

Memo to L. B. J.:

January 8, 1941

If you make a speech, these things first: a month's radio and elocution work. Your voice high-tones under emotion. You will have to teach your throat better. You can't lose the emotion, but you must lose the high notes. Your gestures should be natural, but you must weed out about 50 percent. You have learned domination of slower and smaller people by pounding the table like a machine gun. When you are speaking, the physical pounding would stop the sense. Gestures in speaking are for emphasis of meaning, not mere determination and force beating a man down into saying yes or no.

And then you tell me the Lower House is not a place for speaking, but a committee workshop, so if you speak twenty minutes, you must say something that has not been said. Otherwise, why say anything? The timing and the sense are major. The delivery and the voice are minor. But all four have to be A plus.

On timing I would attempt to speak on assignment from the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee on a naval appropriations bill, as a member of the naval sub-committee. In speaking for the necessity of the passage of the bill, I would cover the world. I would speak for the youth, and the freedom of man, and the future of this country. I would speak in one syllable words. I would write, and re-write, simply to eliminate big words, and spend words like a miser spends nickels. I would study Churchill's speeches, and the best of Roosevelt's speeches. I would read one speech of Pepper--not for language but for feeling and sense. Pepper, unfortunately, is oratorical. You are a young man of action, and are so know. If you deliver an oration, it will be out of place in a hardboiled committee-working House. So the time should be on a definite working point and a definite assignment. The speech should presume that the appropriations bill in its details are known to every member, so you may escape the detail by calling attention to the provisions on each member's desk in one sentence.

You will presume that the appropriation is as good as passed unanimously, leaving the debate on detailed provisions for a running fire if the Republicans attack. You will have sheets and sheets of rebuttal on each provision in your pocket if you expect attack, so that you will have instantaneous answers in a rough-house debate. But in your first twenty-minutes sell the average man's rights to protection in freedom as the purpose of the bill--a bill to guarantee the freedom of this world through the guarantee of the world's greatest Navy to police the trade routes of the world for peace and freedom.

Mr. Buck Hood  
Austin, Texas

Dear Buck:

I have been thanking several people in writing campaign letters this morning. But I am not going to thank you. I am going to ask your forgiveness for everytime that I misbehaved under the pressure. I shall always remember the hours and the loyalty you put into the fight.

Mr. Gordon Fuleher  
Austin, Texas

Dear Gordon:

You have a certain purity of spirit that is like a clean breeze. When I think of you, I think of one who has never willingly hurt anyone. A man without cruelty in his system may not be a great war general, but he certainly makes a fine friend and a perfect companion.

Mr. Frank Adams

Dear Frank:

As I face the days ahead here in Washington, I am pausing a moment to thank you for the work you did in Texas. You were always on the job and kept your head. Thanks.

Dr. Beverly  
Austin, Texas

You pack a punch in a soft mit. I heard everywhere in Austin of your quiet, good work, as well as knowing your special work among the doctors. Thanks very much.

Dr. Gilbert  
Austin, Texas

Dear Doctor Gilbert:

While I had a right to expect my attitude on socialized medicine would bring support from doctors throughout the state, your particular work is outstanding, and I want to thank you among the first. I appreciate everything you did very much.

Ross ---no information to go on, so no letter dictated.

Mr. William Vanell (or Venell)

Dear Bill:

You seemed to know what to do and when to do it on the trip. May be it was because you had had more experience than some of us. Anyway, it was a pleasure to watch you work. Thanks.

April 15, 1941

A pioneer country now grown up is asking, "Where do we go from here?" Texas, a country with <sup>as</sup> many acres as pre-war Germany, finds herself not alone as in the day of San Jacinto. There sturdy men fought and freed their wilderness for the civilization that now is here. Here we stand blessed by their work and by their courage.

"Word and courage"—the same words ring now. By our work and by our courage shall we—one among the many states in the fatherland—win a new safety and a new freedom.

There is no room for pessimism. Germans' tanks march toward the Suez; America enfolds Greenland; the Balkan line cracks; Athens, the mother of freedom, may fall (falls); battered Britain holds fast. There is no news beyond our shores that brings comfort. The courage comes from within ourselves. We, in the tradition of Texas, feel something that we may not express. We know that every man is weak or strong according to the nature of the man himself. In this good land we call Texas we have found that work and courage conquers; that idleness and cowardice spells defeat.

Multiplied millions throughout this country say this thing. So this country has no paralysing fear, for this country knows that work and courage on the job with freedom shall win the safety and the peace which shall lead to even a better day than the day of San Jacinto.

Unity is a thing of the spirit. Unity is not here and now. There are some lagards who seek self—even some who call themselves statesmen who seek reputation through noise and not through needs; some labor leaders, some business men may still in all good conscience be asleep to the needs of unity. Great worship of individual freedom may have caused them to be led astray, for freedom is what we put into it. We give of ourselves so that through all we may win back the possession of liberty, safety, and the dignity of free action. These great values are threatened. In calm courage we accept the challenge. But acceptance is but the beginning. Work, virility, drive, sweat—these things

all must be in equal measure with those who threaten.

Our hatred of the horror of a Hitler must not blind us into contempt of his power. Good does not defend itself. Evil, unopposed, sometimes wins. So let us examine this unity which must equal the unity of the despot himself.

Hitler once said: "The United States is over-estimated. There government doesn't tell the people what to do, the government asks them what to do."

