndon Johnson has climbed from fourth place to first place and is now leading the field coming into the home stretch. I have never before in my seven years of public life observed a greater stretch drive than that staged by Lyndon Johnson on a state-wide basis in this campaign, and there is one primary reason for that success. It is due to his thousands of friends and volunteer workers, school teachers, old school chums, youngsters whom he's taught, mothers and fathers of boys he has helped, elderly men and women who have received his aid, all volunteering and uniting in telling the world about the real record of Lyndon Johnson. That type of real help is the kind that gets the job done.

Tonight, all over Texas a half million farmers are telling their friends of the wonderful work Lyndon Johnson has done for the farmers with his rural electrification projects. Men everywhere in Texas labor have voiced their unqualified support of Lyndon Johnson. Republicans and heretofore anti-administration men all over Texas are now joining in this fight of presenting a united front in Texas and America at this time and are asking their friends everywhere to support Lyndon Johnson. Mr. Guy B. Warren of Corpus Christi, Texas, the leader of the Willke campaign in Texas last year is now handling the campaign for Lyndon Johnson in the Corpus Christi district. He and thousands like him recognize the necessity of uniting together behind a unity candidate at this time, and because of men and women like them, Lyndon Johnson today has become the leading candidate for the United States Senate and his lead is increasing by the hour.

This game of politics is an interesting and strange business. When a young man first announces for office, and the big-shot politicians with flour barrels and pork barrels don't think he has a chance, they just ignore him and then when he starts picking up speed and passes one of them in a campaign they take a swat at him and miss and then when he gets on up past another one, a couple of them throw at him, a little mud here and a

little mud there and finally when he passes the last one and comes into the stretch, the winning candidate, when the people have heard all the facts and compared all the records and then become convinced that he should be elected to office, then these self-promoted politicians desperately and feverishly throw every possible charge and sling all the mud that it is possible to sling. Lyndon is having that experience now and I've had it in a small way in one county in my experience. Lyndon Johnson started running for the Senate without resorting to mud slinging when he was not leading in the race. He doesn't propose to start doing it now that he is the winning candidate. Let's see what these politicians have been saying about him. Oh, they say that Lyndon Johnson is a "yes man! Well, let's see, these opponents of Lyndon Johnsons had an opportunity to vote for President Roosevelt just three times. They had it in 1932 - they had it in 1936, they had it in 1940. Have any of them said they did not vote "yes" to President Roosevelt on those occasions. If they have they are 100% "yes men". They voted for him every time they could get past the gate to do it, or if they haven't done that lately, let them tell Texans they have not done so. Lyndon Johnson's record in Congress isn't 100% yes, because he has voted to override the President's vote in order to make lower interest rates available for farmers. Oh, but on the broad problems of national emergency preparedness there can never be any question where Lyndon Johnson stands in this campaign. Doesn't it seem strange to you that with the thousands of votes Lyndon Johnson has cast in the United States Congress, the only one that anyone differs with was when one young candidate in this race charged in like a bull in a china closet and said Lyndon Johnson had voted against full parity prices for farmers. Ah, but we must forgive him. All that he did was to misread yes for no, and seventy-two hours later he said that the nameless person who had furnished him that information had made a mistake. You and I as real Texans want a man who makes his own speeches, - is able to read Congressional records, - knows which side he wants to vote on and won't make a mistake because some lobbyist behind the curtain in the ante-room has given him the wrong signal on the vote or put the wrong words in his mouth. Those of you who have been listening to the Governor last year you and I heard him tell us, "send me men who'll carry out my program. The reason I didn't get this job done, I didn't have men who would cooperate."

You and I heard him indorse four candidates when he was elected Governor. Now who were they? First, the Lt. Governor who he wanted to name and select. Second, the Attorney General of Texas, - third, a Judge of the Court of Criminal Appeals, and fourth, a member of the Supreme Court. Now mind you, he not only wanted legislators, but he wanted Criminal Court Judges in order to carry out a legislative program. Now in this campaign I have heard him say that he wanted legislators who would cooperate with him in his program. Now mind you, there is no unlimited State emergency existing now, but in the next breath he says, "You don't want to send a "yes man" to the President, you don't want to send to Washington a man who approves of the President's program, - you want to send me and when Congress doesn't agree with me, I'm going to call the roll on every individual in the Congress. When the Senators don't agree with me, I'm going to call the roll on the Senators. When the President doesn't agree with me, I'm going to call the roll on the President. I'm going to be a tail twister, and tall tooter when I get to Washington." so says o'Daniel. Now let's see friends, you and I have been seeing tail twisting and tall tootin' in Texas perhaps a little too much of it lately, and I ask you if in these times when the United States of America through the President has declared an unlimited national emergency, if at this time when every leader in America is crying for unity, if we need a t-a-i-l or t-a-l-e twister in the United States Senate. In this the time that we want some one to call your leaders, my leaders, our leaders, Cordell Hull, Jesse Jones, Sam Rayburn, Tom Connally, to call them pussyfooting backslapping politicians and threaten to call the roll on their every act? I've just got a hunch that the Governor of Texas can be of greater service and certainly more powerful from the standpoint of service to the people by finishing out his contract and serving another year and one-half and if he has any tail twisting, or tall tootin' or political purging to do, that he should limit his field to just this State. This of all times, my friends, is a time to set aside political prejudices and do some real serious reflecting. Ask yourself if you were going to hire a lawyer tomorrow to present your case before a judge and jury. Would you want a lawyer who has called the judge, weak and the jury a bunch of pussyfooting backslapping politicians who can't manage a peanut wagon successfully or do you want a lawyer for whom the judge has said,

"He is a good man, and my very old and close friend," and of whom the jury has said by wires and by letters, and by public endorsements in the public press, "your lawyer is an able man with a brilliant record and we Republicans and Democrats alike on this jury respect his ability and judgment and feel that he can ably represent you." If we follow just common good horse sense judgment in selecting our senator, we will follow that latter course and select Lyndon Johnson of whom that judge, the President of the United States has said he is a friend, and of whom that jury, Sam Rayburn, Jesse Jones, Henry Wallace and the many others have openly and publicly expressed their esteem and good wishes to him in this campaign. Let us remember friends, that if all these charges that Lyndon Johnson is a "yes man" are true, at least he is not a "yes man" for Carr P. Collins - he is not a "yes man" for Freeman Burford - he is not a "yes man" for the Texas Power and Light Company, but his heart does beat with you the masses, the real people of this State. Every time I hear our Governor speak of his profound interest for the common people, I really sympathize with him, for the hardships which he is having to endure. With an air conditioned twenty room house, thirty servants paid for at the state's expense, four special chauffeurs, one for each child and a police escort and state highway policeman to escort them with sirens screeching to and from the University, then when I read of this common citizen's candidate what hard luck he is having, and a member of his family becomes engaged and can only sport around a three and one-half carat diamond ring that only cost twice as much as my bungalow, tears pour down my cheeks for this man with \$12,500 a year salary and a thriving flour business on the side who has to take up pennies, dimes and quarters from our aged citizens who are receiving pension checks to pay for their food, clothing, and shelter, averaging during the past year, less than \$9 per month. Ah, my heart beats in sympathy with his, but maybe that elderly person who came to my office from the outskirts of the city yesterday and sat down at my desk at the Courthouse had the proper slant, when he said, "Judge, we may be old and we may not all have college educations, but the elderly people in Texas in their wisdom know a real sincere friend when they see and hear one and we in

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our section of the county are going 100% behind the performing Lyndon Johnson and will not be swayed again by idle promises. That my friends, seems to me to be the attitude of most people in Texas tonight, and because of that, because of his sincerity, because of his record, because of his experience on the Naval Affairs Committee, because of the need in this hour for real unity, and because 100,000 volunteer friends are getting the job done, Lyndon Johnson with your help, will be the next United States Senator from Texas. Thank you, and goodnight.

CLOSING ANNOUNCEMENT

You have been listening to an address by County Judge Roy Hofheinz, speaking in the interest of Lyndon Johnson, candidate for the United States Senate in the election to be held this Saturday.

Lyndon Johnson in his sensational campaign of Texas, the candidate who has jumped from 4th to 1st place in six weeks time and now leads the field, in this stretch drive will close his colorful, successful campaign with the greatest rally ever held in Texas at the Sam Houston Coliseum the night before election, Friday, June 27th. Watch your local newspapers in South Texas for further details. Make arrangements now to see this dynamic leading candidate, Lyndon Johnson in Houston this Friday night, Sam Houston Coliseum. See our home town boy who made good and comes back to close his campaign. Lyndon Johnson wants to meet you Friday night.

NORTH TEXAS HEADQUARTERS
LYNDON JOHNSON
for UNITED STATES SENATOR

ROOM 703-4 HOTEL ADOLPHUS ♦ DALLAS

June 24th 1941

Mr Charles Marsh

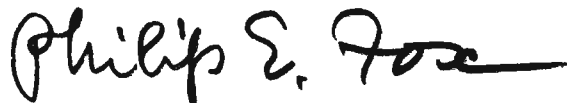
Room 829 Hotel Adolphus

Dear Mr Marsh

I am unable to get in contact with Harold H. Young in regard to tonight's radio speech . I am therefore returning your check given me for TQN with the suggestion that you either give it to the TQN station before tonights broadcast or else get me authority from Mr Wirtz to handle the matter in the way you desire .

I am unable to take the responsibility of handling this matter outside the channels prescribed by Senator Wirtz without his personal approval . I regret that I am unable to deviate from the very definite instructions given to me by Senator Wirtz .

Yours truly



Philip E. Fox

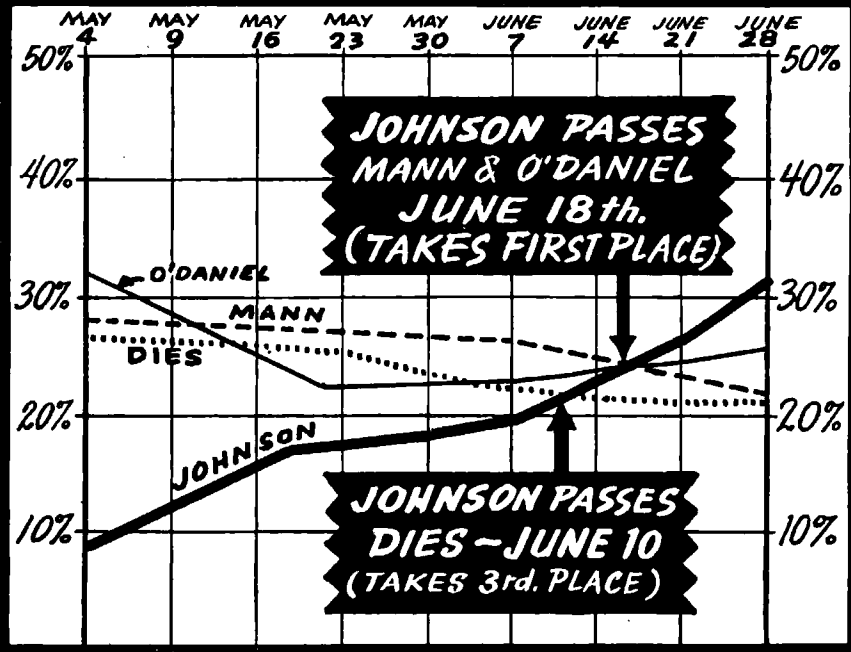
"Roosevelt and Unity"



STRAIGHT LINE FORECAST ON SENATE RACE!

**FIGURES FROM BELDEN POLL* SHOWN IN
LINE FORECAST FOR FINAL WEEK INDICATES
FINAL SENATORIAL VOTE ON JUNE 28 WILL SHOW:**

**THE SENATE RACE IN STRAIGHT LINES!
Vote Sat. June 28 for the WINNER**



500,000 Votes

for the

BIG FOUR

on Straight Line Forecast
as follows

	%	Votes
JOHNSON . 1st	31%	155,000
O'DANIEL . 2nd	26%	130,000
MANN . . 3rd	22.5%	112,500
DIES . . . 4th	20.5%	102,500
Totals	100%	500,000

*By JOE BELDEN, Editor

Texas Surveys of Public Opinion

... as reprinted from Austin Sunday American Statesman, June 27, 1941, and other Texas newspapers.

Senatorial Box Score

	May 4	May 19	June 8	JUNE 21
DIES	27.9%	26.2%	23.7%	22.6%
JOHNSON	9.3%	17.6%	19.4%	26.5%
MANN	28.2%	26.8%	27.0%	24.5%
O'DANIEL	32.8%	22.4%	25.6%	25.2%
ALL OTHERS	1.8%	7.0%	4.3%	1.2%

Of the Texas electors today 5.6 per cent are undecided as to their choice.

GERALD C. MANN
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS
AUSTIN

June 9, 1941

Hon. W. K. Hopkins
Dept. of Justice
Washington, D. C.

My dear Friend:

This is just a note to remind you how grateful I shall be for your support and assistance in my race for the United States Senate. Your help will mean so much to me. I trust I may be able to count on it.

May I hear from you?

Sincerely,

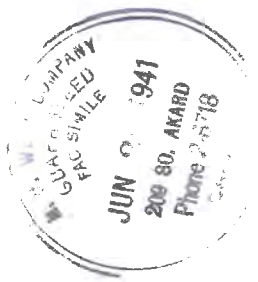

Gerald C. Mann

GCM:JS

PS - As you know, you must vote by absentee ballot not less than three days, nor more than twenty days, prior to June 28th.

- 4 1/2 days -

10132
3



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ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS
AUSTIN

June 9, 1941

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May I hear from you?

Sincerely,


Gerald C. Mann

GCM:JS

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M. H. WEST COMPANY
GUARANTEED
FAC-SIMILE
JUN 25 1941
209 SO. AKARD
DALLAS
Phone 2-2718

Johnson



CONTROLLED AIR CONDITIONING
RICE
HOUSTON.

HOTEL
• TEXAS •

1000 ROOMS

Card of thanks—because we wish to thank Franklin D. Roosevelt, and show our appreciation of his splendid nine years of work through depression and facing Hitler, we will go to the polls June 28 to send him the man he wants—
Lyndon Johnson.

Signed _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

ELECTION JUNE 28---VOTE ROOSEVELT THROUGH JOHNSON

Red, white, and blue. The above may be handled by a quick organization of Roosevelt and Johnson Clubs. The ribbons on the girls hired to pass these cards throughout cities should be "Johnson and Roosevelt", with a big button pinning the ribbon. They should wear red, white, and blue hats or turbans, and knock at the door where possible for signatures. They will be kicked around. That is the reason you should not use boys or men. The Roosevelt and Johnson Club, of course, itself can't be found, but there ought to be some skeleton organization in Austin, Dallas, and Houston, with one set of ads in the newspaper. Any wife of any worker can be set up as secretary, and





Page two--Card of Thanks

any inactive, but pompous, name may be used as President of the local chapter, but set up fast and get the girls hired. Don't expect this work to be done by free workers or prostitutes. The person going around to do this job and hire these girls should be prepared to pay two dollars a day per girl. Check the work with the local telephone book, or better the city directory, and get no fake cards which cannot be verified by a checker.

For these cards as much as two cents a card might be paid, or five cents a card where the going is rough.

These telephone numbers could be called on the morning of the election, "Have you voted, Mrs. So and So? We have your red, white, and blue card for which we thank you. Do you need anyone to take you to the polls? If so, what time?"

Card is then given to transportation department with time noted.



ASSOCIATED WITH LAMAR HOTEL HOUSTON

F B Y

July 1st, 1941

Mr. C. E. Marsh,
American Statesman,
Austin, Texas.

AIR MAIL

Mayflower Hotel,
Washington D. C.

AIR MAIL

Rice Hotel,
Houston, Texas.

AIR MAIL

Adolphus Hotel,
Dallas, Texas.

Dear friend:

Am absolutely astounded over the manner in which my expense account agreement has been handled. I spent \$12.00 to get the last \$100.00 from Senator Wirtz. Have been paid \$600.00 in all, leaving a balance of \$900.00.

I have spent this money, and am not financially able to stand it, myself. You know that I worked night and day, and besides the record will prove that I have delivered the goods - more by far than anyone ever had a right to expect of me. I owe oil and gasoline bills, car repair bills, two secretaries, telephone and telegraph bills charged to my account, besides borrowed money at the bank, and after collecting this \$900.00 balance I will still be out \$500.00 or \$600.00 of my personal funds.

I know, Charlie, you are not the kind of man who would let a fellow like me down when I didn't seek the opportunity, and it was wholly at your suggestion that I continue after I finished my affairs with Colonel Knight and reported back to you, as you requested. However, this conversation isn't necessary, I am sure, because you have always recognized in conversations that I have fulfilled my part of the agreement. I have worked night and day in the closing week of the campaign, knowing that I should demand and collect this money before the election, because it is so hard to collect political debts, even win or lose, after it is over. I am still paying on my old campaign debts, and having it pretty hard financially. I dropped my business to go out and fight for Lyndon.

- Page 2 -

Mr. C. E. Marsh - 6-30-41

Please see to it, Mr. Marsh, that I receive this money at once, as I simply have to pay my help and these unpaid bills.

With kindest regards, and every good wish, I remain

Sincerely your friend,

HARRY HINES

HH/od

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
July 14, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

Attached find a letter to E. S. Fentress which explains itself. I report also on my Texas trip.

You won the election by about an 8,000 plurality. A loose election system permits Governor O'Daniel to be certified by himself into the Senate.

1. Counties printed their own special election ballots, making 254 kinds. There were no obligatory instructions for separating legal from illegal ballots. Thousands of precinct judges used their own judgments, certified to County Clerks the result, which was canvassed only as results by the Governor and his Secretary of State.
2. There was no time limit set for sending in certificates or counting ballots. There was no penalty to curb or make uniform the count.
3. In the cities, and in large boxes generally, you received a vote 50 per cent greater than O'Daniel. In country districts and in small boxes O'Daniel reversed you. But in the large city boxes, where the officials did not personally know the intent of the voter, all incomplete ballots of the box, where Republican and Communist and Independent names were not crossed out, the ballots were thrown out. In the country and small boxes where the judges knew the intent of the voter, these incomplete ballots were counted. I consider the difference against Johnson by these two methods cost Johnson at least an 8,000 plurality. We find single boxes in cities throwing out as high as 17 per cent.
4. The total vote cast at this election was about 70 per cent of the poll taxes valid. We find an extremely heavy rural vote, which is quite contrary to what we thought would happen because city voting in a special election should be greater because more convenient and more responsive to news and radio. In certain rural counties in Ferguson-O'Daniel territory over 100 per cent of poll taxes were cast, while in certain city areas less than one-half of poll taxes were cast. Inasmuch as this was a brief election, not well organized to get out the vote in rural areas, it is fair to assume that country judges did not insist upon poll tax qualifications where the judge knew the man, and knew that he customarily paid his poll tax at regular elections--that is, for Governor or President. In the cities the poll tax qualifications were strictly adhered to.
5. Neither one nor two show criminal intent, or excessive partisanship, but there is definite evidence of criminal intent, which I believe it useless to go into, but which I estimate cost Johnson a considerable vote through an intentional switching of the vote of Dies, hopelessly beaten, to the O'Daniel column after the polls were closed. The fact that within two weeks of the finish Johnson had moved from 19 per cent to 31 per cent of the vote in two independent polls--one a Gallup-type poll, and one a statewide newspaper poll--was an incentive to cause certain Dies supporters who were anti-Roosevelt to interest themselves, as Dies' estimated vote dropped from 30 per cent to 17 per cent, and O'Daniel dropped from a high of 32 per cent to 26 per cent as second candidate in strength.