Well, there is some truth to this, and proudly we know it. But that is the true strength of America. Our country, and our Commander-in-Chief, Roosevelt, is not telling us what to do. We are telling the government, and we are telling Roosevelt. Let us tell him again. Let us resolve here and now that every Texan work for his country first and himself second.

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San Jacinto Day Speech  
Lyndon B. Johnson  
April 21, 1941  
Joint Session-- Texas Legislature  
Austin, Texas

IT IS LATER THAN WE THINK

Friends and Fellow-Texans:

I am honored that you have given me the privilege of speaking to you. It has been my good fortune to serve the Tenth District of Texas in Congress for four years. Since my duty keeps me away from Texas most of the time, you can imagine the pleasure your invitation and the opportunity to be in Texas have given me.

This Capitol has been a part of my life. My father served as a member of the Legislature for most of twelve years. My visits to the Capitol during that time were the thrill of my (life.) *early boyhood*

As a Texan, I am proud of the history of Texas. As an American, I am proud of the part it has played in the moulding of the history of our great country.

This year, the celebration of San Jacinto Day has a special significance. It finds the world again in the midst of a struggle for independence. Democracy is being questioned. Our own fate is undeniably a part of the fate of the world.

When one speaks today of the future of democracy, he must do so with thoughtful confidence. Americans have been taught by their fathers and their fathers' fathers to believe in democratic principles. So thoroughly have we learned this, it is impossible for most Americans to conceive of an America not free.

One cannot separate the thought of the future of democracy from



the thought of the continuity of our own country as we know it.

Being an American is a state of mind. It is not being born of a certain blood or ancestry. Throughout the history of our country there has predominated a common belief in the rights of man. It has been so strong it has welded together into one nation every nationality. This blending has not been a miracle. It is the inevitable result of men with common ideals finding a place where their ideals might be given a chance to mature, to produce the nation we all love and call America.

We have accomplished in a very short time the ability to live in peace. Our brothers in the rest of the world are still seeking that today. I say brothers, because all Americans have a drop of blood which one day coursed through the veins of some other man in another part of the world centuries ago. It is from these distant peoples that we have inherited whatever we are—our courage, our ability to work, live and create.

Our responsibility is for the future of democracy. Our ancestors have built a democratic country. We ourselves have proved it can work, that it is the most logical and happy way of living. Has this been done in vain? Have we created a democracy which is to perish after so short a life? We hear from all sides that democracy is threatened. It is difficult not to believe this when we read in our daily papers that men are killing men, that destruction is on the march, that democracy has perished where once before it was growing and thriving.

I say we have not worked in vain, that democracy will not disappear from the earth.

I believe America has never before had such an opportunity as now to point to her own way of life as an example for the rest of the world. I believe the time is approaching for the birth of a democratic world,—a world with common ideals—a world without barriers. We and our forefathers have built a country which can say to the world that men do not hate other men; that men of different blood can live together in peace and harmony for the common good.

To achieve this there is work to be done. We will do it. We are a nation of workers. There will be times when confusion between our different interests within our borders will seem insurmountable. We have within our system minorities seeking advancement. We have so-called capital, we have labor, the farmer, the businessman. Each presents his problem. Each of us has his individual life he does not wish to disturb. All of these things are a part of a democratic government. All are minorities which go together to make a whole and what the whole demands, each gives.

We are a nation. We are the United States of America. We are the children of a generation of men and women who worked, fought and sacrificed for liberty, for freedom. We will do the same. We must work without consideration for individual gain at the moment. We must work knowing that as a reward for our labor we and our children and grandchildren, and all of the people of the world, will have a better life for centuries to come.

Nazi and Fascist principles have temporarily taken Europe and are spreading themselves into the Balkans, Africa, Asia and the Far East. Why? Because — and let's be honest and frank about it — European democracy fell down on the job. Dictatorships are the consequence of the failure of democracy.

European democracies turned out some of the prettiest statements the world has ever heard between 1930 and '39. Free government became flowers and flapdoodle outside and chaos inside. Governments were falling to pieces under their own noses, and didn't know it. Parties and cliques were willing to sacrifice national strength to gain minority advantage. France couldn't make up its mind. England clung to an outworn system. The little fellows watched the big fellows and followed suit to disaster.

All the while crafty dictatorships were making plenty of hay. They were unifying themselves from within. They accomplished unity with the sword, the guillotine, the torture-chamber and the concentration camp, to be sure. But the point is: They did it. Unemployment, economic and social bellyache kept European democracy in bed for years, an ice-pack on its head and a roaring hangover for company. The totalitarian states didn't go to bed. They weren't even sick. They confiscated all business, industry and labor. With every last mother's son at work, they converted their resources, and everything else they could lay their hands on, into a war machine. They permitted no unemployment. They tolerated no complaints from capital. They stifled any protests from labor. They made their farmers put up and shut up.

We Americans don't like that sort of government. We wouldn't tolerate it for a minute. But when all is said and done, that is the kind of government, that is the idea, the remaining democracies in the world must fight. If they refuse to fight that idea, in frank acknowledgement of it just as it is, and insist upon old-time remedies for new-time upheavals, the results may well be problematical.

Certainly I am no defeatist. I just like to know the size of the fellow I have to whip, and where he came from, what he thinks about, how he slugs.

Well, what are we doing about it?

To begin with, we have one million two hundred thousand American boys now undergoing training in the regular army. By midsummer this number will be a million and a half. Our naval forces have been increased to 230,000 men, on the sea and in the air.