L. B. J.,--page 2

My conclusion is that any uniform counting of the ballots themselves, regardless of original charges, would still show Johnson the elected Senator.

This for your information. I know you are not going to do anything about it, but I thought as an old man you might want to read about it.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
July 14, 1941

Dear Dick:

You are right about being uncomfortable when you have to read a paper in a monopolistic field which goes as far as the Waco papers did in the Johnson campaign.

The expense also is an item which gets out of balance. My personal expenditures will be out of balance for a year. But there is a deeper reason we do these things that justifies a departure from normal operation and routine life. I am tempted to cite some of the advantages to justify the thing in my own mind. How about it?

1. There was no candidate running before Johnson entered the race who even remotely expressed Texas feeling on foreign policy behind Roosevelt. This feeling has been brought up to date by sixty days of blasting.

2. Dies, the bully and spy chaser, has been retired from his position in the Capitol, where he stood blackmailing the country out of about a million dollars a year to run his own personal show long after the show was a harm rather than a good to the country. He had threatened every legislator with defeat if he did not get his money. He had taken cash in five figures--possibly six figures--for selling fear abnormally throughout America; he had impaired normal work of the F. B. I., and he was moving forward into a demagogic position which on a turn of events might prove serious to national safety.

3. The legend of O'Daniel as invincible and a miracle man of politics has been upset. He is on his way out. He polled about one hundred thousand votes of people who like him and seventy-five thousand votes from people who don't like him, out of a total of about six hundred thousand. Contrast this with his two elections as Governor, and put some of the credit upon yourself.

4. We did our bit behind a President, who may have been rash in concerning himself over a Texas Senate race, but who at least was well-intentioned and brave, and who is the very best President we have. Had we been silent, we would not be comfortable now.

5. We stirred up the minds of our editorial organization by letting it know that the head of the organization is generous and has a few fights left in him. For that, I personally thank you.

What is left of my active life is going to be spent much along similar lines--not because I am a humanitarian, but because I am very selfish in wanting a free and exciting use of my time along lines that make the time interesting by being significant with the times.

This thing tired me out, and over-spent me, but I feel very good.

The fact that Johnson won the election and was counted out in three different ways is not really important to Johnson or to us as individuals. Johnson comes out of it better known, with campaigning experience, and possibly with a brighter future in the sense of a more effective agency for good work within and without the State. That is a prospect and not a fact as yet, but had he not tried when


the President said "Yes", he would have slipped into a routine Congressional approach through seniority to the Senatorial objective. He now is either through with the objective ambition, or is closer to the decision. But I am sure that his stature in Washington is improved.

The fact that he did not see fit to go through with the different methods which were possible to determine his election is, of course, because Americans in general do not like contests after vote counts, and because a man selling Roosevelt and unity to Texas did not want to take up the Senate's time in a personal adventure during war. That makes sense, and there is so much to be done that I could not feel too enthusiastic about maneuvering machinery so that I as a person carry the time and expense and the brain load for several months. I will tell you some time how it would have been done. Today I sit here awaiting the phone call that Governor O'Daniel has certified himself as Senator. I shall write you later.

I trust this letter will be forwarded, and it is so marked.

Sincerely,

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July 14, 1941

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L. B. J.--page 2

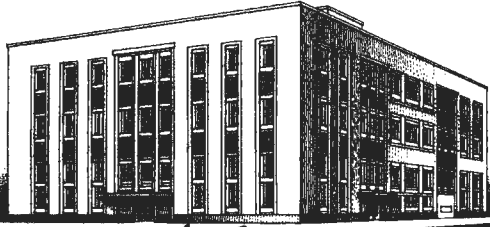
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This for your information. I know you are not going to do anything about it, but I thought as an old man you might want to read about it.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'C.E.M.', with a horizontal line under the 'M'.

Charles E. Marsh



The Austin American
MORNING
The Austin Statesman
EVENING
Sunday American-Statesman
SUNDAY

SEVENTH AT COLORADO

AUSTIN, TEXAS

July 18, 1941.

Dear Mr. Marsh:

Attached are a couple of [redacted] items in which I thought you might be interested.

The last time [redacted] we talked in the hotel coffee shop, I told you that perhaps the greatest thing to come out of our little post-election dissertation might be the heading of O'Daniel as a popular appeal figure on a nationwide basis.

Now, I'm well convinced that before we see the end of it he will be used as the front man for the hate-Roosevelt, appeasement-fascist-nazi forces.

It appears to me that what they need most in [redacted] their campaign is a front which can sway and appeal to mass ignorance on a nationwide basis.

Definitely he has that power, and it appears plain to me that with this club as a front for the financial backing and O'Daniel as the front for popular appeal the Roosevelt haters and appeasers are going to be something to reckon with.

I may be seeing a ghost behind grandpa's chair, but if I don't actually see it, surely the set-up is there for that bunch to move in on if they want to.

Buck and I have been talking about it for a day or so and we've started work on a deal which we think may head it or at least set a backfire big enough to render it ineffective. We'll send you a copy of it as soon as we get through working it up.

Meanwhile, see what you think.

If we're right about this thing, then it looks like to me the best way of stopping it is for you to "function" again.

As ever,

Gordon

Embryo O'Daniel Preserve Democracy Club Seen as Move To Start Nationwide Presidential Boom for Governor

Membership Scrolls For Organization Being Prepared

By **RAYMOND BROOKS**
The Austin American Staff

Trial flight of Sen.-Elect W. Lee O'Daniel's often-discussed candidacy for president of the United States was seen in the disclosure here of tentative plans for the formation of the W. Lee O'Daniel Preserve Democracy club.

Talk of Gov. O'Daniel's possible

shaping a presidential boom took on more definite form when it became known this club—one whose membership cards recognize no state lines and touch in part on national matters—is in the making.

An associate of Gov. O'Daniel said that opportunity for membership in the proposed club has not yet been extended supporters and friends of the governor.

No other details were stated, and this individual said that he had had no part in the disclosure of the tentative plans for forming the organization behind the newly-elected senator.

It had been disclosed that the first 15,000 membership scrolls in the W. Lee O'Daniel Preserve Democracy club were in process of preparation, as evidence that the movement already was taking form.

The familiar picture of Gov. O'Daniel in front of a microphone serves as the emblem of the club. Pictures of a church and a school and of the Texas flag, and a motto "the Spirit of 1776" adorn the scroll. This scroll contains a blank space for filling in the name of the member, and contains a statement that the member is entitled to "cooperate with other members for the preser-

News of Plan Leaks Out in Advance Of Public Declaration

vation of that old-fashioned true form of democracy wherein the people are the masters, and public officials are the servants."

Fact that the club had its inception at the moment of O'Daniel's declared election to the United States senate was taken as significant.
(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

O'Daniel Boom For National Following Seen

**Preserve Democracy
Club With Lee As
Head Being Hatched**

(Continued From Page 1)

cant in connection with the possibility of a presidential boom.

This further was corroborated when recently some of Mr. O'Daniel's principal advisers had discussed a test public appearance by the governor-senator in some other state. Purpose of this was to prove out whether his personality and his type of campaigning, backed with hillbilly music, would prove a crowd-drawing power elsewhere like it has in Texas.

However, no definite engagement by the governor in any other state has so far been announced, and the possibility remained that he might make his entry on national affairs in a planned address soon after he takes his seat in the United States senate.

While information was in abeyance as to the time his friends will be invited to become members of this club, and as to such matters as the qualification of members, the period that membership will cover, dues, if any, and so on, Texans also were without definite word as to the date in which O'Daniel will relinquish the governorship and claim his seat in the national senate.

Texas has had two "club" movements in recent years, sponsored by individuals, but both related to mobilization of aged persons and appealed to them in their interest in securing old-age pensions. The O'Daniel club obviously would be an appeal to a personal following, and based on mobilization of individuals for personal political support of the club's leader.

A slogan on the membership card, in its present tentative form, was reported to say, "There is no place in a democracy for the kind of government built from the top down, rather than from the bottom up."

The membership-conferring portion of the card—a large-sized red, white and blue scroll, also in its present form carried these words:

"This certifies that "—blank—" is a member of the W. Lee O'Daniel Preserve Democracy club, and shall have the privilege to cooperate with other members of the club for the preservation of that old-fashioned true form of democracy wherein the people are the masters, and public officials are the servants."

Observers at the capitol, when the plans for the club became public, immediately turned back to a study of Gov. O'Daniel's campaign statements, radio speeches and other public utterances, in a search whether there was any hint from him of this incipient movement.

One capitol personage said this personal-following organization might have been an incident or by-product of the suggestion Gov. O'Daniel made public during his campaign for the senate. Gov. O'Daniel then made public his letter to Pres. Roosevelt, declaring Texas could, if the government authorized it, develop a complete and effective army and navy set-up available for

NO

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years, resigned his post Wednesday.

Dr. R. L. Kennedy

service when called for by the president.

The analogy was in the fact that so far as the details were known, the Preserve Democracy club did not recognize state lines; but potentially was a movement which could enlist friends and supporters wherever they might be.

O'Daniel Club To Be Front For Financing Broadcasts From National Capital

A tentative W. Lee O'Daniel Preserve Democracy club has been projected by a group of Gov. O'Daniel's friends as a means of sponsoring and financing a continuation of Gov. O'Daniel's Sunday broadcasts from Washington after he becomes United States senator, one of the group said Thursday.

Membership in the club will be open to anyone, on a fee not to exceed \$1, this friend of the governor reported.

Mr. O'Daniel has had nothing to do with the project, and those who shaped it up were acting on their own, it was added.

The speaker who disclosed the plan of the club scoffed at the idea it might be the basis of an incipient boom of O'Daniel for president. Rather, its aim would be to keep his friends and the people of Texas in the same radio contact with O'Daniel as senator as he maintained while governor. As governor, O'Daniel has used free radio time; but presumably this free time would not be available to him after he goes to Washington. The \$1 membership fee would serve as the nucleus of a fund to provide this weekly radio time from Washington.

Longhorn To Ride Over Nazis

Come this football season of 1941, and the charging Texas Longhorn is due to see action over Germany.

At any rate, University of Texas officials Thursday sent permission and wishes for good luck to three Texan members of the Royal Canadian air force who have asked to use the university's athletic emblem as the insignia on their fighting planes.

"We are three Texans in the R. C.A.F.," a letter to university officials, signed "Harty, Gunn and Apple—the Flying Texans," read. "And after much debate and elimination we have selected, with your permission, the charging Longhorn steer—which has always symbolized the spirit of Texas U.—the basis of our insignia and emblem.

"We would greatly appreciate it if you would send us the different designs of decals and stickers using the front and three-quarter view of the steer. From these we hope to make our full insignia made up: a charging Texas Longhorn crashing through the ringed star insignia of the U.S. air corps, with the motto 'R. C.A.F.' between the star's points, and the word 'Texans' underneath." The designs are on the way.

The "Flying Texans" training camp is here.

O'Daniel Will Go To Washington On August 4

Senator-Elect Will Make Tour of Army, Aviation Camps First

Gov. Lee O'Daniel will present himself in Washington to take his oath as United States senator Monday, Aug. 4, it was announced Thursday as O'Daniel left Austin on a tour of army and aviation training camps that will occupy him for the next two weeks.

When he is sworn in as senator, Lieut. Gov. Coke Stevenson will become governor. Mr. O'Daniel apparently will leave the state about Aug. 1, the first time he has been beyond the state's border since he became governor two and a half years ago.

Gov. O'Daniel Thursday's schedule called for visits to the bomber plant site at Fort Worth, and Hicks field, near Fort Worth. He Friday will visit the new Sheppard training field at Wichita Falls, and Saturday, Camp Barkeley near Abilene.

Gov. O'Daniel and governors of Oklahoma, Arizona, Colorado and New Mexico were invited by Maj. Gen. William S. Key, commander of the 45th division, to attend a division review at Abilene Saturday. The division is made up of troops from the five states.

At his office here, it was said Mr. O'Daniel will visit other training camps next week, and that his short tour of the defense points was to be almost as strenuous as the recent campaign trip in his United States senate race.

Omaha Man New Head of Jewish Group

KERRVILLE, Tex. (AP)—Philip M. K...

Dec 16, 1941
**Roosevelt Sought to ... did Me
So He Hid at Sea, Says O'Daniel**

Dec 16, 1941
**Makes His Sunday Talk for Texas in Advance
And State Chairman Tries to Kill Part of It**

Last-minute efforts were being made in Texas Friday to delete part of Senator Lee O'Daniel's transcription to the broadcast over the radio Sunday in the Lone Star State, in which the Senator said that "President Roosevelt thought it best to hide out and take to the high seas" after hearing that

**Strong Army
at Defense**

O'Daniel was coming to Washington.

E. B. Germany, state Democratic chairman and friend of O'Daniel, tacitly admitted in Dallas that he had wired radio stations planning to broadcast the transcription asking them to delete one paragraph.

One telegram signed E. B. Germany and received by a radio station quoted the part to be deleted as follows: "Maybe he (President Roosevelt) had read what some of the Texas political newspapers printed about me and got the idea I had horns and thought it best to hide out and take to the high seas before I arrived. The folks around here say it is the first time any President ever got completely lost, so the people did not know where he was."

Germany told The News he believed O'Daniel had made the transcription in Washington several days ago, thinking that President Roosevelt had gone on a fishing trip. He said O'Daniel "was only jesting."

"Later, when it was learned what the President's mission was and the seriousness of the occasion, the Senator probably thought it not wise to jest about a thing so serious and hence wanted it changed," Germany said.

The speech is due to be broadcast Sunday. Radio operators said it is possible to delete one paragraph or parts of a transcription so that the audience will not know it has been cut.

Regarding the telegrams, Germany declined to comment other than to say that they spoke for themselves. He did not know whether the deletions would be made.

During his campaign for the Senate, O'Daniel frequently said he was going to Washington to "twist the tails of the pussy-footing politicians." Last Sunday he made his first talk by radio, also by transcription, since he has been a Senator.

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Aug. 17/18-1941
Dallas News

I Want to Help F.R., O'Daniel Tells Texans

Senator Delivers His Sunday Talk After It's Corrected

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17. (AP).— Senator Lee O'Daniel said in a speech prepared for radio broadcast by transcription in Texas Sunday that he had been trying to see the President ever since he arrived in Washington, but had not because "for some reason or other he left town the day before I arrived and had not returned, up until the time this program was prepared."

Much of O'Daniel's speech was in humorous vein, although he devoted some of it to a serious explanation of his opposition to the bill calling for extension of service time for selectees. He theorized that under the one-year plan, twice as many men would be adequately trained at the end of a two-year period.

Referring to the President, O'Daniel said he wanted to see him on his return "and give him my further assurance that I want to co-operate with him in any way I can to help in this national defense program."

"We are living just one block from the White House," O'Daniel said. "That makes it handy if we run out of coffee and need to borrow a cup before breakfast."

Part of Talk Cut

At the request of E. B. Germany, Democratic chairman and friend of O'Daniel, Dallas station deleted two paragraphs of the original transcription that mentioned Mr. Roosevelt's "hiding-out" before the new Senator reached Washington.

The station turned the record received from O'Daniel over to a local record-making shop. A new record was made, skipping the jest that O'Daniel decided was unwise after he learned that the President had been in conference with Winston Churchill.

Man Has Appendicitis

~~Johnson~~

Aug-18-1941
Dallas Tex -

Harold H. Young:

Washington: D.C.

Dear Friend:

Am enclosing a couple of clippings from Dallas News - that you might not catch these two - as I knew - there was a new Secty, at the office. (temporarily -)

My old friend Doug Tholke. at the City Hall. just told me of - the transcription records - before this was published - on Aug-16th.

Mr. O.D.'s friend Gene - was, at that time tearing his hair frantically, trying "to delete the transcription."

I heard the Sunday, noon - broadcast, and - I noticed the deletion had been made - as there was no word - of the "trip".

Surely, these are days - to make Texans - take stock - and - I wonder - how much more we are to be humbled - before the world - by a Mount-Lewis who dared - to call "Texas" his State."

A letter from Philip to-day - tells me of his appointment, to Bogalva Colombia, as "Military Attaché" (Gast.)
I have a feeling - that I have you to thank for this

as - Philip was as much surprised - as his mother
was when the appointment was made - He is
sailing from New York - Sept. 12, - and will
be home for a few days next week - and knew
nothing of it - until the papers made the an-
nouncement - of his promotion, to the diplomatic
service - Thanks - for all the fine courtesies - to this
family.

M. Watson, came over for dinner yesterday - The
best informed person - I know - and a marvellous
mentality - and all the persons & things she
knows, & contacts - and data - when you come
home - I would like to talk with you - in re-
gard - to this valuable person - By the way -
I am hoping you will not come until the
weather is some cooler - for two weeks - it has
been terribly hot.

A recent announcement from R. R. Cove - is a
certain S. W. Breeding, chief of Gas Utilities has re-
signed - I don't believe he ever acted as chief -
the article, in newspaper, remarked, he resigned
to "take care of personal business," I wonder -

Believe me - Sincerely,

Your friend -

Rh. J. B. 573 -

Office O. P. C.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

August the eighteenth

1 9 4 1

Mrs. Mary Louise Glass,
2304 Mass. Avenue, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

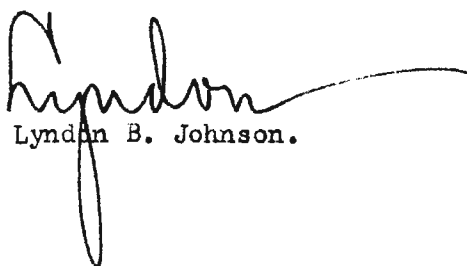
Dear Mary:

Here are the letters you let me see.
Thanks very much.

I am going to try to get away to Louis-
ville Thursday.

Seems like ages since I saw you. When
is the big boss coming back this way?

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Lyndon B. Johnson". The signature is written in dark ink and has a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Lyndon B. Johnson.

Lyndon Johnson

September 19, 1941

The year ahead will see sharply defined mass political moves of increasing definiteness, clearness, and contraversial strength. They are:

One, shall the American tradition of free speech and free movement go on as normal as against an increasing demand for war unity? The answer will be for enforced unity and suppressed activity. The democratic processes and individual liberty are designed for normal and peaceful living. No free speech and free action ever won a war. Armies fighting thus are always beaten. An all-out war founded on economic national effort is antagonistic to anything that gets in the way. One fights to preserve liberty. True and honest fighters for liberty in an all-out war effort are willing and anxious to give up many individual peace time liberties to preserve the basic fabric on a permanent and victorious basis, and every democracy fights its way back to individual (and wasteful) human differences just as soon as possible. It is hardly necessary to go into the history books, but this has been done from Rome through France, and always among the liberty-loving Greeks, as well as when England moved from the Magna Carta on to world dominance. Americans in common sense in 1942 will become impatient with individuals and minorities whom public sentiment believes is working against and not for the maximum effort to defeat Hitler in the minimum time and at the minimum of waste.

In Texas, a state thoroughly alive to individual rights, the emphasis will be anti-Germanic, probably to a point of injustice in individual cases. But in general the Texas vote will be antagonistic to all German groups which vote pro Hitler and anti Roosevelt. Every minor activity of the German culture where they meet in race-conscious groups talking war will be magnified. It all will be summed up in, "I am agin the Germans."

The first politician who gives this issue a just and fair airing on the theme that the rights of all are superior to the rights of some, and that the big right of self preservation (against Hitler) is of greater importance than the right

of protest and non participation and mental sabotage will have a statewide acceptance. I would hate to see such a politician become a demagog and lose his balance, but if he is clearly and fairly pointing out the issue, going into German communities with the direct and manly American appeal, he will come out as a courageous and fine American worthy of the majority vote. The sad thing is that he will be supported by the narrow and biggoted vocal group. It will be a petty Ku Klux Klan sort of thing, with people of the Dies' supporter type swinging in. A politician should be prepared to hit strongly an injustice, even from his own side, staying in the broad middle of common sense and what is truly a democratic war of survival and with enthusiasm for liberty itself.

Two, what may be a deciding vote bloc next year in Texas may be the labor vote. Texas is probably freer from labor racketeering than all but a few Southwest and Southern states. The reason is that entrenched capital and bourbonism was never destroyed there or balanced by healthy union labor. And, hence, the union labor movement grew slowly and sanely and carefully watched its step and public opinion. So a politician may not have to make a Texas issue of the second great national wave of public sentiment which is to be in 1942--the democratic demand that the government stop incorrect actions delaying the war effort, whether by civil war within labor itself or by over-reaching for wages or by gangster boss rules. There can only be one boss of the war effort itself--that is the government--if and when voluntary or minor group action is hurting what the nation clearly sees is needed. It is to be hoped that a politician in Texas clearly could state that Texas labor is sound and patriotic, and that only Texas labor is an issue in a Texas political race. But actually that may not be so. Newspapers, movies, and radio, and Washington legislation may call for a counting of noses among candidates. It may not be possible to wrap the American flag and Roosevelt around one and shout that labor has done no wrong. The issue will be very much more sharply defined in the spring of 1942 than it was in 1941. A constructive and clear statement of what a Senator can and should do regarding labor and war time is called for to off-set any demagog who simply shouts anti labor under the guidance of big capital.

I think Senator Norris would be a good man to sit down with on this. He probably remains one of the few minds which are American first and has weathered the storms of minority pressure better than any.

Three, the Jewish question raised by the unfortunate combination of Roosevelt's percentage of Jewish appointments and the Lindbergh-Nye open crusade. There is a very strong latent anti-Jewish political silent vote everywhere. This is probably stronger in the South than in the polyglot Northern cities. The percentage of Jews in America is four per cent. Both the Jew and the Catholic are relatively non-existent in Texas. I believe that religious and racial guarantees of the American Constitution can be defended but not pampered and catered to for votes while at the same time one can frankly handle the German question, not as a racial or religious question but as an American question.

In conclusion, a Texan returning to Texas to bring the light to men far away from Washington should be a fairly clean and representative American. There should be less Roosevelt, less war hysteria, and more of a man of the people leading the people from Texas to Washington through their own reason and own experience and their own emotions. Such a statewide race would stamp the individual for what he truly is. He would not have to worry about the old business of adding blocs of votes to make a majority, particularly if the coming race is largely to be a two-man business.

L B Johnson

(This is a note on the letter on manic-depressives.)

While the above, as a letter, may have a place somewhere for someone, one speaking for oneself would attempt to become slightly more accurate within himself. Exact truth is rarely possible in writing because of the privacy of truth. When one attempts to convey truth, exactitude is lost somewhere between the speaker and the listener, and, of course, when one writes for all to read the loss is much greater. Also speaking alone, one would say that there is no sub-normal, normal, or abnormal except as one convinces himself of his own grade in the scheme of things. Then in the printing process--when one exhibits his ^{own} ~~own~~ personality in word or ^{act} ~~act~~--the receivers determine the name to call one by. The world may say one is an idiot, a standard dependable person--that is, easily discernable and predictable--or that one is abnormal. But the point starts from the point of self conviction--not necessarily self-awareness in the conscious. The great actor is always the natural one--the one who, in a delicate shading, merges his own personality in an imperceptible marriage with the character to be acted, so that only one, and not two, is seen and heard by the audience. So, self-conviction of one's own worth--a very pitiless self conviction ^{grown} ~~grown~~ out of the roots--the very, very many roots of experience and reaction to things in sound and substance, is the starting point of the thing that the world calls by these many names of measurement--such as superior and inferior.

When a specialist in brain measurement writes a book, he dividēs the inmates of the asylum into long classifications with longer names and longer explanations as to just how they got into the asylum. A few books of this breed may cause one in sense to close the chapter, for the books make very little sense unless attached to a reality. It is a pity that classification and generalization are accepted by mediocrity as truth instead of as guide posts in the search of truth. For truth--that private thing--dies in most ones through the death of the mind in the hail storm of general truths, and in the blizzard of repetition and insistence in the absoluteness of the authorship of the speaker.

Death comes to the young and the weak as intellectual curiosity is murdered , and out of the mouths of the many come poor pictures of that which came into the eye and ear and passed out of the mouth through the dead zone--the murdered zone--of the brain, and one speaking is without conviction and speaks as a parrot speaketh a poor clamor and a poor meaning, for one may not speak a truth which one believes not. And no one may believe any truth which one has not manufactured within his own head.

A statement that it rains is not a truth--it is a description of a fact. But what does rain mean to the farmer? The merchant? The little girl in her Sunday dress? The nurse with the ailing child? The doctor fighting influenza? All these on the same bus as the rain falls on the roof. Where is the truth except in the heads of each individual?

Seeking the truth about this thing--the letter--touches the point for oneself alone. One sees a rainbow, although the sun is shining through the window, and there is no mist or rain in the beautiful cleanness of this unusual winter afternoon. What does the rainbow say? Has the picture suggested truth? It says "harmony." It says "unity." It says "beauty." It says, "There is no beginning, and there is no end in sight." The one in privacy would suggest to any other one that he may see a rainbow always when once one has seen it. In the imagination there is the truth. Nothing, neither the blizzard nor the hail, may for one moment remove the rainbow, and, if there is a rainbow, there is also not a rainbow ever for one who in imagination has so stated. Such a one may see a rainbow, denying the sight, through denying the meaning to be other than falsity or a scientific fact of light against the raindrops, or as something silly with which to amuse a fretful child. But this rainbow, speaking to one privately, says that life is like that, that one may only be what one believes oneself to be; that the process of making this true belief--or this true-some of belief--an acceptance by the many is but the process

of an exhibit in performance--^{denial} a ~~denial~~ by the many puts many individuals into asylums where they most often continue their beliefs. But the asylum does not make the truth a bit more untrue. The many say in effect that the inmate of the asylum has no social value because his truth does not add and subtract for the benefit of the many or the support of the one, or because the one in belief is a bit noisier or babbling in a fruitless effort to express his belief--his truth. He who would save the state from the wastage of too many persons in asylums might earn his medical salary by starting somewhere near this point. If one enters the asylum with a firm conviction of his own sanity and became an interne, he also is an inmate of the asylum. Is he physically particularly different? He may start out with the fact that he is a person, and that the involuntary inmates also are persons. It is permissible for this interne to believe that he is sane, and go back to the centuries old Latin word "sanitas" and find out that he is merely saying that he is in good health--that he is sanitary at the place where the five senses meet to manufacture truth. So we may for a moment admit that those persons temporarily jailed in the asylum are unsanitary at the place where the five senses meet to manufacture truth.

If the man who presumes to serve his world in sanity is not himself, insane with some form of ego-mania, he will know that his job is one similar to the scrub woman picking up the cigar butts of a business day. His first business is the truth of it all--his private attitude toward the expression of his truth. Obviously one who enters the asylum to make a living is unsanitary, and therefore insane. As an ego maniac should his concept of the truth be confined to himself as a money maker. And such an ego maniac in voluntary servitude within the asylum wall, immediately will an inferiority complex mania to defend himself from egomania (egomania ?--this may be egomania unless through the centuries we have learned to misspell it.) In the insistence of all ones around him in service to the unfortunate involuntary members of the community this egomaniac will say to himself in privacy of his truth that ^{he} is superior to the inmates, that they are silly or unfortunate or what not. Are they unfortunate

because they cannot come and go out of doors on their own decision? One doubts it. It is probable that the private truths have so willed themselves after a survey of what is to them a disordered and unsanitary outside. Such ones merely deny the sanity of the world and withdraw through their acts.

One who visited a state asylum was met by a gentle doctor. As the two, in sympathy toward one another (they had met under the stars at sea) walked from room to room--from "case" to "case"--the truth that was in the doctor was spoken:

"No one who has lived here for fifteen years may be sane, " he said. And then a pause and more "cases."

Again spoke the doctor: "There is much happiness here. I would not know how to live elsewhere."

The one who was with the doctor then spoke from out of his own truth factor saying: "In youth, when learning to dance, as a charitable act I was asked to dance in an asylum. It was one of the most happy evenings of my youth in the purity of the joy of those in the room."

* * * * *

This has wandered far from a letter, but not so far from the rainbow. When all ones in service toward all other ones approach truth in action from the standpoint of the quality, there shall be a lessening of unsanitary approach; there shall be a lessening of the egomanias of those who serve; there shall be little need for classification by experts of manic-depressive and so on ad infinitum; there shall be the simplicity of the one in the pure feeling of service. So one in private truth says that service moving from one in the true spirit of service merely enters the zone of the truth of the to-be-served. If the one in service has something to give, it will be given in an unawareness of one and one, ~~but~~ in the pure joy of the concept that ~~one~~ and one have made one for once. And the service which one shall call accomplishment is merely the light that comes to the one served. And the light is the sanity that remains in the served one as the darkness of fear and futility disappeared.

For truth has no substance. No truth may move from the privacy of one into accomplishment if ego precedes, or if comparison protrudes its ugly misshapen self in the serving across the light line mouthing pity or hearing superiority as the one in service listens for the truth of the one to be served.

Let's see the rainbow! One very great medical mind said: "All persons may be divided in two classes--the dominant and the servil."

And one answered, "Doctor, why not look at the rainbow?"

And the doctor said, "It is a pretty sight." And all this was said in a doctor's consulting room while a storm raged.

And then one said, "Please, Doctor, if there is a rainbow, is it not one rainbow, and may there be two classes? May there be a beginning or an ending to force in action?"

Said the doctor, "I am seeing with you that there is no line to divide a rainbow. The colors do confusd one sometime. But we who work through the days must have names for things. But I am growing. For many years I have denied the soul of things, because I could not see in science a soul which could be explained through the process of the mind of one. I have now grown to see the rainbow. I know that I may be a trifle colorblind from looking too intently at the mind, at the logic~~y~~, at the mathematics, at the physics of the universe. Then the rainbow helps a lot."

Said the other one: "If this rainbow is one without beginning and end, let us examine the width of the rainbow which to our sight has a beginning and an end moving through a color scheme. Can you see why one color becomes another?"

Said the doctor: "Only when they put it in books. In fact--pardon me, in truth--there is no line to draw along the rainbow width except a beginning and an end."

"The beginning and the end of life perhaps," said one.

Said the doctor, "I shall not divide people so surely again, nor shall I divide one part of the body or the mind with any sureness hereafter, nor

shall I deny hereafter a third ^{thing} ~~thing~~ which so many ones call the soul; neither shall I divide nor add nor subtract with any sureness; nor shall I be so sure that I have seen the end of the body and the mind in the finiteness of my logic and my experience."

Seeing a bit of rainbow perhaps, the doctor returned to waiting patients.

And back to the manic-depressive about which a letter was written for the eye of two whom a diagnostician had spoken of with assurance. This double word should not be thrown away. It defines a person of great force who may have temporarily been out of line in service through a curving, or a stoppage, or a backtracking of sane force in action serving others. A manic-depressive then is merely one of great force out of the line of the universal Oneness which is the sane (sanitary) movement of force through human life.

Much--too much--has been said to produce any clear picture except to one speaking, but truth in privacy means no classification, no formula, no beginning, and no end. Only the limitations of time and concept should stop one returning to the ground of definable reality. One may say: "There is nothing static about force. Human force never resides at a point. All classification must be imperfect because classification is static. So classification is merely symbolic and suggestive of the private truth of one as life flows through from nowhere through one into refreshed action through truth. He who is classified by the system-maker need not be elated nor in fear. His is the business of living in sanity. And so unawareness of self when in service is the essence of it all."

This is written in a hospital in a protest, not as a protest against carpenters on the human body, nor as a rebuttal for those who diagnose the ills of the human body; neither as a suggestion primarily for those who serve disordered minds. Rather is it an expression of a private truth in the stimulation of a hospital sitting room. So the feeling, the location of the place of writing, may be in sanity. He who would go further to deny the surgeon or the

doctor his very great place in bodily correction would go into insanity. Define insanity as that individual truth--that bit of private belief which does not bring health in personal or community progress, and which, therefore, is rejected by humanity as worthless or harmful as humanity in its very great wisdom moves through time and space toward a broader and a greater light.

From this hospital monologue the truth in one may in the sunshine, at sea, or in the air, or moving along a paved road, or in the quiet of a library, speak of how one may prepare to serve. The quantity and quality of service will have limits inside of this preparation--not in the action or words as they come after from the now until the end through death. For if one has health in that place where truth is made, there can be naught but joy there. From nothing, nothing comes. From joy only joy may come. So there is no place in service for any one in sadness, except as sadness moves through sympathy into action. The quality of sadness--the static quality of pessimism--are diseases of the soul.

The quality in pessimism ~~and~~ is from that place where the ^{Soul} ~~soul~~ has denied through the ego both the quality and the quantity of service. Such a soul is in reverse. No matter how apparent to others is the service, such service shall be faulty; shall move from one into the world by fits and starts as the pain within the pessimistic one forces an outlet from the pain itself. True serenity is the quality at the point of continuous service, and in true serenity there is sanity and joy and health. The many noises, the negations, the self pity, the apologies, the unfounded suspicions, are but the excrescence--excretia--of the disorder. So, in the end the simple bromide, "By their acts shall ye know them."

But he who needs a suggestion to weigh the acts without weighing may ask at the place of his private truth, "Does this other one blame, alibi, over-praise, wheedle, withdraw? Is there an oscillation where others are left with promises and not performance? Is there much of wishful thinking and little doing? How meaningful are his words? Listen, you shall hear. Be not flattered and you shall see."

O'Daniel Wanes in Texas Favor

Poll Shows Senator
 Has Dropped Twelve
 Percentage Points
 Since His Election

BY JOE BELDEN,
 Editor Texas Surveys of Public
 Opinion.

AUSTIN, Texas, Sept. 20.—Sen-
 ator Lee O'Daniel, some writers
 have noted, was in Texas this week
 in what appears to be a political
 fence-mending tour. The observa-
 tion is not ill-made, for Texas Sur-
 veys of Public Opinion, as the Sen-
 ator arrived back in Texas from
 Washington, discovered in a state-
 wide canvass that his vote strength
 as a potential senatorial candidate
 for next summer is none too en-
 couraging.

A cross section of voters, similar
 to that used to predict five Texas
 elections within a few percentage
 points, was asked, "Whom would
 you like to see elected United
 State Senator from Texas next
 summer?"

Although all three are now
 weaker than last summer, Lyndon
 Johnson and Gerald C. Mann, re-
 sults show, now are substantially
 ahead of O'Daniel in popular ap-
 proval for the junior Senator's posi-
 tion. What O'Daniel's strength will
 be after his tour will be measured
 by subsequent polls.

Here is the tabulation of ballots
 collected in this survey, in answer
 to the question, indicating that
 since the election of last June
 O'Daniel has dropped more than 12
 percentage points from the 30 per
 cent that elected him Senator:

	Pct.
Lyndon Johnson.....	21.6
Gerald C. Mann.....	21.4
O'Daniel.....	17.6
All others (mostly Martin Dies).....	14.7
Undecided.....	24.7

But testing Texas voters in an-
 other manner, the surveys discovers
 that O'Daniel apparently would be
 considerably stronger, once he ac-
 tually placed his name on the bal-
 lot against certain other men—four
 of whom already are being men-
 tioned as possible candidates. These
 names were presented to the voter,
 who was asked whom he would
 select if he had to choose from this
 list.

	Pct.
James V. Allred.....	15.8
Lyndon Johnson.....	27.9
Gerald C. Mann.....	30.0
O'Daniel.....	29.4
Dan Moody.....	2.1
Undecided.....	5.2

Perhaps this is an indication of
 what the present incumbent can do
 with public opinion if he decides to
 try his fortunes at the polls again,
 but what cannot escape attention
 is that O'Daniel, at least for the
 present, no longer holds sway over
 the electorate. This was amply
 demonstrated, not by any kind of
 sampling or estimate but by actual
 count of ballots at the recent elec-
 tion, which the former Governor
 won by a margin of two tenths of 1
 per cent. Other Texas surveys
 polls since that time have shown
 that today he would run a poor
 third to Mann and Coke Stevenson
 in a gubernatorial race and that
 when he left Texas his personal
 popularity had dipped to the lowest
 point in twelve months.

A Central Texas editor not long
 ago editorially chastized people who
 "belittle O'Daniel, the Belden poll
 not excepted." Texas Surveys of
 Public Opinion never has designed
 any poll as a criticism of anyone.
 Its only mission is the accurate and
 impartial measurement of Texas

thought. When it has found
 O'Daniel at the height of his popu-
 larity, as he was in the middle of
 the Forty-Seventh legislative ses-
 sion, the Surveys reported the fact.
 When his support had waned, the
 Surveys likewise reported it. In
 the summer of 1938 the poll indi-
 cated that O'Daniel would be elect-
 ed without a runoff, and he was so
 elected. This summer the poll pre-
 dicted, O'Daniel would run the
 weakest race of his career, and he
 did just that.

The emphasis Texas Surveys has
 placed on the repeated reports of
 O'Daniel's ups and downs is not due
 to any attempt to point at any of

his political good points or de-
 ficiencies. News value is the only
 guide followed in selecting topics
 for these polls. And certainly,
 O'Daniel since 1938 has been in the
 Texas limelight more than any
 other man.