We must produce for them — rapidly and without delay — supplies and equipment, guns, tanks, combat planes, bombers, rifles, battleships, cruisers, subs and torpedo boats, better than any forces in the world possess. Not just as good, but much better.

We of Texas feel the urgency, as other states feel it. For a great many years thousands of empty Texas acres have been used to train soldiers of our army and pilots to control the air above us. Within the last twenty-four months, in addition to this army-consciousness, Texas has become navy-conscious. On the Gulf Coast millions are being spent for new shipyards. In Dallas naval reserves are in the air. At corpus Christi, the greatest naval flight training program in



America is under way. Here at our own University we have established a naval R.O.T.C. and it is now completing a very successful year for one hundred students.

We have all the resources it takes to defend ourselves. We have all the man-power, wealth, and education to make our position impregnable. But when the day comes we are so busy thinking about something else we won't put these advantages to work 110 per cent. — that day we can look into the pit with the crows and see where we'll land.

The riflemen at San Jacinto didn't have much. They owned scanty supplies and there were few of them. They won because they used what they had of men and supplies a full 200 per cent.

How much time have we to get ready? The truth is we don't have any time. We don't know, in days, hours, weeks and months, when this hurricane may come to us. None of us is going out to invite it. We shall cling to every hope that we may be spared its horrors.

But — when we lose a minute, wrangling among ourselves, in disputes about who is going to do what, who is going to get what, who is going to be the big shot, we lose something all the gold at Fort Knox, Kentucky, can't buy back. We rush one step nearer the universal disaster with every second wasted.

If American democracy is to survive it can't do it on conversation. It can't survive on the glories of the past. If American democracy persists it will be because Americans want it to. Because they want it to so much they will offer their "blood and sweat and tears" to make it survive. Winston Churchill never spoke more magnificent

words than these: "I bring you blood and sweat and tears."

The British government did a lot of playing to the galleries at first. It was when it went on a twenty-four hour schedule, applied its blood and sweat and tears, that it stemmed the tide a little. When democratic statesmen forgot what was best from their standpoint and considered what was best for democracy, men all over the world took hope. The boys at San Jacinto won in blood and sweat and tears. Some of the fine words said about them on their monuments might seem pretty strange to their ears if they could hear them today. They talked and thought in rough, practical terms, not in gardenias. They wanted to survive, and so must we — to the point of personal sacrifice.

I come to you today as a friend of American labor. I think the record will speak for itself of my interest in and concern for the American laboring man. But to labor I want to say this: We know your rights, we cherish them, and we 'll fight for them. Still, there are interests superior to yours. Those of your American government. When you vote to strike you must think not only of your liberties but of those superior liberties of every citizen of your country. You must think of your government, what it requires to save you and your precious rights.

I have been the friend of business and industry. I am a firm champion of our American system. I have consistently fought to defend capital, business and industry. To capital we say: We know your prerogatives. We cherish them. We'll fight for them. Still there are privileges superior to yours and above those of any other

minority in America. Your government can call on you and you are bound to respond when it must defend you in your precious advantages.

I have fought a long battle for our farmers. I am still fighting for them. But to the farmers we say: We know your interests. We cherish them. We'll fight for them. But your government can call on you, too, and you must answer.

The security of the whole country is above that of any single group — labor, capital, the farmer, what have you? When, in the scramble to save yourselves, individually, all you minorities become willing to sacrifice the whole people for yourselves, you will jump through the trap of your own gallows.

We cannot be free men and, at the same time, disorganized men, bull-headed, obstinate, selfish men.

In these times capital, labor and the farmer <sup>must not make</sup> ~~commit suicide~~. <sup>war among themselves. They must resort to conferences - not hear gas and clubs.</sup>  
They tried ~~it~~ in France. France is in chains. They tried it in England. <sup>fighting</sup>  
England has come mighty near losing its life. They tried it in other democracies. They are no longer on the map. We may be bigger than all the rest. Yet there is a disease which feeds exclusively on democracies.

Since we started spending a few billion dollars on defense we have repeatedly run into bottlenecks. A strike here has chopped a few days from plane production. Another has curtailed coal, steel, iron, precision equipment, motor conveyances. Labor has not always been 100 per cent. sound in these disturbances. Nor has capital. The wrong on both sides has cost us more than we can afford.

I would be the last to take his freedom from any man, or any group of men. But the day any man, or any minority, poses as superior to America under our constitution, that day the man or minority becomes your enemy and my enemy. The Constitution, which confers privileges, also imposes duties and obligations. Again, the units must rally to save the whole.

It is a source of bitter regret to me that I cannot come before you to assure you we Americans have done a perfect job carrying our defense program forward. I cannot. We have bungled. We have been slow. We have frittered away time. We have stopped to bicker among ourselves, to wrangle. We have dilly-dallied. We have thought too much of our own security and clique security. We ought to have been thinking of national security.

We have done too much bragging, too much chest-slapping. We have boasted about how much bigger than anybody's army and navy ours is going to be. But who doesn't have a fine army and strong sea and air power these days? Listen: From January 1, 1933, to January 1, 1939, Germany spent ninety billion dollars getting ready for this war. During the same period, American army and naval officials estimate, we spent eight or nine billion dollars — around one-tenth of Germany's investment in the means of war. In 1939, Germany invested another thirty-six billion dollars. Americans in 1939 scraped up a billion and three-quarters dollars.