Following is the detailed analysis
 of public opinion in the state today,
 section by section, on the coming
 senatorial race. No names were
 suggested in this case. It is of in-
 terest to note that each candidate
 receives his greatest support ap-
 proximately from those sections
 where he ran best in the last elec-
 tion. The results, by percentage,
 are:

	Johnson.	Mann.	O'Daniel.	Others.	Unde- cided.
Panhandle and South Plains.....	12.2	19.5	39.1	21.9	7.3
North Texas.....	16.0	22.1	14.3	21.7	25.7
East Texas.....	11.3	26.7	23.1	14.8	24.1
South Texas.....	29.6	20.5	6.0	9.6	34.3
Central Texas.....	23.7	24.7	21.8	12.3	17.5
Southwest and valley.....	41.3	7.5	9.3	11.1	30.8
West Texas.....	24.2	24.2	18.1	11.4	24.1

This is how Texas voters now
 are shifting in their opinions re-
 garding potential senatorial candi-
 dates for the election next summer.

The tabulation below gives a pic-
 ture of the flow of votes from one
 candidate to another in comparison
 with the votes at the June election:

	Now, Favor				Unde- cided.
Those who voted for:	Johnson.	Mann.	O'Daniel.	Others.	
For Johnson.....	5.5	12.1	7.6	51.6*	24.2
For Mann.....	64.1	3.4	1.8	11.1	16.9
For O'Daniel.....	4.2	65.3	2.9	12.6	17.7
For Others.....	5.0	4.5	62.2	8.0	19.9

*Practically all these were for Dies.

Wason

Memo to L. B. J.:

September 26, 1941

Have been expecting a letter from Fentress giving details as per enclosed.

He phoned saying Connally and Poage were on the job and Connally was very, very mad that Killeen got it and Waco was suchred. I said that I did not believe that I could work with Connally effectively, but that Fentress should call Connally direct.

I said I did not believe you would work as effectively moving with Connally and Poage, but that I would inform you, and that Fentress could keep me informed. I know that you will know what to do, if anything, much better than I would know to tell you what I would like done.

I am particularly concerned that your general record of helpfulness is kept up in an absolutely clean way.

C. E. M.

Lyndon

October 2, 1941
Stephen F. Austin Hotel

Memo:

Mayor Miller and I had a fine time today.

What about it? Shouldn't he work harder?

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
October 6, 1941

Johnson
Dear Lyndon:

Back from Texas, a fellow wants to write to somebody, so you are the first victim.

Somebody told me that a man could spend \$25,000 on a senate race. This time that is all a man may get, and all he should get. I would maneuver at once to be in position December 15 to make not more than \$25,000 necessary.

It is obvious that individuals in different cities will contribute to local campaign headquarters, but that is something else, as those men generally support a prospective winner, getting their names into the pot without your knowing anything about it.

I would meet every Texas voter possible, particularly in towns from 500 to 5,000 where they appreciate a call. I would not make long distance runs to make speeches before Chambers of Commerce, but would tail out for a week at a time, largely on a hit and miss basis, using your time from day to day as the people you meet direct you. The least number of scheduled speeches the better. An advance man may make the weekly papers a week ahead of your call, seeing the editors and asking them whether they would like to show Lyndon around town some time next week, and make a date. This mostly to get the item in the paper in a more prominent way that Lyndon Johnson was the guest of Editor So and So last Tuesday and saw the folks and said. This gives you an advance story, and an editorial and news story the week after you have left. I am sorry that Frank Baldwin or Buck Hood can't do this, but I believe that Keech can, as nobody would get mad at him.

I am imagining a conversation with an editor and a few others which eventually gets into the paper the week following as an interview or an editorial comment:

From the Cameron Herald, October 20, 1941: Lyndon Johnson, who was nosed out by Senator O'Daniel at the special senatorial election this summer, was in town visiting Editor Blank and Mayor Black. He shook hands with lots of folks and did not say whether he would run for the senate next year. He did refer to the last campaign.

Johnson said: "I told the folks this summer that I would not sit in a senate seat if our boys were in a shooting scrape with Hitler, so it is a little early to say whether I am to sit in the senate or carry a gun." And then he paused and added with a grin, "Of course, I can't keep you folks from voting for me if I am shooting."

Mayor Black said: "Texas would rather send a soldier than a skunk. The senate seat would be cleaner that way."

Johnson was tanned from a cross state auto trip, looking at Army and Navy defense projects. When asked whether the President had sent him to look over the job, he smiled. "My opponents last summer had me riding on the President's coat tails, and I had myself carrying a bucket of water. Let's leave the President out of this."

"How big are income taxes going to be?" Banker Swift asked Johnson.

"Big enough to beat Hitler and keep the American system and to hold down inflation," said Johnson. And then he added, "And big enough to tighten up the pocket books of the big money boys who slip big bills quietly to control candidates and then shout 'wolf! wolf!' and 'bad boy' at the other fellow. I think we are going to have a very inexpensive campaign all around for every state office from now on. If I were to run, I would dig in on a Model T. I don't know whether there is going to be gasoline for sound trucks next time. You voters are going to have to make up your own minds without being high-pressured every night over the radio."

"I see that the German vote in your own district was nine to one against us in the election returns," said Editor Blank. "Why did O'Daniel carry Washington and Gillespie, etc. (naming about three counties in the tenth district) when you always carried them for Congressman?"

"Every Texas voter owns his own vote," said Johnson seriously. "I took the position of all out unity behind Roosevelt. The German communities this summer were not in unity with Roosevelt, according to the election returns. I lost this vote, that is all, and I don't know whether I will ever have it again as an all out supporter of the President. But that would not keep me from trying, and, were I to make a campaign next spring, I certainly would campaign in every German community, believing that all true German-born and descendants of Germans in Texas should have the American position thoroughly explained. I know that the so-called Texas German vote is for America as against Hitler. It only needs to be shown that the best interests of the entire world, including the German people, will be served when Hitler is gone."

"What about farm and livestock prices next year?" asked Jim Smith, a land owner and cattle raiser of Blank County.

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"How about the development of our rivers and harbors for public power, war chemicals, and shipping?" Johnson was asked.

"I think you know my record on this," Johnson said. "I am a 100 per cent fighter on the proposition that the people own first call on the natural power of our rivers, and that no Texas port can ever be privately owned and privately controlled by special privilege. The big

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If this is done with great thoroughness, I believe a Belden Foll, December 15, will show:

1. Johnson 35 per cent
Mann 27 per cent
O'D. 20 per cent
Scattered 18 per cent.

2. That, if Johnson is an outstanding leader, that the amount of money he needs, and the amount of active campaigning, will be lessened as the band wagon votes solidify at the first of the year.

- * 3. That, if the general sentiment of the people is not responsive and solid by January 1, the drift of sentiment may say that a new name would not be so bad, and, in lack of a new name, that the sentiment would drift, awaiting active campaign, which might go against the big pocketbook, the big interests, or even the big Roosevelt.

Johnson of Johnson City, a Texan, this time!

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
October 6, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

You should study the enclosed, as it will be the O'Daniel campaign Bible.

I personally think that at this time O'Daniel is third, both for the senate and the governorship. But a changing of O'Daniel may have a changing brain trust and a different writer. His high line will be, "Labor must serve," and "Ishes and the Washington bums must go."

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Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

O'Daniel speech on anti strike
violence amendment enclosed -

-T.H.F.-

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
October 6, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

Back from Texas, a fellow wants to write to somebody, so you are the first victim.

Somebody told me that a man could spend \$25,000 on a senate race. This time that is all a man may get, and all he should get. I would maneuver at once to be in position December 15 to make not more than \$25,000 necessary.

It is obvious that individuals in different cities will contribute to local campaign headquarters, but that is something else, as those men generally support a prospective winner, getting their names into the pot without your knowing anything about it.

I would meet every Texas voter possible, particularly in towns from 500 to 5,000 where they appreciate a call. I would not make long distance runs to make speeches before Chambers of Commerce, but would tail out for a week at a time, largely on a hit and miss basis, using your time from day to day as the people you meet direct you. The least number of scheduled speeches the better. An advance man may make the weekly papers a week ahead of your call, seeing the editors and asking them whether they would like to show Lyndon around town some time next week, and make a date. This mostly to get the item in the paper in a more prominent way that Lyndon Johnson was the guest of Editor So and So last Tuesday and saw the folks and said. This gives you an advance story, and an editorial and news story the week after you have left. I am sorry that Frank Baldwin or Buck Hood can't do this, but I believe that Keech can, as nobody would get mad at him.

I am imagining a conversation with an editor and a few others which eventually gets into the paper the week following as an interview or an editorial comment:

From the Cameron Herald, October 20, 1941: Lyndon Johnson, who was nosed out by Senator O'Daniel at the special senatorial election this summer, was in town visiting Editor Blank and Mayor Black. He shook hands with lots of folks and did not say whether he would run for the senate next year. He did refer to the last campaign.

Johnson said: "I told the folks this summer that I would not sit in a senate seat if our boys were in a shooting scrape with Hitler, so it is a little early to say whether I am to sit in the senate or carry a gun." And then he paused and added with a grin, "Of course, I can't keep you folks from voting for me if I am shooting."

Mayor Black said: "Texas would rather send a soldier than a slunk. The senate seat would be cleaner that way."

Johnson was tanned from a cross state auto trip, looking at Army and Navy defense projects. When asked whether the President had sent him to look over the job, he smiled. "My opponents last summer had me riding on the President's coat tails, and I had myself carrying a bucket of water. Let's leave the President out of this."

"How big are income taxes going to be?" Banker Swift asked Johnson.

"Big enough to beat Hitler and keep the American system and to hold down inflation," said Johnson. And then he added, "And big enough to tighten up the pocket books of the big money boys who slip big bills quietly to control candidates and then shout 'wolf! wolf!' and 'bad boy' at the other fellow. I think we are going to have a very inexpensive campaign all around for every state office from now on. If I were to run, I would dig in on a Model T. I don't know whether there is going to be gasoline for sound trucks next time. You voters are going to have to make up your own minds without being high-pressured every night over the radio."

"I see that the German vote in your own district was nine to one against us in the election returns," said Editor Blank. "Why did O'Daniel carry Washington and Gillespie, etc. (naming about three counties in the tenth district) when you always carried them for Congressman?"

"Every Texas voter owns his own vote," said Johnson seriously. "I took the position of all out unity behind Roosevelt. The German communities this summer were not in unity with Roosevelt, according to the election returns. I lost this vote, that is all, and I don't know whether I will ever have it again as an all out supporter of the President. But that would not keep me from trying, and, were I to make a campaign next spring, I certainly would campaign in every German community, believing that all true German-born and descendants of Germans in Texas should have the American position thoroughly explained. I know that the so-called Texas German vote is for America as against Hitler. It only needs to be shown that the best interests of the entire world, including the German people, will be served when Hitler is gone."

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Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

L B Johnson

October 7, 1941

The three best people I know of who came out of that campaign are Arch Underwood, Jack Frost, and Dr. A. C. Scott, Jr. These people are my very good friends. A skillful and important person is Harold Young, but he should stay out of it because he is in Washington and a Federal employee. It must be a Texas deal, and everybody should be 100 per cent Texas. That eliminates Wirtz, Marsh, and Young.

I would appoint, if I were boss, Arch Underwood for the purpose of being the central directing person. First, because he is not a known politician. John Connally is in the group. He is no longer working for Lyndon. Underwood should visit the bigger fellows who are going to have to put in the brains and judgement and the prestige to enthuse the county people. Sid Richardson might be one of the people.

The real citizens of Texas who are not looking for any particular nickle's worth for themselves and are not professional politicians must run the show this time.

L B Johnson

October 7, 1941

A proper radio campaign can become more effective if the President's fireside idea is used. A small newspaper advertising campaign (2x5ads) should step up the audience and save half the radio money needed.

Johnson should have a picked time, such as Monday night at eight, once a week for fifteen minutes, with every station possible synchronized.

That certainly is enough to pick up all of the rebutal and all of the bunk of all candidates once a week, and will give him Sunday for preparation for an economy of words and a meaty speech.

All Monday morning papers carry the 2x5 ads on the radio pages of the newspapers.

This space should be purchased within five days of the announcement that Johnson is going to run, with a ten per cent deposit put up to hold it.

WALTER MURRAY
Publisher

JOE DENNIS
Business Manager

W. H. MAYES, JR.
Editor

RANGER DAILY TIMES

~~EASTLAND COUNTY WEEKLY NEWS~~

TIMES PUBLISHING COMPANY
Publishers and Printers

RANGER, TEXAS

October 8, 1941.

Johnson

M.L.Glass
2304 Massachusetts Ave.N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Madam:

Thank you for the check for \$50.40 to cover the account of Mr. Charles E. Marsh.

We shall look forward with pleasure to any service that we may be to you in the future.

Very truly yours,

Joe Dennis
Joe Dennis, Mgr.
Ranger Daily Times.

JD/rd

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
October 13, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

I am very pleased with your come-back from Texas. The fact that you did no drinking and were able to keep your sense of humor and to enjoy the days means very much. I liked your mind Saturday morning, because I saw that you see the significance of your selfless duty to be active regardless of victory or defeat. You have raised the ceiling of yourself. You may amount to something--something other than those persons with whom you consort in Congress.

I was so pleased with you that I forgot to tell you that Pepper wants to spend an evening with you at your convenience. Pepper has a soul, and he must see one somewhere about you, for I notice he has an uncle complex about you, and thinks it is his business to see you get upstairs in his class. I hope you give him this pleasure and have the pleasure for yourself. You have had your Jimmy Allred, now go upstairs and take a practical course from a successfully mixed political altruist. I believe Norris and Pepper point the lines, as against a Connally or a Byrnes, or even a Pat Harrison or a Russell. I believe if a man gets the impersonal but very permanent strength that comes from unafraid and clear sight of the customer (the citizen) that the wisdom is made from that. Thus one in public life gets the "touch" and "feel" of the single voting unit.

The other formula (Connally's) is that of a workman hating, and afraid of, the customer who is thinking of his wage and job. They stay in alright if they are good, but you can't whip a Connally, who is a genius of selfishness and experience, by being a Connally. You have youth on him. You have energy. You have the ability to single shot the job. And I don't believe you are as unaware of his strength as he is contemptuous of yours. The important thing is to never say anything unkind about him at all ever. The ill-nature must be his. You are a "dumb bunny." You must know that personal conflict of words puts both contestants into the alley-cat division. You certainly know that if it takes two to make a fight, your inability to see Connally at all emotionally until next July will put Connally in the position of tripping, greasing, and throwing rocks at a nice young man, and thus will bring out the true character of this great statesman. The public of Texas will be saying by June, "What the hell business is it of Connally whether Johnson goes to town? Does Connally own both seats? Is Connally afraid of Johnson? Is Connally a jealous old man? Is Connally blackmailing the President? To hell with Connally."

This is the June of Connally if you shut up, keep shut up, and never open up. And every time you open up or don't shut up, you delay the Connally character, and reduce your own. Put this general thought up to Pepper, who is a better politician by far than I ever will be. Simply ask him how to handle Connally. I have not done so, but I would like to have a second name on the check of this suggestion. It certainly has worked beautifully heretofore when a Ferguson was trying to suck in Moody.

Have Pepper tell you his experience at Miami when he was attacked down there recently. The hardest thing a young man has to learn is that a vacuum destroys the sound. Remember that all combat and anger and jealousy are essentially products of fear. If you are afraid of a defeat, or afraid someone may whip you, there are certain glands near the pancreas right below your tummy that shoot high stimulation through emotion into the blood. If the emotion is fear, you run or fight according to whether you are a deer or a rat. That means you are frightened, or are angry.

I can't imagine any contestant of the first class, whether in a prize ring or in a fight for humanity or for a state, who has time for silly and senseless thumbing of his nose or sticking out his tongue. I saw Ernest Thompson go to hell on that one. The persecution complex may be settling on even a Tommy Corcoran, and certainly the fear of old age and death and lonesomeness is upon Connally.

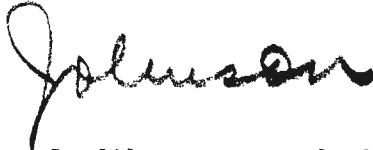
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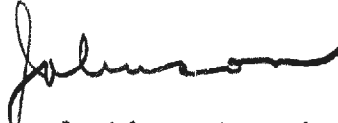
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2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
October 14, 1941

Dear Lyndon:



From where I am looking, there is such a close similarity between Pepper's political career in the early thirties and your own at this moment that I am attaching a rather lengthy memorandum. He had the old age pension question; the contractors' support; the stealing of an earlier election; then the final victory against the associated utilities and railroad and banking groups; he won practically without a newspaper by pure activity and personality, although the contractors have hung on to him and may have hung something on him. He has your same helpful detailed personality, which has taken him now and then beyond the place where he should go, but he has escaped and is getting into a very fine position which I think we are going to be able to call the fearless statesman.

Pepper was thirty-four when he came to the Senate . You can best get the detail of the coming and the line and the problems from the man himself.

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2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
October 17, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

Treat the President very kindly in your heart and in your mind. The line of your life runs through to the American flag. There is nothing else for any of us now.

I believe the weight of your influence with McCormick and Rayburn should be used to see that carbon does not enter into the machinery of Government through any disaffection anywhere.

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Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

2804 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
October 22, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

Thanks for the suggestion to visit
with Corcoran. I think there has been
progress.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

728 mif

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
October 31, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

You see the trees--mostly cypress--in a swamp. There is no clean breeze about you, no highland pines--let alone a forest of them.

It is true that one vote in any one immediate year in our Senate may not be needed to stop Hitler, but the man who does not see himself as an upright pine tree, growing for 35 years and being helpful in the many occasions that a long life of service brings, is undoubtedly in the fog of the swamp lands.

You say you will not live long. That will be true, should you cease to serve, should you over-drink, should you spend your time instead of intaking once in a while in talking all of the time, and should you make a daily problem of yourself instead of what you should be doing. Uncertainty is a chronic form of anxiety, and anxiety is a worry which drops glandular poisons into the blood stream and causes the hands to break out, and the throat to constrict, and which contracts the stomach and causes it to be filled with gas, and constipation to be with us.

What you need is a basic serenity of soul, and not a Saint Vitus Dance of self. You are old enough to enter the first class of old men's wisdom. It is called impersonality. Throw away all your looking glasses so that you may see.

See your President and tell him the truth of the Connally and the Rayburn business. Don't hide this under a white flag of fright, because you do know that you can win if you start at once. And I would advise you simply to leave it there for the Commander-in-Chief to pass on as one of a very great many daily tasks. And please don't try to tell your superior party official exactly what job to give you. Nothing has made me more irritated than to have a man tell me he wants to work for me and then try to write his own ticket as to time and money and place. If I, as a coach of a team of progress, don't know where a man should play, what the hell is the matter with me? And further, the job question should be gently and simply mentioned by you in the following words: "Next August, if events don't take me full time into the war, and if I am out of Congress, where do we go from here? Do I go into private life at thirty-four, or do you want me? You are the boss."

I have written this as the first act of the morning after two nights with you because it seemed good to do so.

And, for Christ's sake, get your body in shape. You look terrible.

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What you need is a basic serenity of soul, and not a Saint Vitus Dance of self. You are old enough to enter the first class of old men's wisdom. It is called impersonality. Throw away all your looking glasses so that you may see.

See your President and tell him the truth of the Connally and the Rayburn business. Don't hide this under a white flag of fright, because you do know that you can win if you start at once. And I would advise you simply to leave it there for the Commander-in-Chief to pass on as one of a very great many daily tasks. And please don't try to tell your superior party official exactly what job to give you. Nothing has made me more irritated than to have a man tell me he wants to work for me and then try to write his own ticket as to time and money and place. If I, as a coach of a team of progress, don't know where a man should play, what the hell is the matter with me? And further, the job question should be gently and simply mentioned by you in the following words: "Next August, if events don't take me full time into the war, and if I am out of Congress, where do we go from here? Do I go into private life at thirty-four, or do you want me? You are the boss."

I have written this as the first act of the morning after two nights with you because it seemed good to do so.

And, for Christ's sake, get your body in shape. You look terrible.

Sincerely,



Charles E. Marsh

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

November 3, 1941

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

Hon. Lyndon Johnson
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

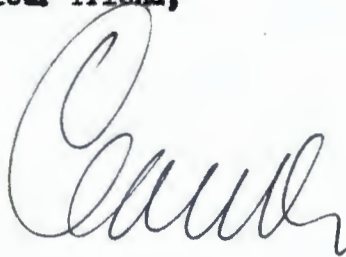
Dear Lyndon:

Even at this late date I want you to know how moved I was that you would think of my birthday and wire me as you so graciously did.

You know, Lyndon, I think a lot of you. You had a tough break, but you have a great future ahead of you. Have no worry about that. This has been a sort of a crucible through which wiser forces than we are have chosen to lead you. I had that experience once, and with all my weaknesses I am many times a better man for having had it.

I hope we both have many birthdays ahead of us so that we may move along life's way together. I shall be proud of your company.

Your friend,



P: C

Cy: Hon. Charles E. Marsh
2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
November 3, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

The big, not the little; the true, never the false; when in doubt, the test is never the lesser of two evils--it is the greatest good to the greatest number.

Such a line of life, plus a daily prayer for self efficiency in body and mind and spirit, will carry any man in middle life to a splendid sunset. Keep your eye on Morris, asking yourself, "What would he have done?" Above all, be not afraid. Above all do not peddle and prostitute your inner feeling amid the stray cats of the universe. Love your fellow man, yes; work for him in the mass always. This is the road of true democracy--of the true servant of the people. But I have noticed that he who serves democracy best associates only in his spirit and in his person with the democratic and the true--not the professional praters of democracy, nor those who steal into the house of democracy for self, and use the servants therein. A true leader has so little time for those who have neither the means nor the education--perhaps not even the energy--to express themselves. These are the great silent millions. Most politicians merely scratch the barest surface of that part of society which they serve. The pushers, the grafters, the permanent travelers of mixed motives take up all their time.

He who would protect himself in the service of all is not he who seeks to serve all who come to him. The true service is to seek out the humble and the many--and to know what is in their hearts. Go do it, please, between now and January 15. The days will be short, and the nights long.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
November 3, 1941

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Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

There are so many who, in cleverness, seek to tell plain people what to do and how to do it. You and I are none of these. As a boy in the Blanco hills, I was a rebel when they tried to tell me too often and too much. Often in secrecy and in the circumstances that come when rich or important people try to say what all should do, I feel that the plain people know better what is good for them than those who seek to tell them too often and too much.

Hitler, talking to Hoover in Berlin, expressed his scorn of the American way through an interpreter. He said, "You have been the leader of the richest country the world has ever known but your people over there have made a very great mistake. You ask them. We tell them."

And I, Lyndon Johnson, of Johnson City, understand what Hitler said because I don't like him--not a bit. This Hitler told a man who led this country, and gave fair warning that he expects to tell us what to do, when to do it and how to do it.

I am just Lyndon Johnson, of Johnson City. There are almost seven million people in this, a state as big as Germany when Hitler took his place, but I feel that our seven million Texans would not have let Hitler live here; but seven million Germans let him live and prosper. Of course, it puzzled me, a plain fellow from Johnson City, who has lived and played with many a German boy. In the freedom that is ours, I never found a German boy who would ever let anyone tell him very much. I have had my eyes blackened by better German boys. Perhaps that is because in America we are freer. Perhaps it is because in Texas the common man and the plain people may print and speak the truth and fight for the truth as they see it.

So Hitler, who would tell us what to be at the time of this quarrel, with a very, very strong desire on the part of us very plain Texas people not to be told or pushed around or to follow. And I don't think we want to be told how we must live our lives. We are willing to pay the Government and we are willing to pay for the good roads, for electric lights, for flood control; for it is things like these which we best may do for ourselves instead of renting out these privileges

to the big shots who live in palaces among the elms of the Eastern estates. We are taking a hold over our own business here in the Tenth District. We have done many things for ourselves, we plain people, and in our plainness, and in our dumbness, we have not been smart enough to be bluffed. Many people have told me that dams on the Colorado would not pay out, but the plain people of Central Texas now have better lights than candles and at a price that private greed could not meet. I think the time has come, if any telling is to be told when the plain people should tell themselves and tell the big shots that they always will do their own business when they can do it the better way. We don't have to rent out our natural resources or pay rent for our way of life and for the things we need to live by. When a very inconvenient flood came down the ~~xxxxxx~~ Colorado, the smart and clever people tried to stop the peoples' work by scaring and bribing and hiring mercenaries to save their sweet and profitable grafts, but common people met in mass meetings in Austin and elsewhere, and talked over their problems and they were not afraid, so the work went on and today twelve thousand farmers read and their children shall read and their children's children shall know the truth with better lights and clearer eyes.

The common people have been enslaved overlong. I would not be other than a common man, for the common man is the master of the slave who thinks he is uncommon. He who knows he is different from other plain folks is not a pleasant person for me to see. In the palaces of those who believe themselves to be so uncommon, I feel a bit nervous. There seems to be something there that smells. With the light there comes knowledge. Clearer judgements come with information. I fear not that Texas will fail June 28th to see that Roosevelt, a leader, made possible these things.

Who is he to be uncommon in this age, in this time? Are we not engaged in one common endeavor? Who is to be upheld on the backs of labor? Who is to be a special and privileged citizen when all are in danger? By what definite right is one born to idleness? Is the accident of birth a special license to our power? What is our America if it is not the heritage of the common man? Anyone who

thinks he is uncommon should be discarded on the dung hill of the past. We have no time for the idle. The parasite of coupons seeking to strut in silliness of self is through in this our age of growth. So be it; I am very glad.

And you, my friends, and only my friends, are the common people. Because I am of the common people, I say let us be kind and gentle to the backward people who seek to ride the horse and buggy days into our day. Let us be kind; let us not be demagogues. They will catch up and their children's children will march down the road to work and self contentment. There are to be no parasites in the days to come and so today we face the issue of the common man for a single common thing. Our leader, Roosevelt, was born of wealth. He went to the schools of the privileged. He may have been uncommon, but our leader had the vision and the dignity of the common people and of the futility of the uncommon. So, Roosevelt, leading on, is equal in seeing with us the dignity of the common man. His mind, his work, his will, for thirty years in fighting for all says simply: "Onward with faith, without prejudices, and without privilege."

That is why I love Roosevelt. Had he been born sixty years ago in the humble way of life of Johnson City, it would have been understandable that as a Lincoln, or as a Jefferson, or as a Jackson, he understood and believed and worked as one of those born of common people. But I, Lyndon Johnson, coming from Johnson City, met this man whom many snobs would have called an aristocrat but I did not find him so. I found a man of the simplest soul who has blind to everything but light and truth. He is a veteran of the ways and methods of snobs. He had seen them all. Before he reached manhood, in truth and in fact he had cast it off. He is a rebel to his class, say the wolves of Wall Street and, for that, I honor him and we who have taken him to ourselves say that those who would bleed us of our wealth and who would hesitate to face with bravery the facts ahead--to them I say with you in chorus: "You shall not pass." The plain people produce and administer the natural resources of the State of Texas without being told by special and uncommon people seeking to tell us we shall not be ordered around. Roosevelt, as

our friend, would have it so. He has sent some fifty million dollars out our way. At one time I volunteered and told him he was too generous but in making a yardstick for all to see, we have shown that the plain people know how to spend and how to save and how to do. I have become, perhaps, a very small part of the great soul that is our President. Perhaps we have shown in the Tenth District how the plain people can do their own jobs. I know we have. And, God willing, and you plain people willing, a plain boy from Johnson City goes to the Senate. I hope to do from that seat in a larger measure what we plain people of the Tenth District already have done, for the farms, for the homes, and for the health of Central Texas.

Speech

As Democrats--Young Democrats--we meet here today in unity behind Roosevelt.

(Applause--wait.)

If a very few of you here are acquainted with me in person or by reputation, you recognize me as one whose head is bloody but unbowed--he simply passed more biscuits than I did.

May I be pardoned for using myself merely as an example of a young man who believes in the bigger thing--our country, its problems, and the world and its problems--rather than in the circumstance of victory or defeat for oneself.

But victory for all of us must be our mission. The defense of America is now a hackneyed phrase. Defense in its very essence means saving from something. Defense is that which the human being does when he is frightened, or at least fearful that an enemy force may disturb him in his pursuit of happiness.

In this our America for almost two centuries we have built under the American flag a method for the pursuit of happiness as we see it. There were only three million people who as partners started the United States of America. Now there are one hundred thirty million people in the partnership.

This partnership has certain assets and certain liabilities, but the essence of the partnership is that all are equal in the selection of those who in leadership must direct us on our road. In the wisdom that only comes from millions a man has been named three times to lead us. A precedent was broken. This man achieved an honor greater than that given to any other man in the history of this country. There was a reason for all this. The reason lay in the wisdom of one hundred thirty million people facing a crisis, and so we all as partners gave for the third time to the world a very great figure--Roosevelt. (Applause--wait.)

But time and circumstances wait for no man--not even one hundred thirty million people centered at a spot on this earth which has not been engulfed by either slavery or fear. And so today I want to forget ^{not} ~~in~~ the business of defense of America, but to discuss the defense of America in terms of youth, for here today

I see those representatives of the Democratic party who are to lead the fight in the years to come--the fight of unity which must be as long as an attacking force would destroy the thing that has been built in this our country.

Defense of America means to me more than guns and ships and tanks and men. Those things have been made and are in the making. The biggest air battleships ever built fly daily the Atlantic, and daily bomb the enemy's workshops of murder, where slaves pause under Hitler as the bombs made in American factories fall. Our men are not there, and, thank God they are not there. There is a vast difference between making the material of war and the using of the material of war. There have been no mangled bodies of Americans in this thing. Our youth is sound in limb and mind, and I believe our youth is still sound in the essence and the soul. I believe there is no hatred in this gathering. I know that there is no fear in this gathering. And all of us know that hatred is the hunchback child of fear.

So we shall build and lend and lease. We shall take in the Free French, not as outlaws with prices on their heads, but as the finest flower of sacrifice and bravery that this war has developed. We ultimately will not allow a Hitler to tell a Darlan to tell us anything.

The Battle of the Atlantic will determine this war. Our courageous leader, with a pitiful authority, has made the most of what he has had to work with. The Wheelers and the Nyes and the Lindbergs and the petty group of selfish men, seeking future prominence should Hitler win, have fought your leader for years. They fought the Neutrality Bill which might have saved France. They fought the Lend-Lease Bill. They now fight to send our armies home so that Hitler may feel with confidence an attack on Britain might succeed, and that plans for his Battle of the South Atlantic might go forward.

This Battle of the Atlantic will not be won on Iceland's shores. The true battle of the free Americas will be fought in the South Atlantic, as Hitler's legions, protected by the French fleet occupying a coastline of Africa twice as

near to Brazil as this point at which we stand here, has conquered the ocean. Bombing time from Dakar is only half the bombing time from our American bases, and remember a long preparation of years of voluntary training and medals has gone before among the military group which may vote the Hitler way, should America falter even a day. And so we shall keep our boys in training. We shall train men. We shall make and send war material by every possible means to every possible ally until Hitler is gone and this thing is settled for freedom.

There is no all out aid to America if men, simply because they are old, are left in the Army and Navy and in the vital committee positions of Congress. If a man does not fit a place, he should not stay there as we face Hitler. Witness Bob Reynolds, a Senator heading the Military Affairs Committee on the pure basis of seniority. Witness the vote upon the question of whether the boys should be sent back home from the camps in this time of crisis. Witness Senator Reynolds, Chairman of the committee, voting to send them home while the nine other members of his committee unanimously voted the path of courage and all out defense.

Should such a man as Reynolds remain as Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee? What do you think a Hitler or a Mikado thinks of the democratic processes?

They know that Reynolds could not muster three votes in the Senate of the United States for the Chairmanship of this all-important Military Affairs Committee except for the voodoo of the seniority regulation.

But I want to pause a moment to say that we have not gone all out for freedom in this country.

~~Insert Number two:~~

As we move through defense of America toward a victory of permanent peace, let us remember that peace is not a static thing. The quality of your peace will be what you are willing to pay for it. It is not a peace at any price. But it truly is a peace the price of which is perpetual vigilance so that justice may reign--so that injustice not bring an end to peace. And in this defense of America which, because it is courageous and intelligent, is to lead to a peace for free men there is a record now being made of what men do and what men say. To many the Lindberghs, the Wheelers, the Vandenberges, and the Nyes, and all the others who would delay or sabotage an all out aid to all free peoples, are now of little significance. America has spoken. These men shall not prevail.

But I wonder whether certain other men--true Americans in the main are not now being found wanting. I wonder whether a man enjoying a thirty thousand dollar a year salary will long remain content spending a day or two a month superintending a state's draft board which sends our youth into training by the million at twenty-one dollars a month? Will he be content with his patriotism forever?

I wonder whether a young man in his thirties who has been lifted into financial wealth by a father or by marrying a rich girl shall be content for long merely because the draft has not reached him as yet? Such men have surpluses of time or money or both which should be all out aid to America now.

There has been too much publicity and advertising of so-called dollar-a-year men. Among the hundreds, yes, thousands of such dollar-a-year men in Washington are many of the strongest human defenses that America now has. But I truly believe that no man can serve two masters when it comes to money. I have never found a man who held down two jobs who held down two equally well. There are exceptions to all rules, and I shall accept LaGuardia as an example of a man who can run New York City three days a week and Civilian Morale three days a week.

~~Insert Number two Page two~~

I am speaking of the principle of the thing, and the rank and file of the dollar-a-year men as I know them.

I don't believe in the principle of the dollar-a-year-man. I believe a better way would be to draft brains as ruthlessly and as definitely and as fairly in the defense of America as we have drafted the bodies of ^a/million young men. I believe that any well-bodied and keenly active brain of any American individual owes his first duty now to the Commander-in-Chief of the United States. I believe he owes to such a Commander all his time, and not part of his time, if Roosevelt needs him. I believe such a man should be content to leave his wages to the fairness of the government just as definitely as a million boys have cheerfully taken what the government has apportioned out of an already over-burdened defense budget.

Because it seemed to be the easiest way, and because Americans like to have the thrill of being a volunteer, we have permitted the brains of America to set themselves aside in a special class called dollar-a-year man. I think the time has now come when a man who wants to serve an oil company three days a week at twenty-five thousand dollars a year and to purchase oil for defense the other three days of the week at one-dollar a year will find himself embarrassed as he tries to serve two masters. He may find himself working half time for twenty-five dollars a year for an oil company which he knows and likes and which pays him, and then on the last three days of the week he may find the same oil company selling the government oil which he is buying. According to my way of thinking it takes a man of such high quality to do this thing accurately in justice to both the oil company and the government that I doubt whether the policy of a dollar-a-year man is the best policy for this government. I think a better way would be to say to the twenty-five thousand a year brain that the government wants full time at, let us say, eight thousand dollars a year. And, if it comes to a show down, it should be full time or nothing.

~~Insert Number two Page three~~

I don't believe that one hundred and thirty million Americans want charity from any corporation whatever. I believe many Congressmen and Senators feel the same way. I would like to know now for my own guidance how you feel. All those who favor a draft of brains, hold up your hands. All those who believe in the dollar-a-year part timers, hold up your hands. Thank you. I shall be guided accordingly when I go back to my Congress seat.

~~near to Brazil as this point at which we stand here, has conquered the ocean. Bombing time from Dakar is only half the bombing time from our American bases, and remember a long preparation of years of voluntary training and medals has gone before among the military group which may vote the Hitler way, should America falter even a day. And so we shall keep our boys in training. We shall train men. We shall make and send war material by every possible means to every possible ally until Hitler is gone and this thing is settled for freedom.~~

~~But I want to pause a moment to say that we have not gone all out for freedom in this country.~~ We have won the battle as to foreign policy--all out aid to all enemies of Hitler is our policy. We care not whether this adventure takes us to Singapore, Dakar, Iceland, or Australia. We shall not let the Japs take the Phillipines by default. This is truly a world war for freedom or for slavery. I give Hitler credit for having stated this position first. He has said that a German victory means a German world for a thousand years.

There is something magnificent about the human imagination. Faust gave up his soul so that in his life time he might rule and do as he pleased. But today, thanks to men and guns and tanks, we in this world are not afraid of Hitler and his German world for a thousand years to come. I believe he is already beaten. He is beaten within himself, and he knows it. Oh yes, the time ahead may be the darkest of the war. Moscow may be his before the snows that beat Napoleon fall upon the German legions. Hitler may turn south and take the Suez. The Japs may capture Singapore. Tin and rubber may grow scarce so that we may not have as many automobiles to ride in the free air of a Sunday America, but we know, meeting here, more than all this. We know that the spirit of freedom and that great need of all men for the maximum amount of freedom within an orderly world is a thing of great strength, and we know that Hitler, ruling otherwise, is losing daily the strength of his own people in their will to win what is worth nothing at all for the average man. Young Democrats here assembled are of those who will win this war for freedom and human dignity. But what is to happen when Hitler is gone; when Germany is prostrate; when the business of unscrambling what Hitler has so horribly put together is to be the basis of the

genuine new order--not Hitler's order or the order of the Yellow Jap.

What are Young Democrats to do about all this? First, they will in proud humility remember Jefferson and Jackson. They will prepare themselves for the biggest problem of all the centuries in which history has been written, for this peace must have in it a Jefferson; it must have in it also a Wilson; it will, praise God, have in it a Roosevelt. (Applause--wait.)