In 1940 and again in '41 Germany invested another estimated



fifty or sixty billion dollars. In 1940 we set up six billion dollars and in 1941 our investments in defense will amount to twelve or fifteen billion dollars. Germany's total is around 230 billion dollars. America's total is about twenty-nine and one-quarter billion. Our figure is approximately one-eighth of Germany's for the nine years.

There is another catch. Most of Germany's 230 billions represent material on the field and in the hands of soldiers, sailors, and pilots. Our billions are mostly on paper, in contracts and future deliveries. Germany's billions do not represent money, because Germany doesn't have any money. Ours represents money power, Germany's fighting power.

In the light of these facts, do you still think we have time to loaf, to chew our thumbs, to argue, to waste time? It is later than we think.

We have a good foundation on which to build this defense machine of ours and make it effective, if we are willing to use it. For the last eight years, under President Roosevelt, our government, returning democracy to the people, has been building us from within. We have relieved the distress of our millions of unemployed, sustained their health, morale and skills. We have educated and trained our boys and girls through the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps. We have refinanced the debts on our homes and farms and brought interest rates down within the ability to pay. We have made real headway clearing our city and rural slums. We have conserved our natural resources, stopped

the onrush of floods and <sup>put</sup> ~~wake~~ waters to work generating the electric power we need now for our defense. We have given our laborers jobs, supported business and industry in the construction of great public works. We have awakened to the farmers' many problems and made conscientious efforts to assist him back to a decent American living standard.

With such a foundation under our feet we surely cannot be hopeless, even though we may find the road rough in spots.

With such footings Americans by voluntary methods can and will accomplish what the dictatorships have done with the lash.

I know they can. Nothing so challenges the American spirit as tackling the biggest job on earth. That is what this is. Every American will become a statesman in such an emergency. He will apply a statesman's shrewdness. He will hereafter avoid satisfaction with himself, for he will know in satisfaction lies deterioration. Americans are stimulated by the big job — the Panama Canal, Boulder Dam, Grand Coulee, the tallest building in the world, the mightiest battleship. Fortification of the greatest democracy makes all other projects seem trivial. There is nothing hum-drum about it. It is already making itself felt in every heart.

Control ~~of~~ ourselves, cooperation among ourselves, and increasingly effective organization. These are American specialties, as well as German. They will work as well here as across the Atlantic.

First we must all work. Second, we must all work longer and harder, no matter what our job may be. Third, we must work some more. We must ferret out new ideas, create new processes. I suggest but one.

Many others await our search.

We have the selective draft which takes the cream of our crop for the army and navy. It puts these young men into uniform, prepares them not only to defend us, but to be skillful enough to defend themselves. We have laws permitting us to draft plants if we can't get industry to cooperate. Public opinion sets standards labor and agriculture must meet. In fact, we are beginning to see intelligent organization signs everywhere, except in one instance. We are still plowing along under the one-horse dollar-a-year-man system. Men who frequently must work for their companies three days a week and their government the other three sometimes get their jobs mixed.

Why not immediately take a census of management in this country? The results will reveal where the executive brains and the executive leadership of America are located. We have plenty of men already in the ranks of production. We have the materials for them to use — everything on earth they we need. What we lack are some big management generals. We ought to have them, too. Why not draft executive and management brains and forget the dollar-a-year Tommyrot? Would we send an army into the field with a dollar-a-year general? To ask that is to answer it.

America and the world are blessed today that destiny has given us a great and mature man to lead us. President Roosevelt is a leader whose judgment has been found good and fair. We can trust and follow him. He embodies the spirit of love for fellowman in which democracy was born and with which it will carry forward to the future when peace

comes and this trial is past. His is a difficult, an overpowering job. He does it with joy, in the knowledge that, working for the whole, the individual finds his own compensation. A united America must support him.

I believe in America, in democracy, and in our government from the President down to the lowliest servant of it. I believe also that in the soul of man lies the power to control the future, whether that soul be called in modern terms English, German, Italian, French or Greek. I believe that all men in all places have a common idea which will rise when its bonds are stricken away. They want to be free.

Even though there may be dark days ahead, perhaps sorrow and sacrifice and tears, my hope and belief are that the same undying courage, the same love of freedom, the same unmatched spirit which raised the flag of independence over Texas one day will raise it over a democratic world.

San Jacinto Day Speech  
Lyndon B. Johnson  
April 21, 1941  
Joint Session--Texas  
Legislature  
Austin, Texas

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We must produce for them--rapidly and without delay--supplies and equipment, guns, tanks, combat planes, bombers, rifles, battleships, cruisers, subs and torpedo boats, better than any forces in the world possess. Not just as good, but much better.



We of Texas feel the urgency, as other states feel it. For a great many years thousands of empty Texas acres have been used to train soldiers of our army and pilots to control the air above us. Within the last twenty-four months, in addition to this army-consciousness, Texas has become navy-conscious. On the Gulf Coast millions are being spent for new shipyards. In Dallas naval reserves are in the air. At Corpus Christi, the greatest naval flight training program in America is under way. Here at our own University we have established a naval R. O. T. C. and it is now completing a very successful year for one hundred students.

We have all the resources it takes to defend ourselves. We have all the man-power, wealth, and education to make our position impregnable. But when the day comes we are so busy thinking about something else we won't put these advantages to work 110 per cent--that day we can look into the pit with the crows and see where we'll land.

The rifleman at San Jacinto didn't have much. They owned scanty supplies and there were few of them. They won because they used what they had of men and supplies a full 200 per cent.