The vision of Wilson was dimmed by disease, perhaps; Eclipsed, perhaps, by those he called a "handful of willful man"; or, perhaps, the Wilson vision of world peace twenty-five years ago was twenty-five years too soon; but anything less than the task of world peace of a permanent basis is not worthy of the American heritage. We Young Democrats did not rescue our country from the horrible collapse years of the early thirties. Older men did that. Perhaps older men than we may write the peace, but the stake, and, yes, the duty of youth is to live the peace, and so the peace must be the peace of youth and for youth, and youth must have a place at the peace table.

At this hour Hitler, in person through Germany or through his allies, is moving in every part of this world. Time presses for him. Every morning he awakes and knows this. Fallen France gives up its Eastern empire to the Japs moving south. Under the cloak of France Hitler moves through Africa; with medals and promises of power to come he moves through Brazil and the Argentine and Chile. Stalled amid the mud of Russia, Hitler knows his time is very, very short. And so without making a prediction of just how short is Hitler's time, or how violent will be the Hitler death throes, I say be prepared for a peace sooner than you think.

First of all we must see that the Democratic Party remains true and clean and fair and wise. Any party is merely a group of individuals such as are gathered here. No group of citizens, no nation, is of any more wisdom or fairness or honesty than is the average person in the group. So our work begins with each one of us knowing that God and country and one's duty to humanity is the basis of our

preparation for the peace to come. As Democrats we meet here. Go back to your homes to spread the faith. The Democratic Party of 1941 is paramount in the nation of two parties. Let it remain so by its service to its country and in its awareness of its supremacy.

This peace to come is bigger than jobs and patronage. Yes, it is even better and bigger than such things as national debt and national economy and the party platform. Economy will be broken down by war. There are to be days ahead when all shall know that the price of war must be paid for if free men are to function in any world that now pleases us. Our world is based upon contracts between individuals and between nations. Without dependable contracts, which in the very essence of the thing means dependable in the world of man, no long time prosperity and no long time peace can possibly exist. And so the days of peace may be days of misery as we fight our way through greater depression time than the early thirties. Prepare yourself in your spirit for such a task.

But I would rather speak today as an optimist because youth may gain nothing by doing nothing, and youth never functions through fear. Let us all remember that through constructive work mankind remains in health and there is a tremendous work to do in this peace.

As capitalism arose in this country from the simple farm economy of those who fought the revolutions, man conquered nature throughout our land. Men united their resources. Billion dollar banks collected the money of thousands of persons seeking safety. Great financial dynasties arose. Goulds, Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, became household names for a desired success.

But today values have changed. Youth no longer looks to wealth beyond use as a social value. The worship of the billionaire is as old fashioned as the horse and buggy. The new order ahead in the peace to come will be directed toward the pursuit of happiness of two billion people now living on this earth, and the job will be too big for any Rockefeller or any Morgan or any one man anywhere.

It will be the business of the two billion people themselves. Nations exploiting backward nations, building billions for those who control ships and natural resources--such as oil and iron and copper and gas--are not to be the controlling forces of this new order. For the nations themselves must do this thing in peace and in friendship.

In the great Ural Mountains, which divide those splendidly fighting Russians from the high plains of Siberia, there is platinum. On the pampas of the Argentine there is feeding ground. In Chile there is fertilizer--all in more abundance than the nations which now own them can possibly use. These goods must move into use for man. Today there are robber barons everywhere who over-charge for and over-own the resources of this world. These resources cannot be cut up into small and useless units. These resources move by the ship load. Credit and capital, the ability to travel, all things on a large scale involving thousands of man hours and millions in money are needed for the proper development of the things of this world for the use of mankind. And so the new economy, the new world of free motion must examine afresh such things as pass ports and tariffs, the control of ports and special privileges of individuals, and, yes, the special privileges of nations who by right of conquest and right of possession bar the door and stop the flow of the things of nature to the use of man.

In an ideal world those people who can best produce must be permitted to produce the thing they are best fitted to produce and ~~for~~ have easy access to those persons who need the product. The corn farmer of Iowa must not be over-charged for the things he needs. ~~Men~~ in a world of peace, fighting for a formula through which war shall be kept at bay must recognize the one definite fact that happy men do not go to war. War in its last analysis is a product of belly hunger. People in misery fight. And so no peace which binds millions of men into hunger and slavery ever will be a lasting peace. That would be the Hitler way.

If I could say that it would be possible to punish men for their crimes of murder in the mass, I might be tempted to say that Germany should be punished to the third and fourth generation, but I content myself by saying that Hitler must

be punished, and those other Hitlers in great numbers who have forged this thing of force and murder seeking to enslave free men--those men must go before there can be peace. An indignant world most rightly will demand such punishment of such individuals. But let us stop, and, knowing that in that awful thing which is now Europe there are four hundred million people who are not truly guilty of the horror of this thing. Let us regard them as sick people who are truly our brothers, and with whom, and through whom, we seek to save and succor and bring back to health this world.

Jahenson

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(Applause--wait.)

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May I be pardoned for using myself merely as an example of a young man who believes in the bigger thing--our country, its problems, and the world and its problems--rather than in the circumstance of victory or defeat for oneself.

But victory for all of us must be our mission. The defense of America is now a hackneyed phrase. Defense in its very essence means saving from something. Defense is that which the human being does when he is frightened, or at least fearful that an enemy force may disturb him in his pursuit of happiness.

In this our America for almost two centuries we have built under the American flag a method for the pursuit of happiness as we see it. There were only three million people who as partners started the United States of America. Now there are one hundred thirty million people in the partnership.

This partnership has certain assets and certain liabilities, but the essence of the partnership is that all are equal in the selection of those who in leadership must direct us on our road. In the wisdom that only comes from millions a man has been named three times to lead us. A precedent was broken. This man achieved an honor greater than that given to any other man in the history of this country. There was a reason for all this. The reason lay in the wisdom of one hundred thirty million people facing a crisis, and so we all as partners gave for the third time to the world a very great figure--Roosevelt. (Applause--wait.)

But time and circumstances wait for no man--not even one hundred thirty million people centered at a spot on this earth which has not been engulfed by either slavery or fear. And so today I want to forget ^{not} ~~in~~ the business of defense of America, but to discuss the defense of America in terms of youth, for here today

I see those representatives of the Democratic party who are to lead the fight in the years to come--the fight of unity which must be as long as an attacking force would destroy the thing that has been built in this our country.

Defense of America means to me more than guns and ships and tanks and men. Those things have been made and are in the making. The biggest air battleships ever built fly daily the Atlantic, and daily bomb the enemy's workshops of murder, where slaves pause under Hitler as the bombs made in American factories fall. Our men are not there, and, thank God they are not there. There is a vast difference between making the material of war and the using of the material of war. There have been no mangled bodies of Americans in this thing. Our youth is sound in limb and mind, and I believe our youth is still sound in the essence and the soul. I believe there is no hatred in this gathering. I know that there is no fear in this gathering. And all of us know that hatred is the hunchback child of fear.

So we shall build and lend and lease. We shall take in the Free French, not as outlaws with prices on their heads, but as the finest flower of sacrifice and bravery that this war has developed. We ultimately will not allow a Hitler to tell a Darlan to tell us anything.

The Battle of the Atlantic will determine this war. Our courageous leader, with a pitiful authority, has made the most of what he has had to work with. The Wheelers and the Nyes and the Lindbergs and the petty group of selfish men, seeking future prominence should Hitler win, have fought your leader for years. They fought the Neutrality Bill which might have saved France. They fought the Lend-Lease Bill. They now fight to send our armies home so that Hitler may feel with confidence an attack on Britain might succeed, and that plans for his Battle of the South Atlantic might go forward.

This Battle of the Atlantic will not be won on Iceland's shores. The true battle of the free Americas will be fought in the South Atlantic, as Hitler's legions, protected by the French fleet occupying a coastline of Africa twice as

near to Brazil as this point at which we stand here, has conquered the ocean. Bombing time from Dakar is only half the bombing time from our American bases, and remember a long preparation of years of voluntary training and medals has gone before among the military group which may vote the Hitler way, should America falter even a day. And so we shall keep our boys in training. We shall train men. We shall make and send war material by every possible means to every possible ally until Hitler is gone and this thing is settled for freedom.

There is no all out aid to America if men, simply because they are old, are left in the Army and Navy and in the vital committee positions of Congress. If a man does not fit a place, he should not stay there as we face Hitler. Witness Bob Reynolds, a Senator heading the Military Affairs Committee on the pure basis of seniority. Witness the vote upon the question of whether the boys should be sent back home from the camps in this time of crisis. Witness Senator Reynolds, Chairman of the committee, voting to send them home while the nine other members of his committee unanimously voted the path of courage and all out defense.

Should such a man as Reynolds remain as Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee? What do you think a Hitler or a Mikado thinks of the democratic processes?

They know that Reynolds could not muster three votes in the Senate of the United States for the Chairmanship of this all-important Military Affairs Committee except for the voodoo of the seniority regulation.

But I want to pause a moment to say that we have not gone all out for freedom in this country.

~~Insert Number two:~~

As we move through defense of America toward a victory of permanent peace, let us remember that peace is not a static thing. The quality of your peace will be what you are willing to pay for it. It is not a peace at any price. But it truly is a peace the price of which is perpetual vigilance so that justice may reign--so that injustice not bring an end to peace. And in this defense of America which, because it is courageous and intelligent, is to lead to a peace for free men there is a record now being made of what men do and what men say. To many the Lindberghs, the Wheelers, the Vandonbergs, and the Eys, and all the others who would delay or sabotage an all out aid to all free peoples, are now of little significance. America has spoken. These men shall not prevail.

But I wonder whether certain other non--true Americans in the main are not now being found wanting. I wonder whether a man enjoying a thirty thousand dollar a year salary will long remain content spending a day or two a month superintending a state's draft board which sends our youth into training by the million at twenty-one dollars a month? Will he be content with his patriotism forever?

I wonder whether a young man in his thirties who has been lifted into financial wealth by a father or by marrying a rich girl shall be content for long merely because the draft has not reached him as yet? Such men have surpluses of time or money or both which should be all out aid to America now.

There has been too much publicity and advertising of so-called dollar-a-year men. Among the hundreds, yes, thousands of such dollar-a-year men in Washington are many of the strongest human defenses that America now has. But I truly believe that no man can serve two masters when it comes to money. I have never found a man who held down two jobs who held down two equally well. There are exceptions to all rules, and I shall accept LaGuardia as an example of a man who can run New York City three days a week and Civilian Morale three days a week.

~~Insert Number two--Page two~~

I am speaking of the principle of the thing, and the rank and file of the dollar-a-year men as I know them.

I don't believe in the principle of the dollar-a-year-man. I believe a better way would be to draft brains as ruthlessly and as definitely and as fairly in the defense of America as we have drafted the bodies of ^a million young men. I believe that any well-bodied and keenly active brain of any American individual owes his first duty now to the Commander-in-Chief of the United States. I believe he owes to such a Commander all his time, and not part of his time, if Roosevelt needs him. I believe such a man should be content to leave his wages to the fairness of the government just as definitely as a million boys have cheerfully taken what the government has apportioned out of an already over-burdened defense budget.

Because it seemed to be the easiest way, and because Americans like to have the thrill of being a volunteer, we have permitted the brains of America to set themselves aside in a special class called dollar-a-year man. I think the time has now come when a man who wants to serve an oil company three days a week at twenty-five thousand dollars a year and to purchase oil for defense the other three days of the week at one-dollar a year will find himself embarrassed as he tries to serve two masters. He may find himself working half time for twenty-five dollars a year for an oil company which he knows and likes and which pays him, and then on the last three days of the week he may find the same oil company selling the government oil which he is buying. According to my way of thinking it takes a man of such high quality to do this thing accurately in justice to both the oil company and the government that I doubt whether the policy of a dollar-a-year man is the best policy for this government. I think a better way would be to say to the twenty-five thousand a year brain that the government wants full time at, let us say, eight thousand dollars a year. And, if it comes to a show down, it should be full time or nothing.

~~Insert Number two--Page three~~

I don't believe that one hundred and thirty million Americans want charity from any corporation whatever. I believe many Congressmen and Senators feel the same way. I would like to know now for my own guidance how you feel. All those who favor a draft of brains, hold up your hands. All those who believe in the dollar-a-year part timers, hold up your hands. Thank you. I shall be guided accordingly when I go back to my Congress seat.

~~near to Brazil as this point at which we stand here, has conquered the ocean. Bombing time from Dakar is only half the bombing time from our American bases, and remember a long preparation of years of voluntary training and medals has gone before among the military group which may vote the Hitler way, should America falter even a day. And so we shall keep our boys in training. We shall train men. We shall make and send war material by every possible means to every possible ally until Hitler is gone and this thing is settled for freedom.~~

~~But I want to pause a moment to say that we have not gone all out for freedom in this country.~~ We have won the battle as to foreign policy--all out aid to all enemies of Hitler is our policy. We care not whether this adventure takes us to Singapore, Dakar, Iceland, or Australia. We shall not let the Japs take the Phillipinos by default. This is truly a world war for freedom or for slavery. I give Hitler credit for having stated this position first. He has said that a German victory means a German world for a thousand years.

There is something magnificent about the human imagination. Faust gave up his soul so that in his life time he might rule and do as he pleased. But today, thanks to men and guns and tanks, we in this world are not afraid of Hitler and his German world for a thousand years to come. I believe he is already beaten. He is beaten within himself, and he knows it. Oh yes, the time ahead may be the darkest of the war. Moscow may be his before the snows that beat Napoleon fall upon the German legions. Hitler may turn south and take the Suez. The Japs may capture Singapore. Tin and rubber may grow scarce so that we may not have as many automobiles to ride in the free air of a Sunday America, but we know, meeting here, more than all this. We know that the spirit of freedom and that great need of all men for the maximum amount of freedom within an orderly world is a thing of great strength, and we know that Hitler, ruling otherwise, is losing daily the strength of his own people in their will to win what is worth nothing at all for the average man. Young Democrats here assembled are of those who will win this war for freedom and human dignity. But what is to happen when Hitler is gone; when Germany is prostrate; when the business of unscrambling what Hitler has so horribly put together is to be the basis of the

genuine new order--not Hitler's order or the order of the Yellow Jap.

What are Young Democrats to do about all this? First, they will in proud humility remember Jefferson and Jackson. They will prepare themselves for the biggest problem of all the centuries in which history has been written, for this peace must have in it a Jefferson; it must have in it also a Wilson; it will, praise God, have in it a Roosevelt. (Applause--wait.)

The vision of Wilson was dimmed by disease, perhaps; eclipsed, perhaps, by those he called a "handful of willful men"; or, perhaps, the Wilson vision of world peace twenty-five years ago was twenty-five years too soon; but anything less than the task of world peace of a permanent basis is not worthy of the American heritage. No Young Democrats did not rescue our country from the horrible collapse years of the early thirties. Older men did that. Perhaps older men than we may write the peace, but the stake, and, yes, the duty of youth is to live the peace, and so the peace must be the peace of youth and for youth, and youth must have a place at the peace table.

At this hour Hitler, in person through Germany or through his allies, is moving in every part of this world. Time presses for him. Every morning he awakes and knows this. Fallen France gives up its Eastern empire to the Japs moving south. Under the cloak of France Hitler moves through Africa; with medals and promises of power to come he moves through Brazil and the Argentine and Chile. Stalled amid the mud of Russia, Hitler knows his time is very, very short. And so without making a prediction of just how short is Hitler's time, or how violent will be the Hitler death throes, I say be prepared for a peace sooner than you think.

First of all we must see that the Democratic Party remains true and clean and fair and wise. Any party is merely a group of individuals such as are gathered here. No group of citizens, no nation, is of any more wisdom or fairness or honesty than is the average person in the group. So our work begins with each one of us knowing that God and country and one's duty to humanity is the basis of our

preparation for the peace to come. As Democrats we meet here. Go back to your homes to spread the faith. The Democratic Party of 1941 is paramount in the nation of two parties. Let it remain so by its service to its country and in its awareness of its supremacy.

This peace to come is bigger than jobs and patronage. Yes, it is even better and bigger than such things as national debt and national economy and the party platform. Economy will be broken down by war. There are to be days ahead when all shall know that the price of war must be paid for if free men are to function in any world that now pleases us. Our world is based upon contracts between individuals and between nations. Without dependable contracts, which in the very essence of the thing means dependable in the world of man, no long time prosperity and no long time peace can possibly exist. And so the days of peace may be days of misery as we fight our way through greater depression time than the early thirties. Prepare yourself in your spirit for such a task.

But I would rather speak today as an optimist because youth may gain nothing by doing nothing, and youth never functions through fear. Let us all remember that through constructive work mankind remains in health and there is a tremendous work to do in this peace.

As capitalism arose in this country from the simple farm economy of those who fought the revolutions, man conquered nature throughout our land. Men united their resources. Billion dollar banks collected the money of thousands of persons seeking a fortune. Great financial dynasties arose. Goulds, Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, became household names for a desired success.

But today values have changed. Youth no longer looks to wealth beyond use as a social value. The worship of the billionaire is as old fashioned as the horse and buggy. The new order ahead in the peace to come will be directed toward the pursuit of happiness of two billion people now living on this earth, and the job will be too big for any Rockefeller or any Morgan or any one man anywhere.

It will be the business of the two billion people themselves. Nations exploiting backward nations, building billions for those who control ships and natural resources--such as oil and iron and copper and gas--are not to be the controlling forces of this new order. For the nations themselves must do this thing in peace and in friendship.

In the great Ural Mountains, which divide these splendidly fighting Russians from the high plains of Siberia, there is platinum. On the pampas of the Argentine there is feeding ground. In Chile there is fertilizer--all in more abundance than the nations which now own them can possibly use. These goods must move into use for man. Today there are robber barons everywhere who over-charge for and over-own the resources of this world. These resources cannot be cut up into small and useless units. These resources move by the ship load. Credit and capital, the ability to travel, all things on a large scale involving thousands of man hours and millions in money are needed for the proper development of the things of this world for the use of mankind. And so the new economy, the new world of free motion must examine afresh such things as pass ports and tariffs, the control of ports and special privileges of individuals, and, yes, the special privileges of nations who by right of conquest and right of possession bar the door and stop the flow of the things of nature to the use of man.

In an ideal world those people who can best produce must be permitted to produce the thing they are best fitted to produce and ~~for~~ have easy access to those persons who need the product. The corn farmer of Iowa must not be over-charged for the things he needs. Men in a world of peace, fighting for a formula through which war shall be kept at bay must recognize the one definite fact that happy men do not go to war. War in its last analysis is a product of belly hunger. People in misery fight. And so no peace which binds millions of men into hunger and slavery ever will be a lasting peace. That would be the Hitler way.