How much time have we to get ready? The truth is we don't have any time. We don't know, in days, hours, weeks and months, when this hurricane may come to us. None of us is going out to invite it. We shall cling to every hope that we may be spared its horrors.

But--when we lose a minute, wrangling among ourselves, in disputes about who is going to do what, who is going to get what, who is going to be a big shot, we lose something all the gold at Fort Knox, Kentucky, can't buy back. We rush one step nearer the universal disaster with every second wasted.

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We cannot be free men and, at the same time, disorganized men, b ull-headed, obstinate, selfish men.

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I would be the last to take his freedom from any man, or any group of men. But the day any man, or any minority poses as superior to America under our constitution, that day the man or minority becomes your enemy and my enemy. The Constitution, which confers privileges, also imposes duties and obligations. Again, the units must rally to save the whole.

It is a source of bitter regret to me that I cannot come before you to assure you we Americans have done a perfect job carrying our defense program forward. I cannot. We have bungled. We have been slow. We have fritted away time. We have stopped to bicker among ourselves, to wrangle. We have dilly-dallied. We have thought too much of our own security and clique security. We ought to <sup>have</sup> been thinking of national security.

We have done too much bragging, too much chest-slapping. We have boasted about how much bigger than anybody's army and navy ours is going to be. But who doesn't have a fine army and strong sea and air power these days? Listen: From January 1, 1933, to January 1, 1939, Germany spent ninety billion dollars getting ready for this war. During the same period, American army and naval officials estimate, we spent eight or nine billion dollars--around one-tenth of Germany's investment in the means of war. In 1939, Germany invested another thirty-six billion dollars. Americans in 1939 scraped up a billion and three-quarters dollars.

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In the light of these facts, do you still think we have time to loaf, to chew our thumbs, to argue, to waste time? It is later than we think.

We have a good foundation on which to build this defense machine of ours and make it effective, if we are willing to use it. For the last eight years, under President Roosevelt, our government, returning democracy to the people, has been building us from within. We have relieved the distress of our millions of unemployed, sustained their health, morale and skills. We have educated and trained our boys and girls through the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps. We have refinanced the debts on our homes and farms and brought interest rates down within the ability to pay. We have made real headway clearing our city and rural slums. We have conserved our national resources, stopped the onrush of floods and put waste waters to work generating the electric power we need now for our defense. We have given our laborers jobs, supported business and industry in the construction of great public works. We have awakened to the farmers' many problems and made conscientious efforts to assist him back to a decent American living standard.

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I know they can. Nothing so challenges the American spirit as tackling the biggest job on earth. That is what this is. Every American will become a statesman in such an emergency. He will apply a statesman's shrewdness. He will hereafter avoid satisfaction with himself, for he will know in satisfaction lies deterioration. Americans are stimulated by the big job--the Panama Canal, Boulder Dam, Grand Coulee, the tallest building in the world, the mightiest battleship. Fortification of the greatest democracy makes all other projects seem trivial. There is nothing hum-drum about it. It is already making itself felt in every heart.

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America and the world today are blessed that destiny has given us a great and mature man to lead us. President Roosevelt is a leader whose judgement has been found good and fair. We can trust and follow him. He embodies the spirit of love for fellowman in which democracy was born and with which it will carry forward to the future when peace comes and

this trial is past. His is a difficult, an overpowering job. He does it with joy, in the knowledge that, working for the whole, the individual finds his own compensation. A united America must support him.

I believe in America, in democracy, and in our government from the President down to the lowliest servant of it. I believe also that in the soul of men lies the power to control the future, whether that soul be called in modern terms English, German, Italian, French, or Greek. I believe that all men in all places have a common idea which will rise when its bonds are stricken away. They want to be free.

Even though there may be dark days ahead, perhaps sorrow and sacrifice and tears, my hopes and belief are that the same undying courage, the same love of freedom, the same unmatched spirit which raised the flag of independence over Texas one day will raise it over a democratic world.

San Jacinto Day Speech  
Lyndon B. Johnson  
April 21, 1941  
Joint Session--Texas  
Legislature  
Austin, Texas

IT IS LATER THAN WE THINK

Friends and Fellow-Texans:

I am honored that you have given me the privilege of speaking to you. It has been my good fortune to serve the Tenth District of Texas in Congress for four years. Since my duty keeps me away from Texas most of the time, you can imagine the pleasure your invitation and the opportunity to be in Texas has given me.

This Capitol has been a part of my life. My father served as a member of the Legislature for most of twelve years. My visits to the Capitol during that time were the thrill of my early boyhood.

As a Texan, I am proud of the history of Texas. As an American, I am proud of the part it has played in the moulding of the history of our great country.

This year, the celebration of San Jacinto Day has a special significance. It finds the world again in the midst of a struggle for independence. Democracy is being questioned. Our own fate is undeniably a part of the fate of the world.

When one speaks today of the future of democracy, he must do so with thoughtful confidence. Americans have been taught by their fathers and their fathers' fathers to believe in democratic principles. So thoroughly have we learned this it is impossible for most Americans to conceive of an America not free.

One cannot separate the thought of the future of democracy from the thought of the continuity of our own country as we know it.



Being an American is a state of mind. It is not being born of a certain blood or ancestry. Throughout the history of our country there has predominated a common belief in the rights of man. It has been so strong it has welded together into one nation every nationality. This blending has not been a miracle. It is the inevitable result of men with common ideals finding a place where their ideals might be given a chance to mature, to produce the nation we all love and call America.

We have accomplished in a very short time the ability to live in peace. Our brothers in the rest of the world are still seeking that today. I say brothers, because all Americans have a drop of blood which one day coursed through the veins of some other man in another part of the world centuries ago. It is from these distant peoples that we have inherited whatever we are--our courage, our ability to work, live and create.

Our responsibility is for the future of democracy. Our ancestors have built a democratic country. We ourselves have proved it can work, that it is the most logical and happy way of living. Has this been done in vain? Have we created a democracy which is to perish after so short a life? We hear from all sides that democracy is threatened. It is difficult not to believe this when we read in our daily papers that men are killing men, that destruction is on the march, that democracy has perished where once before it was growing and thriving.

I say we have not worked in vain, that democracy will not disappear from the earth.

I believe America has never before had such an opportunity as now to point to her own way of life as an example for the rest of the world. I believe the time is approaching for the birth of a democratic world--a world with common ideals--a world without barriers. We and our forefathers have built a country which can say that men do not hate other men;

that men of different blood can live together in peace and harmony for the common good.

To achieve this there is work to be done. We will do it. We are a nation of workers. There will be times when confusion between our different interests within our borders will seem insurmountable. We have within our system minorities seeking advancement. We have so-called capital, we have labor, the farmer, the businessman. Each presents his problem. Each of us has his individual life he does not wish to disturb. All of these things are a part of a democratic government. All are minorities which go together to make a whole and what the whole demands, each gives.

We are a nation. We are the United States of America. We are the children of a generation of men and women who worked, fought and sacrificed for liberty, for freedom. We will do the same. We must work without consideration for individual gain at the moment. We must work knowing that as a reward for our labor we and our children and grandchildren, and all of the people of the world, will have a better life for centuries to come.

Nazi and Fascist principles have temporarily taken Europe and are spreading themselves into the Balkans, Africa, Asia and the Far East. Why? Because--and let's be honest and frank about it--European democracy fell down on the job. Dictatorships are the consequence of the failure of democracy.

European democracies turned out some of the prettiest statements the world has ever heard between 1930 and '39. Free government became flowers and flapdoodle outside and chaos inside. Governments were falling to pieces under their own noses, and didn't know it. Parties and cliques were willing to sacrifice national strength to gain minority advantage. France couldn't make up its mind. England clung to an outworn system. The little fellows watched the big fellows and followed suit to disaster.

All the while crafty dictatorships were making plenty of hay. They were unifying themselves from within. They accomplished unity with the sword, the guillotine, the torture-chamber and the concentration camp, to be sure. But the point is: They did it. Unemployment, economic and social bellyache kept European democracy in bed for years, an ice-pack to its head and a roaring hangover for company. The totalitarian states didn't go to bed. They weren't even sick. They confiscated all business, industry and labor. With every last mother's son at work, they converted their resources, and everything else they could lay their hands on, into a war machine. They permitted no unemployment. They tolerated no complaints from capital. They stifled any protests from labor. They made their farmers put up and shut up.

We Americans don't like that sort of government. We wouldn't tolerate it for a minute. But when all is said and done, that is the kind of government, that is the idea, the remaining democracies in the world must fight. If they refuse to fight that idea, in frank acknowledgement of it just as it is, and insist upon old-time remedies for new-time upheavals, the results may well be problematical.

Certainly I am no defeatist. I just like to know the size of the fellow I have to whip, and where he came from, and what he thinks about, how he slugs.

Well, what are we doing about it?

To begin with, we have one million two hundred thousand American boys now undergoing training in the regular army. By midsummer this number will be a million and a half. Our naval forces have been increased to 230,000 men, on the sea and in the air.

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April 22, 1941

Johnson's announcement should not be made in Washington. If time permits, it should be made at Johnson City. He will have all Washington strength anyway. He wants Texas strength as a small-town Texas boy announcing simply from his mother's house. The Roosevelt publicity should follow the announcement, not precede it.

The surface argument of any politician would be that he should have his picture taken leaving the White House issuing the announcement, or from his own office within thirty minutes after seeing the President so that the news stories would say: "Lyndon Johnson leaving the White House today made his announcement for the Senate to succeed Sheppard."

Kick off position by that method is the President being asked by Lyndon whether to run, or being told by the President to run, at least that Lyndon-- a Texan, seeking Texas votes on Texas business--is at the service or demand or agreement of the President.

The President has said: "Lyndon should run and see me afterwards." The President is the smartest politician in the country. My feeling of the average Texas voter is that he does believe that every man is sovereign. He wants Lyndon Johnson to run himself as a Texan against two Texans, and will respect Lyndon if he does so. The campaign will develop the President's position very quickly. The delicate question of getting the full value of the President's support is to see that the issue of dictation to Texas be not raised. It has been demonstrated in Wilson's time in the Middle West and in Roosevelt's purge in the South East and in Iowa and Maryland. No matter how popular a President is, he must not dictate to a state the state's position on Washington jobs. This is not a purge to eliminate Senators. It is to be a suggestion by the President on the election of a Senator. But the enemies of Johnson seeking the same job are certain to raise the cry that the President is "telling Texas." So the matter is one of delicate timing.

Johnson first has a Texan with Texans, and the President following quickly. Such a course speaks for itself, and the people of Texas will defend the President's position as a supporter of Johnson when they might not approve the President in a position of telling Johnson or them anything.