If I could say that it would be possible to punish men for their crimes of murder in the mass, I might be tempted to say that Germany should be punished to the third and fourth generation, but I content myself by saying that Hitler must

be punished, and those other Hitlers in great numbers who have forged this thing of force and murder seeking to enslave free men--these men must go before there can be peace. An indignant world most rightly will demand such punishment of such individuals. But let us stop, and, knowing that in that awful thing which is now Europe there are four hundred million people who are not truly guilty of the horror of this thing. Let us regard them as sick people who are truly our brothers, and with whom, and through whom, we seek to save and succor and bring back to health this world.

There are so many who, in cleverness, seek to tell plain people what to do and how to do it. You and I are none of these. As a boy in the Blanco hills, I was a rebel when they tried to tell me too often and too much. Often in in secrecy and in the circumstances that come when rich or important people try to say what all should do, I feel that the plain people know better what is good for them than those who seek to tell them too often and too much.

Hitler, talking to Hoover in Berlin, expressed his scorn of the American way through an interpreter. He said "You have been the leader of the richest country the world has ever known but your people over there have made a very great mistake. You ask them. We tell them."

And I, Lyndon Johnson, of Johnson City, understand what Hitler said because I don't like him - not a bit. This Hitler told a man who lead this country, and gave fair warning that he expects to tell us what to do, when to do it and how to do it.

I am just Lyndon Johnson of Johnson City. There are almost seven million people in this, a state as big as Germany when Hitler took his place, but I feel that our seven million Texans would not have let Hitler live here; but seventy million Germans let him live

and prosper. Of course it puzzled me, a plain fellow from Johnson City, who has lived and played with many a German boy. In the freedom that is ours, I never found a German boy who would ever let anyone tell him very much. I have had my eyes blackened by better German boys. Perhaps that is because in America we are freer. Perhaps it is because in Texas the common man and the plain people may print and speak the truth and fight for the truth as they see it.

So Hitler, who would tell us what to be at the time of this quarrel, with a very, very strong desire on the part of us very plain Texas people not to be told or pushed around ^{or} ~~are~~ to follow. And I don't think we want to be told how we must live our lives. We are willing to pay the Government and we are willing to pay the good roads, for electric lights, for flood control; for it is things like this which best we may do for ourselves instead of rendering without these previous to the big shots who live in palaces among the elms of the Eastern states. We are taking a hold over our own business here in the tenth district. We have done many things for ourselves, we plain people, and in our plainness, and in our dumbness, we have not been smart enough to be bluffed. The many people have told me that dams on the Brazos would not pay out, but the plain people of Brazos county

now have better lights than candles and at a price that private greed could not meet. I think the time has come, if any telling is to be done, that the plain folks should tell themselves and tell the _____ to have too many people who, for power or for work or wealth, seek an unfair advantage. When a very inconvenient flood came down the Brazos the smart and clever people tried to stop the peoples work by scaring and bribing and hiring mercenaries to save their sweat and profitable grafts but common people met and talked over their problems and they were not afraid so the work went on and today twelve thousand farmers read and their children shall read and their children's children shall know the truth with better lights and clearer eyes. The common people have been enslaved overlong. I would not be other than a common man for the common man is the master of the slave who thinks he is uncommon. He who knows he is different from other plain folks is not a pleasant person for me to see. In the palaces of those who believe themselves to be so uncommon, I feel a bit nervous. There seems to be something there that smells. In these circumstances in the pride I feel that they feel I believe ~~that~~ I believe that our America is being betrayed. Who is he to be uncommon in this age, in this time? Are we not engaged in one common endeavor? Who is to be upheld in the

backs of labor? Who is to be a special and privileged citizen when all are in danger? By what definite right is one born to idleness? Is the accident of birth a special license to our power? What is our America if it is not the heritage of the common man? This unity which permits us to find the freedom I see the common has a bit of refuge. Anyone who thinks he is uncommon should be discarded on the dung hill of the past. We have no time for the idle. The parasite of coupons seeking to strut in silliness of self is through in this our age of growth. So be it; I am very glad. And you, my friends, and only my friends, are the common people. Because I am of the common people, I say let us be kind and gentle to the backward people who seek to right the horse and buggy days of our day. Let us be kind; let us not be ~~demigods~~ demigods. They will catch up and their children's children will march down the road of work and self-contentment. There are to be no parasites in the days to come and so today we face the issue of the common man for a single common thing. Our leader, Roosevelt, was born of wealth. He went to the schools of the privileged. He may have been uncommon but our leader had the vision and the dignity of the common people and of the futility of the uncommon. So, Roosevelt, leading on, is equal and seeing the danger to us on _____ simply for humanity :

"Onward with faith without prejudices and without privilege."

That is why I love Roosevelt. Had he been born in the old days; had he been born sixty years ago as what we knew a common man, it would have been understandable that as a Lincoln or as a Jefferson or as a Jackson, he understood and believed and worked as one of those born of common people. But I, Lyndon Johnson, come in from Brazos county, met this man which many snobs would have called an aristocrat but I did not find him so. I found a man of the simplest soul who _____ anything but light and truth. He is a veteran of the ways and methods of snobs. He had seen them all. He had, in truth and in fact, cast it off. He was a rebel to his class, say the wolves of Wall Street and, for that, I honor him and we who have taken him to ourselves say that those who would bleed us of our wealth, our nation and owners wealth: "Xm You shall not pass". The plain people shall deliver the natural resources of the State of Texas without being told by special and uncommon people seeking to tell us and Roosevelt, as our friend, would have it so. He has sent some fifty million dollars out our way. At one time I volunteered and told him he was too generous but in making a yardstick for all to see, we have shown that the plain people know how to spend and how to save and how to do. I have become, perhaps, a very small

part of the great soul that is our President. Perhaps we have shown in the tenth district how the plain people can do their own jobs. I know we have and, God willing, and you plain people willing, send a plain boy from Brazos County to the Senate. I hope to do in a larger measure what we plain people of the tenth district have done.

(1)

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When a very inconvenient flood came down the ~~Brass~~ *Colorado*

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and bribing and hiring mercenaries to save their ~~sweat~~ *sweet* and profitable

in mass meetings in Austin & elsewhere
grafts, but common people met and talked over their problems and they

were not afraid so the work went on and today twelve thousand farmers

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know the truth with better lights and clearer eyes. The common people

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for the common man is the master of the slave who thinks he is uncommon.

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With the light there comes knowledge - clear judgement
there that smells. ~~In these circumstances in the pride I feel that~~

comes with assumption - experience - I fear not that I feel will
fail June 2 8th to feel that I have met a leader made possible
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ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ seeing the danger to us on _____ ^{with us fighting for the common man - his mind his work his soul, for} ~~simply for humanity :~~
So you are fighting for all ~~and~~ simply.

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this man ^{Johnson} ~~which~~ many snobs would have called an aristocrat but I did not
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honor him and we who have taken him to ourselves say that those who
would bleed us of our wealth, our nation and owners wealth: ^{& who would hesitate to face with heavy the} "We You ^{feats}
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in the tenth district how the plain people can do their own jobs. I

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plain boy from ^{Johnson City, Tex} ~~Brazos County~~ to the Senate. I hope to do, in a larger

measure what we plain people of the tenth district, ^{already -} have done. ^{for}

The farms, for the homes & for the health
of Central Texas

November 5, 1941

Memorandum to: L. B. J.

You have been on my mind for the last week to the point of personal irritation. I have no right to have a paternal or an unclish concern about you, because you are getting along just fine. I am mad at myself and the strength of my own emotions.

I shall break down and confess that I have written you three letters. The first beat the hell out of you, and, I think, told the truth--but you know it all.

The second is attached. And this is the third.

The future line puts you in Texas, making hay while O'Daniel makes hay here, and Mann up-roots some well-placed sod through pettiness, selfishness, and wobbling. Mann says he is running for the Senate, but lets it be generally known that he craves a take-out powder--a judgeship or something.

O'Daniel has been a surprising up-set, getting on the Roosevelt foreign line, and not being so critical behind the line as to make people mad at him for being mad at Roosevelt. He is much in the position of Willkie, and hitting the big line of the future in his labor noise, which Willkie is afraid of.

But O'Daniel's weaknesses are (1) his past performance proving demagogery, insincerity, and inaccuracy both of statement and act. This stream of belief throughout Texas almost beat him, and showed a declining public acceptance through years of observation by the average voter. I have never seen a man stage a comeback from as fast a public decline. And, if O'Daniel comes back, it will be your own fault--that is, the fault of the competition.

You are on the up. You make hay in Texas as a Congressman coming home busy on the affairs of his people--which is the largest training ground of the war effort. There are to be a series of recesses until January first. There can be no criticism of you working for your President and your Naval Affairs Committee. And you will be lost from sight in Washington working routine affairs for routine committees seeking things, such as the Seven Cities.

Your job is a direct one now, using your reporting job for Roosevelt and your Naval Affairs Committee as the basis of your travels in Texas, and using them fundamentally in shaking as many hands and covering as much territory as humanly possible.

This means a very strict physical life. You are running a marathon, and not a hundred yard dash. You should time-clock your going to bed--never later than midnight, because the work done thereafter is feeble and too often alcoholic. You should get up at eight a.m. You should have someone with you who gives you a report every night of how many people you shook hands with--I did not say "talked to in audiences." You have a work day of handshaking running from nine in the morning until six at night, with your so-called "big time" stuff, including telephoning and party leader meeting left for the evening. Phones are cheaper after seven and can be arranged in advance on a station-to-station basis. The important people would rather get you after the day's work is done because they are making a living.

I have told you that Pat Neff in one year's time shook hands with just about everybody in Texas, even as slow as he is. It cost him \$20,000 total to be elected that way. Mann, as feeble minded as he is, built a beautiful following that way.

You said the other day that your only effective organization was inherited from Allred because they hated Mann. Get your own organization which loves you. That only may be done by the personal handshake and then backed up by Washington performance. You already have done the Washington performance--possibly too much, as it has developed jealousy running from Connally down through Congressmen. Give Poage and some of your Congressmen friends the front on this, and let Connally and the congressional group do their regular team work as you shake hands on your own job.

By January first I believe this recipe will give you a leading position on a Belden Poll which I propose to take (and print if favorable.) If O'Daniel is first on January first, you at least will be second, as Mann wobbles around over three elective jobs and one or more appointive jobs. I already get this from Texas--that he has shown his willingness to be taken out in spite of his straight out announcement that he is running for the Senate. This weakness will spread very fast, as Mann himself is known to be very weak. All he had was an organization and a youthful faction and a reputation for virtue. The main reputation of a virtuous man is his dependability and his strength.

Whatever you do, do not wobble. I saw Thompson wobbling. I don't see O'Daniel wobbling. You haven't heard of him running for Governor after he got the senatorship. He merely told everybody that if he did not get the senatorship that he would run for governor. But no one in Texas believes for one moment now that O'Daniel isn't running for the Senate next spring and that he isn't running for the presidency of the United States if he can make it. Get that sort of strength for yourself.

I hope you have cleared up by November 10 everything which conflicts with a straight line drive. I recognize the Allred maneuver; also the check-up on Roosevelt. But you pay a price both times. Your natural

support is only as strong as its belief in you, and in what you propose to do. You never need tell anyone you are running for the Senate. Just run as if you were running. Your support and the public generally will understand. I think it good politics if Mann announces and O'Daniel announces before you do, because it gives you the edge of curiosity among the great indifferent masses. But your true supporters must have confidence that they are not going to be let down--not by confidential statement from you, but by your acts and your unwavering performance and your industry.

At the inception of the last campaign, Mann did get off to a head start at Texarkana. And over-delay by both O'Daniel and yourself helped him, as men seeking for themselves moved toward the positive one as the probable first choice and winner. People fasten on certainties whenever they can. Save your judgement and save your freedom and save your decision until January first. Don't give any half promises anywhere to anybody, whether a Pattman or a Speaker or a Roosevelt or an Allred or a Wirtz or a Marsh or a Brown. An adult male at word toward something he might decide to have is your business.

You will thereby make more hay faster in Texas sunshine than O'Daniel can make at Washington by radio long distance. As he becomes confused by his national picture and ambition, he is bound to give too much national flavor to his utterances, writing what we call in newspaper language the "general story" while you write ten local stories a day through the personal appearance and handshake route. And people like local stories.

I shall have for you when you leave here a general summary of how I see America's domestic problems for the coming year. This might feed your own imagination as you read it on the plane. I hope to see you off not later than six o'clock, November tenth. My very, very best wishes for thirty-five years of a patriot in action.

November 5, 1941

Memorandum to: L. B. J.

You have been on my mind for the last week to the point of personal irritation. I have no right to have a paternal or an unloving concern about you, because you are getting along just fine. I am mad at myself and the strength of my own emotions.

I shall break down and confess that I have written you three letters. The first beat the hell out of you, and, I think, told the truth--but you know it all.

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2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
November 18, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

The meat in the attached is that I see some little people bothering Poage next year, and he is your baby as far as Washington is concerned.

(He may be a little bit of my baby as far as Waco is concerned, and he gave Alice a job once, and therefore is responsible for the three of us meeting.) Since we all like him, this is my contribution.

C. E. M.

(Note: Charles says he has no objection to your using any part of the letter from Marsh to Fentress if it will benefit. M.L.G.)

C O P Y

Newspapers, Inc.

Waco, Texas

November 12, 1941

Mr. Charles E. Marsh,
2304 Massachusetts Ave., NW.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charlie:-

I have yours with reference to the TNT plant and have indirectly asked the Katy people, who submitted the first brief of our location on the Brazos near Whitney, to follow through and give the department all the facts with reference to the underground water which flows a few feet under the surface in that particular part of the Brazos Valley. Ten to twenty feet under the surface is a water sand which carries what seems to be an inexhaustible supply of water and that could be a supplemental water supply for the Brazos.

B*****

I don't know what to tell you to do on the location of this project for Waco except to follow through and possibly in a few days ask Poage what he is doing about it. I think you could tell him that the impression is gradually being fostered here that maybe he is a weak sister; that he lost the army camp to Bell County and that so far he had not gotten Waco one darn thing. That is the talk around town and it is dangerous for Poage unless he is able to do something while things are doing. I like Poage but the good book says, "By their works ye shall know them," and nobody has ever been able to change that statement of fact.

With kind personal regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) E. S. Fentress

November 20, 1941

Personal Work Sheet: Should C. E. M. see the President?

Should I see the President about the Congress business? If I use Lyndon, or Russell, or the Vice President, I doubt if my own conviction of the message will be delivered because of the strength he has.

Were I to see him, it probably would be through a Russell appointment, unless I found Russell would be not in good favor at the moment. I would have Johnson specifically, and the Texas political situation with O'Daniel, Jones, Rayburn, and Connally to talk of dispassionately with the 1944 election the real point. Obviously the President is not doing a 1944, but it is proper for me to be doing one merely to show size of line, and to get rid of it in three minutes. This was the line that I talked with him last concerning Garner. He asked me then, and now I think I may come back, especially with the Rayburn present and future in mind--which is of size. I gave it to Jones, but I do not believe Jones functioned because of his other viewpoints, which apparently are anti-Rayburn.

So, three minutes on Texas and Rayburn and Jones and Johnson and Connally, and maybe in written form, or at least definitely briefed and approximately memorized.

With this calling card I move for the balance of the fifteen minutes into the Congressional situation, with the obvious reference that a Wilson-House set-up facing across the Atlantic left the back country slightly neglected, and that in an off year with Joe Martin having little else to do, the situation is, of course, critical, as he knows it to be, and then the statement that I helped Johnson along the Congress thing, and was close enough to see and believe that his work/^{by him}or somebody of like drive was important in that neither Flynn nor Drury could function.

I could tell him that, were I on his job, I would probably grab Johnson into a Postmaster General job by promoting Walker into an Ambassadorship, or wherever else he fits, much as was done with Mellon. I would say the South and West would welcome the return of Flynn, if for no other reason than that the head of the party and the party working chief in a democratic process should not come from the same state. Also that the training of Johnson by Roosevelt for a year as liaison in Congress and Senate and as Postmaster General might make a satisfactory Vice President, or at least a strong young party leader trained in the business.

If I do this, I must not tell Johnson or Wallace, and I believe my position as a citizen justifies the business ethically.

You want a man who can pinhhit anywhere, but he should have an authority and a dignity which takes him out of the messenger class and gives him a chance for frank development which would have public knowledge and acceptance.

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
November 24, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

I am trying to have these people in their very great prosperity be happy in giving something instead of handling it in the normal bookkeeping way. I assure you that these accounts will not be political liabilities, and that I am watching them and will give you a report by January first.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Congressman Lyndon B. Johnson
New House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

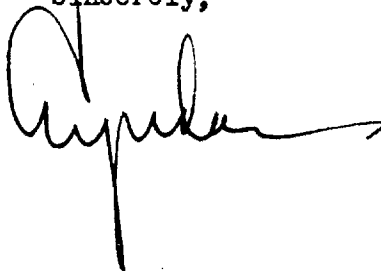
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.
November 25,
1941

My dear Charles,

The letter from Mr. Fentress and
your reply interested me very much.

I think your observations to
Fentress are justified, and I shall be
delighted to contribute anything I can
to be helpful to Poage on the matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Arthur Hays Sulzberger', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Honorable Charles E. Marsh
2304 Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Transferred to Handwriting

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.
November 25th
1941

My dear Charles,

Thanks for your letters to John. I dislike your being bothered with such aggravating little items, and perhaps we can clear up some of this debris before Santa Claus gets here.

John is diligently working on some of these items in Texas now, and I am trying to help out some here.

Sincerely,



Honorable Charles E. Marsh
2304 Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest
Washington, D. C.

Original transferred to handwriting

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
December 1, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

I don't know how the political cards will fall January first. I know they should be face up on the table January first.

Refusing, Allred, a Federal Judge, would say January first: "As a Federal Judge and a Texan, I have been embarrassed by the use of my name as a possible senatorial candidate. I am not a candidate, and will not be a candidate. I expect to continue my life as a Federal Judge. To clear up any confusion of my position as a citizen it is proper that I say that I did vote for Lyndon Johnson for senator."

Of Lyndon should say: "I promised Texas as a candidate for Senator Sheppard's seat last spring that I would not hide from bullets behind a Senate seat. Many months have passed. I believe it unfair for me, a Naval Reserve Officer, to present myself in 1942 for a six year term as senator. (And if this is also correct.) Nor shall I ask the Tenth District to send me back to Congress. I shall make no engagements with the public or private life of America in 1942 which could prevent me at a moment's notice from filling my obligation as a naval officer in active service, should duty write the ticket that way."