The President first and Johnson second is bad also for Johnson himself. He is seeking a contract as a principal with the voters of Texas, based on his character, personality, reputation, and service. The President merely endorses Johnson's claims. This issue must not be entirely a campaign of the President's request. Politically, and in publicity, it is always better to have the two shots from the gun than one, if the two shots are not from pea-shooters. Johnson's shot is a good shot from Johnson City. The President's shot may follow within two days, and a third shot might be arranged if Patman were to say that he did not propose to run and would support Johnson because Johnson was definitely the President's choice and he believes in the wisdom of the President and therefore withdrew. But if Patman were to announce, and Johnson announce from here directly or indirectly claiming the President's support, Patman would have a campaign already made for him by simply declaring that his support of the President had been equally consistent and strong as Johnson's, and of a longer time, so Patman might cut down Johnson by developing a campaign quarrel in which the President might be quoted that he certainly did not object to Patman and Johnson.

This is long and rambling, but it has this meat: Never be an acting principal in the basket of a bigger inactive non-principal. Coolidge knew that much when he let Hoover build up and run first before Coolidge put on the heat for Hoover. Theodore Roosevelt made a serious mistake in putting Taft over to succeed him by announcing too early to too many people his Taft choice. Taft never got over the trouble when he finally broke with Roosevelt. I think that today and tomorrow should be spent on Patman, and that Patman should be brought into active support of Johnson at once. Patman already has said he would let Speaker Rayburn decide between Johnson and himself. That offer

now should be accepted, and Rayburn should be told by the President to act, and immediately Johnson and Rayburn should ask Patman to take the chairmanship of Johnson's campaign. That act puts the administration directly and officially into the picture, and the activation of Rayburn pulls the congressional machine into line for Johnson as the real congressional and administration candidate, as against Dies, another Congressman. The proper person should tell Patman that good Senators come from good Congressmen, and that Connally is not well.

There was a probable deal between O'Daniel and Mann, where Mann would get out of the state, and O'Daniel third term. That deal probably hasn't come off, but it would have been very hard to beat. I do not believe there should be a deal with Patman to support him for Connally's seat. But Patman will know:

1. That he has little chance to win when Johnson has Roosevelt.
2. That an active support behind Johnson with Roosevelt will improve his chances to succeed Connally when it is all said and done.

These Senate seats are battles between Congressmen seeking promotion and Texas state politicians inexperienced seeking promotion.

There is the campaign. The head of the nation supporting an experienced Congressman. Fortunately the head of the state probably will not support an inexperienced but very popular state politician. So I think, with O'Daniel inactive Johnson is in fine shape on this issue. But it should be Johnson first, Roosevelt second, with Patman fixed now--today or tonight.

# 170 Clubs - Speakers -

Can Lies or Defeatism win the Texas Senate seat? This is the Washington angle of the campaign just opening in ~~the~~ ~~Americas~~ ~~highest~~ state.

In passing it is remembered here that Texas and pre-war Germany are of equal size - also that large colonies of Germans settled much of Texas farm land a half century ago.

The principle business of Washington is politics. A Texan living here knows that the national opinion about the Texas campaign is not accurate. There is much more to the Texas race than Lies and defeatism. There is much more to the race than Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson.

Johnson stands for all out aid to Britain, speed and no delay in defense, full support of Roosevelt in foreign and domestic policies. So naturally those close to Roosevelt are friendly - enthusiastic even - toward Johnson. Equally Roosevelt is concerned at the possibility of a Lies victory. Roosevelt's friends see the Lies campaign very clearly. They remember the Klan Klan days - the great wave of prejudice and hysteria of 20 years ago. They bluntly say "Lies is the greatest rabble rouser in America today, and Lies is on his way."

They expect Lies to capitalize on fear. They know that Washington is far away from the Panhandle. They know that Texas in all national polls ranks as the most patriotic state



in the union. They know that Roosevelt has his highest personal popularity in Texas. They also believe that the very vigor and strong emotion which makes up the average Texan resents foreign born leadership in any form, and that Texas bravely might easily be swayed by Roosevelt on anti labor and foreign born witch hunt. So in Washington lies is the most frequent name heard in political circles for the Shepard deal. Shepard's name sometimes brings moisture to the eyes of those who worked with him behind Roosevelt. So they hope for Johnson.

What Washington does not know is that Texas voters have their own special way of thinking and acting. Here one does not find much mention of Mann, the Atty General candidate, because Washington has never heard of him and apparently he has no outstanding campaign issue, so they discount his personal popularity and think of him as an also ran. Practically no mention is made of Governor O'Daniel who is thought of in Washington as a singer of songs and an eccentric called "Pass the biscuits".

It is almost laughable that people ordinarily politically wise fail to understand qualities which have made O'Daniel the strongest vote-getter in state races that Texas has seen since the Ferguson



peek.

So in Washington all one hears is lies and yuck. Even the political columnist reflect this view, but one thing is certain: the Texas race is a national race - almost a world wide election in point of interest. Men say here that Hitler even is watching this result because Roosevelt has been reported in the foreign press as facing a test election in the country's largest state.

Pacific Senators like Wheeler and Taft and Nye are hoping for a Roosevelt set back because of the effect on the Senate legislation. The immediate spring battle behind the lines of freedom is how far to go in getting war material and food to Britain now. A worried President has hesitated many weeks. He finally has decided that his duty as Commander-in-Chief forces him to a stronger army position. He faces Wheeler, Nye, Taft, Chubb and their allies. A set back to Roosevelt in Texas may mean ten more votes for the Wheeler block which seeks peace with Hitler and is backing Lindbergh in his defeatism campaign.