One of these two statements on January first. And, if an Allred statement is issued, you must stand on the statement made when you ran before. You may not retreat one inch. In announcing as an active candidate, you should say: "When Texas a year ago was choosing a senator, I promised that Lyndon Johnson would never hide behind a senate seat, should bullets be flying. And now, should Texas, knowing that, wish me to occupy the seat of Senator Sheppard, temporarily occupied by Senator O'Daniel, they, the people, should know that their senator will not be at his seat should the bullets fly. I am a member of the Naval Reserve. This obligation is first and foremost. I have not been called into service. No one knows whether I shall be called, and in submitting my name to you Texas voters, it would be unfair not to re-state the promise you may have forgotten. I shall serve you in the Senate until called to serve in the Navy. And when service in the Navy, should it come, is finished, I shall return to the Senate seat. If this statement prove a political handicap, or if the people of Texas in their very sound judgement decide not to hire a senator who may have to quit the job for a while, then some one else other than Lyndon Johnson should be elected."

I believe this simple statement will elect you, because I don't know anyone else who can or will make it. In the details of a campaign anything may happen, but I don't believe any skillful and accurate daily campaign can beat this statement into a defeat. I think the candidate should not wave the American flag, or put it around him as an antidote to an honesty plaque or a virtue belt.

I believe the candidate should leave his patriotism in this statement and run on purely Texas issues--his oil and farm products on a proper level; should Texas business get consideration in war effort; should

Texas families live and prosper and pursue happiness in Texas by moving war industry to the people and the raw material, or should merciless facts and figures of price be all that is seen in the business of arming. An O'Daniel big likeing Washington, and having only a rather tired labor plank for a spring offensive, is an over weight man who would sound ridiculous shooting a canon. Or the little man, inexperienced and not knowing what the big show is about, or any other stranger to the thing people are living with, cannot come between O'Daneil and Johnson. This time let O'Daneil make too much of Roosevelt and the "scamps in Washington." Johnson makes nothing of Roosevelt who does not need his defense. Johnson merely says he is not afraid of being shot, and that Texas has a real and very much delayed and important job of state economy which must be fitted into the national show by a man who knows how, and not by a bombastic bunk artist with a fat belly. There is the job. Thanks for listening.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

P. S. Shake as many hands as possible as quickly as possible.

LBJ

December 15, 1941

Eliot Roosevelt and American Liberty Oil Company moving Mann into F. D. R., and S. W. R. is two timing Johnson first and Mann as his ace in the hole, and will tell Murchison and Rosier everything one tells him.

PRESENT MANPOWER AGENCIES

1. The United States Bureau of Employment Security registers workers and refers them to jobs upon orders received from employers.
2. The Selective Service System registers and selects persons for military service. (There is no effective coordination of effort between the two agencies, even though the registration of the two agencies reflect a great deal the same information.)
3. The OPM Labor Supply Committee operating through regions studies labor conditions of defense industries and investigates the operations of functional agencies.
4. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor, assembles pertinent statistics concerning labor resources and the utilization of labor throughout the United States.
5. The Office of Education through vocational schools, and N. Y. A, the CCC, and the WPA, each operates a training program designed to prepare workers for jobs in defense industries.

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2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
December 16, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

It is noon. Only one way to miss a senatorship is for you to commit political suicide. This may be done by becoming aware of Texas and Washington politics and by communicating with politicians so that they may pass on to the general public the belief that you want the job.

You will be elected by the people of Texas this time, or not at all. It will cost you not one cent. You will have to say only one thing: "I have been asked whether I am, or will be, a candidate for the senate. I am not a candidate, and will not be a candidate."

This statement will cause the people to make you a candidate, for they will offer your name to the election board. If the laws of Texas make it necessary for you to appear and sign, you should add to the above statement: "Should the people of Texas see fit to nominate and elect any Texas citizen to the Senate, or any other office, the fact that he is in the fighting forces is the business of the people, and the judgment of the people. They know how to express themselves."

And then when the people speak, should they, you will have a perfect right to do the minimum thing, which is to submit your name upon presentation from a sufficiently large group to establish your action as a request and demand that you submit your personality as a representative of Texas as a war Senator.

The question ultimately will go to the President, and he may say what he pleases. In writing Allred, a Federal Judge out of politics, and Underwood, or somebody very clean and politically inactive, the President may say:

"Dear Mr. Underwood: You have asked me whether I believe a man in uniform, such as Commander Lyndon Johnson, could best serve his country in the fighting forces or in the Senate in war time. This depends upon the individual and his training. In the case of this man, were I a Texan, that he should be in the Senate. As his Commander-in-Chief, I would say the same thing to Texas, should Texas ask me, and should Texas seek Johnson for active duty as its Senator."

You will say now, Lyndon, that the President never would say anything like this in war time, but I believe that the two above statements constitute truth, and that truth has a way of being correct at the right time, and that that time is to come.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

December 17, 1941

Memorandum to: L. B. J.

This is something that should be done, and might best be done through a combination of Poage as a member of the Agriculture Committee of the House, and the Stamp Plan Division of the Agriculture Department, who know the two price plan has been worked to a point where the bums are out of it.

The objection of any subsidy or special privilege to the consumer is that he bootlegs the privilege. This occurred in the homestead business where the West was set aside and soldiers only had special privilege in purchase. These privileges were bartered and sold by collectors of land, and the soldiers were cheated, and the object was filled with evil.

Later citizens were permitted to settle on homesteads, such as the Cherokee Strip in Oklahoma, and grazing lands further west. Some of my people leaving Ohio went through this experience, and I know that men who knew what they wanted and how to get it followed in the wake of these special privileges and bought for a song. And it is said that homesteading west of Fort Worth was worked into a murder racket where Eastern boys went West as Greely told them to, and woke up in a casket just about three days after the homestead time was over, and the proper papers of transfer were generally found in the safe of some fellow like Burk Burnett.

This is an awful lot of bunk for you to read about something in 1941, but I want to get it over that you can't have special privilege to a great class without having the good commercialists like Charles Marsh, Herman Brown, Sid Richardson, and Stanley Marsh not know how to wholesale

and collect the grapes from the dung. So this little thing which is merely the business of getting the soldiers a few little things for soldiers only, and not for petty little grafters everywhere requires the above explanation.

The object: To get soldiers five cent cigarettes, five cent washing soap, and five cent tooth paste, five cent tooth brushes, and two bars of body soap for five cents. These objects now cost them fifteen cents each.

The easiest way would be to increase the pay of soldiers, but that would not be effective. They would get the pay increase, and still feel bad about the over-charges within a week, as it is obvious that only one man out of twenty ever saves anything, no matter how much he gets. So the plan is simply to get them more for their money, and make them feel that Uncle Sam loves them, so that they won't kick so much about civilian wages.

I have a feeling that the Department of Agriculture is politically minded, that Wickard wants a bit of war glamor, and that the House Agriculture Committee wants to get in a bit, so you can fix up the bill for Poage. Poage can sell it to his committee, and Wickard and the old Stamp Plan can get going. This writing is mostly to see that your plan be not a failure, as an idea is 10 per cent and the execution is 90 per cent.

Detail of Plan: Have special packaging for soldiers, packages made up in red, white, and blue. Have stamped on them a penalty clause for misuse by soldiers. Have someone calculate the needs of the average soldier per month of these things. In a single so-called "Monthly Package" you will have the combination in it of say six franked envelopes,

such as congressmen may use, with twelve sheets of paper, so that the boy may save eighteen cents per month, and write home without having to buy stamps. These envelopes would have three stripes, red, white, and blue, in the corner, with a penalty clause for misuse or sale. So this monthly package would probably contain in a red, white, and blue attractive carton, possibly with a flexible top made out of cellophane and easily broken through, the following articles:

2 Medium size bars of soap	.15	
Envelopes and Paper	.18	
(No cost for paper)		
Tooth paste	.15	
(This may be a special trade name through co-operation of all tooth paste manufacturers--in a red, white, and blue tube.)		
Tooth brush	.15	
(One a month doesn't need highest quality, and you get real cleanliness that way.)		
Washing powder	<u>.15</u>	
Total value	.78	for 25¢

And now, cigarettes, the big item: a special red, white, and blue outside packaging by every manufacturer of standard size, standard package cigarettes for five cents. There will be an awful row on this. The government gives up seven cents. The retailer gets nothing. Uncle Sam picks up the cigarettes at the factory door, mostly at Richmond, and distributes them through Army and Navy supply. The package at the factory door does cost five cents. That is all.

Ferrestall can ram this thing through for Navy only, of course, but inasmuch as an average soldier will smoke a package of cigarettes a day, his pay is being raised three dollars a month. Now, if you try giving a special cigarette of any other brand name, you are very wrong. If a single large brand agrees, this automatically forces everybody else. So, if I were actually sneaking up on the tobacco company, I would have

Patterson see Hill, of the American Tobacco Company, on a special deal for the fighting forces in the Pacific, with an O.K. from Morgenthau on stamp remission. Hill would think he was going great guns against his competitors and would be very secret about it, but, of course, everybody else could and would come in as soon as the ice is broken. And all people don't want Luckies. The idea is to give the customer exactly what he wants, and what he has been accustomed to. If you change the color or type of the standard package, any soldier has got the idea that he has an inferior item. All good will will be destroyed.

Control of the business so that the soldiers' package doesn't work down to the sporting house for repeddling to whores and civilians, and to keep the sneaks off of the corners in the middle of the night buying soldiers' cigarettes for resale to other soldiers who smoke them and who have given theirs away, is a part of administration. We know in general that every special privilege in price is abused, and you can't prevent a man from giving away a cigarette. You can make it a penalty to give away a package to one outside of the privileged class, or to accept money for it.

I believe that there would be more political advantage coming to the individual who put over this cigarette deal than anything I can now think of because it has the human elements in it, and is much more understandable than somebody voting for a ten billion dollar appropriation bill. It probably would not save the soldiers over thirty-five million per annum. And I don't see that Morgenthau or the House Ways and Means Committee, or any of the little grab'em boys would be able to stop this on the ground that, "We are seeking more revenue, not less." And I don't think the Post Office Department would dare to oppose free postage for soldiers, or that the United States Printing Office would refuse to print stationery for soldiers at no cost.

If you, going West, do not think Poage of sufficiently high power, it is possible that you could take an hour off for this, having Patterson and Poage, and possibly Reynolds, the Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, who is a member of the tobacco family, sit in, and also probably have some merchandising expert, say from Rexall, or Liggett and Meyers (Reynolds could get him), as well as maybe some top Stamp Plan fellow from Agriculture. But the important thing, of course, is to have a spark plug.

Attached is a check up item for the Navy.

December 17, 1941

Memorandum to: L. B. J.

Check prices of naval stores (this should be done particularly for Army stores, but you are in the Navy now.) I hear that the Army stores are charging 15¢ for articles which sell at A. & P. and other chain outfits for 13¢.

I believe that the things that soldiers and sailors buy out of their relatively small pay should be procured, financed, and distributed on cash and carry wholesale price basis. I do not believe that the Quartermasters Department of the Army, and whatever the procurement of the Navy is called, is concerned with the things that actually cause voluntary enjoyment in the normal life of the soldier. They feed him beans and get him shoes, but a soldier wants to use his brain in dividing up his pay between cigarettes and chocolates and a hairbrush for the girl, just as he did when he was in civilian life. So the thing I am driving at is to get to the soldier what he really wants to buy, and get it there at a fair price. We have done it for the so-called "low income" groups in civilian life through the Stamp Plan. Why in the devil should we delay this merchandising just because the pressure of little real estate people and shack builders around army camps, and the fact that a general officer training soldiers hasn't time to bother about such things as minor difficulties? The Gulf Refining Company at Port Arthur did not want to raise wages. The merchants of Port Arthur were over-charging in the last war, as the price of living rose, and the workers, paid every two weeks, were asked by the merchants to keep the stores open between pay days. So cocoas went to 7¢, as the druggists got together, and bread and what have you rapidly followed, as the town

was small and isolated, and nobody could go to Beaumont. Of course, the Gulf, being efficient, put in a commissary, selling to all employees wholesale plus a very small carrying charge, and did not have to raise wages. The merchants howled, and first thought that they would beat the deal by handling advertised and accepted merchandise. But the Gulf handled the same merchandise exactly. The only difference was the price, and you could even get a suit of clothes and an overcoat and shirts. So the prices came down in Fort Arthur damn fast.

I know, because the newspaper damn near got wrecked, and I had to go to Pittsburgh and get the payrolls on a weekly basis, and tell the Gulf that the thing wasn't very good business in the long run because the town might deteriorate and lose its tax revenue and be forced to bring the Gulf Refining Company into the city limits for tax purposes. So I guess there isn't any commissary down there now. But I think I have given you the principle that when you don't want to, or can't, raise wages, you must meet the issue by cutting out all of the wasteful and unnecessary civilian communication and transfer costs. I would even remit taxation on long distance telephone and telegraph on certification by identification card that the man was in the service. Morgenthau would scream, but so what?

Enough for today. I hope I haven't talked too much.

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
December 17, 1941

Dear Lyndon:

Mrs. Mary McCurdy Ashbaugh, 320 Sea Lane, La Jolla, California, in the telephone book--the San Diego directory, as La Jolla is a suburb of San Diego-- is my greatest woman in America, aged seventy-two.

I have written her that you might call her if you get to San Diego.

If you can give yourself a couple of hours with her alone, looking at the sea, God will have been good to you.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Congressman Lyndon B. Johnson
New House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

LBG

2:40 a.m.
Thursday

1941

Dear:

War shall do stranger things than a note out of the darkness.

It was all so clear as the flash of truth about you and life ahead woke me a moment ago. Already, in my basic fatigue perhaps, there is a fading. You, my very dear son, are saving yourself this day and this hour.

Your eye sparkles with a light just a little more mature. Your great emotion is more pure. The irritation is fading from your mind. The clear wisdom is soon to join your great energy. You are not to die young as do so many of great embryo genius, by the heat of its own flame.

So in this, your _____ year, I see ahead with you, one of those of the great days of America's third great battle for freedom--so inadequately called the New Deal. Then last year, yes, but less than a year ago, this year. We are rushing so one misses time. You, they say, were not elected--beaten for the Senate.

Beaten is a tough word, but it has its uses. Far better in the you of our future. Even those of little virtue see that, for they are seeing you as one beaten who can take it and pay off instead of one winning who must pay an unwilling price.

So now it is your place in uniform. It seemed sad to see you all buttoned in the outward thing last night, but now, as my hour of clearness fades, I see enough to know even the uniform shall not destroy.

You are to learn discipline. You are to take orders. You are to fight with skill and frankness amid the dull, the frightened, the lazy, the vengeful, the jealous, the sly.

St. George of the Dark Ages killed the dragon that ravaged all with his sword of virtue. And so you shall be the victor with your sword of service. The pace and the challenge shall quicken you.

After, and when, you move west, please forget all in the job. Thus shall you find yourself at a great height where true wisdom comes as the light itself.

May your criticisms be brief and clear. Never lose your temper unless such force be necessary. An artist in action never puts one single ounce of energy more than is needed in time and quantity. Save yourself for all of us--now and in the future. Don't overspend in body, or mind, now or we all lose in the time to come.

Finally, in your love for your country, when in doubt see your natural father and myself at either hand. Both of us have made so many mistakes. Or you might take your mother and George Brown. But visualize humanity as you think and work for all. If you so do, you shall see that life is never certain; that human beings move most certainly toward the Infinite; that no life is futile--not even the lives of rejects that teach the men

of strength the wisdom of what not to do—and finally you shall learn your own place in time and space—that the uniform is but the sign. Humanity is on the march to save what the past has given and to give to the unborn in greater richness. And as you cut and slash with your very good sword at red tape and evil—please, my own St. George, see a better way through before you cut, so that the marchers behind be not lost in the swamp of doubt and despair. There shall be many around you to applaud mere courage. They are the idle ones. The wise and busy who see are silent because they are at work. But you shall be welcome home when your face shows you have not used your sword for self, and when the face shows the sword was used to clear a way with least cruelty to erring men as man's needs were met, that you constructed in criticism, that even in armor the truly great are gentle, that a gentleman in peace or war does not walk with cruelty.

Only so is one saved. It is nearing four. As usual, I have over-written. But you are my only son who is on the march of the uniform, so I know you understand.

In love,

Charles

Later: The war is over just as you begin. Awake again, this is written you as dawn struggles and stumbles. Ask, if you wish.

2304 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
December 17, 1941

Dear Lady:

I know you are having a peach of a time, for whenever I get the "top of the morning" greeting, I know that all is well, and that Pippa has passed.

You are one of those queer combinations who would die of routine, and yet under the pressures which many find so uncomfortable, you react as if life had given you a trick. Probably this is merely Irish combativeness against fate. Roosevelt is quite that way. He seems now to be suffering from not enough work. Everything is apparently about to become routine.

Last Sunday he was advertising about overwork. My reporter says that his gaiety was alright, and that his cigarette was at a high angle as he told how hard everything was, and that he wasn't getting enough sleep. The reporter said that he told the President that he would get his sleep next summer, and it wasn't a good idea to sleep too much in winter anyway. He said that Roosevelt laughed his appreciation that the other fellow realized that he was a super man.

As a matter of fact, I think he is looking for a new job right now, and that he is one of those perverse fellows who doesn't want a job anybody else has, and won't give any job he has away to anybody else. I believe his new ambition is to be and remain the world's greatest democrat, while using all the tricks of the dictators' trade to whip the dictators—in other words, an all-out war against dictators to end all dictators, with only F.D.R. doing it differently, and therefore getting an extra page in ultimate history. So at the moment some of us with a sense of humor are cooking our feet on a table, figuring out how we can help him work hard at this new job he wants, because he has run out of work, and is getting bogged down in routine.

I have had a lot of fun seeing you grinning with excitement so near the San Diego Naval Base. Just think of it! You are really in the thick of the war, and did not have to leave your own bedroom to get it. I have been worrying about you over there on the backwash of things, and thought you should come to Washington for a rest amid the excitement. You have sneaked up on me.

I am sending an agent to the West Coast in a uniform, who probably will not get down your way. He is Johnson, Congressman from the Austin district, and a member of the Naval Affairs Committee, who may-by some chance get to San Diego and call you up. He seems to need a bit of the sort of thing you give people. I am not going to give him a duty order, but if he calls you and mentions my name, you will know that he really wants to run out, so use your own judgement. He is very fine, but might get some benefit from your person, and from the view from your porch. I certainly shall tell him that I am handing him a high privilege.

And there is no Christmas present for you. Strange isn't it, that you and I who have known so little of time and dates and things and order have gone through about fifteen years without a conception of a quarrel, and that probably neither of us has ever left a permanent mark on the other of what is called the "let-down." You are greater now than at any time since first you crossed a hotel breakfast room to speak your piece. Such a very nice girl I am writing to.

So Nippy has a defense job. Write me just what it is. I am trying to get a list of special work that women can do without hurting themselves or wasting time. The delicate thing is that the enthusiasm and sense of importance of a woman be tied in to the business without the terrible headache that so often comes afterwards when the truth comes to them that they are futile and are bluffing the hours away. Nippy may have found a good job, and I wouldn't turn a normal person over to Mrs. Roosevelt.

Sincerely,

Charles S. Marsh

Mrs. Mary McCurdy Ashbaugh
302 Sea Lane
La Jolla, California