This week a Japanese Statesman returning home from Italy, Russia, and a visit to Hitler was acclaimed with great honor. He announced what the peace would be. His 10 points badly and brutally state that the Monroe Doctrine must be scraped,



that Hawaii must be weakened, that the East Indies and Australia must be opened to the Japs, that the Philippines must be "advised" by Japan, that the U.S. must quit building a two ocean navy, that Great Britain must be reduced to a peaceful and helpless island without air or military protection, with a fleet less powerful than the Axis combination. This Jap broadside demands states that America is the country to beat. The Japs talked to Hitler many hours. He is a partner, Hitler. He is the strongest Japanese statesman in world affairs at the moment.

So the Texas test on Roosevelt is regarded here as vital in the spring offensive in determining the will of the American voter to back Roosevelt or to deny Roosevelt. The only thing which Washington and Germany do not know is that Texas is far away from the center of information - that Texas is an empire itself and that Texas voters in the peaceful pursuit of their daily lives are slow to change their political habits or their political favorites. If the election were to name Mahan or O'Daniel, Texans would know that the victory of either would <sup>necessarily</sup> be a slap at Roosevelt or a denial of all out aid to Democracy everywhere, but the national & the world effect would be the



(5)

same perhaps <sup>as</sup> if ~~he~~ himself  
won. But that ~~is~~ the tragedy  
of it all. <sup>may prove</sup>

Here it is all Johnson  
and optimism among the vigorous  
Roosevelt forces \*

April 23, 1941

Memorandum to L. B. J.:

Richardson thinks Elliot Roosevelt should be pulled into the state for a speech or two. Watch this. I think it very bad.

They like Roosevelt. They don't like Elliot.

April 23, 1941

Memorandum to L. B. J.:

Richardson has American Liberty in fair shape, because Murchison proposed to Richardson that effort be made to have Mann withdraw, based on the President's position. Richardson then said Toddy Lee Wynn and Murchison are so close to Mann that they have acted as advisers. I said that Mann could not be blasted out by any one, but it was a fine indication of Murchison's spirit behind Lyndon. Richardson then said, "I am seeing Murchison today."

I then said, "I am not going to tell you how many checks to write, and how much, but you and Murchison, I know, will function."

Richardson said, "That is what I called him about. I am going to pay for this radio time at the opening."

And I said, "And much more, of course, as you go along."

Memorandum to L. B. J.:

April 23, 1941

Talked to Richardson at midnight. Told him President had drafted you, practically against your will, but called you to the White House and said you had to. That it was very sudden, and I did not know anything about it, and you were called out of Speaker Rayburn's office. I said under the circumstances I thought Sid might call the President, getting his own information direct if he felt that close to the family at the moment. I did not personally wish to be quoted. I did suggest that he help his friends in the American Liberty from going too far too fast with Mann. It was the Mann group that were using Sid to keep you out of the race through Murchison. So this is backfire to help Harold on the Dallas job by keeping money from the other fellow.

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Memo to L. B. J.

April 23, 1941

The first speech should be prepared and press distributed three days. This is dangerous in that opponents may get it, so I would get the press releases in the hands of my district people for personal delivery to the newspapers and radio commentators about twelve hours before delivery. This speech should say something more than "Roosevelt wants me." In fact, I would not say that at all in the first speech. I think I would like the supporters and the newspapers make this campaign issue which brings your opponents into a defense line, forcing them to attack Roosevelt interference in Texas. When that is done, you very properly should defend the President and explain very simply just how you happened to run.

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April 23, 1941

Memorandum to L. B. J.:

Washington News Service

What should reach the papers Sunday? Houston last? What about specials to Houston, Dallas, and Fort Worth?

The presentation of the Washington viewpoint between Dies and Johnson as to experienced legislators--the basis pitching the story on "Washington expects experience."

Look upon the appointment of Houston's descendant as a symbolic act of a man not in a hurry, and pitch the Washington view point of the Texas Senatorial race as a request for the best Texas has got in experience, energy, and speed of decision. The "near White House" spokesman should point out (and it may be Patman) that the Congressional delegation, the Senator from Texas, and Texans in the executive branch, such as Grover Hill, and Wirtz, and Jones (Jesse) and Marvin Jones, now on the bench, are very much alive, and all know the President's mind. Just who will act, and what they may do as Texans is still unknown, but the view point here is that the President has been emphatic in asking his friends in Texas to understand his position, which is that among the twenty Texas Congressmen who are experienced in national legislative affairs that he feels Lyndon Johnson has the prime character and qualities needed now in the Senate. He has said nothing about Dies--the other Congressional candidate--while the President is not a man on the flying trapeze, he is an expert coat tail twister. There is not a chance for Dies to ride Roosevelt's coat tails. The President feels that ~~Dies~~ in the Senate the next six years would not contribute to National unity in what he believes is to be the long fight ahead. And the President certainly believes that a personally conducted text show by Dies, building up Dies and bringing offers of thousands of dollars for speech making is not in the public interest.

(let's get busy on Dies income tax and uncover his 1940 income from speech making. Let's then discuss the personal income of Dies from the government and label him a double payroll boy, using time in this national emergency to make his pin money for himself. But by the time we slowly add his personal fees together, we will find it is a safety pin of giant size where he has provided for his own old age pension out of the public alarm. This should not be done by Johnson, but by special Washington correspondents. No attack on one candidate by another is ever as strong as a news attack. Also in a three-cornered race, if one man cannot be attacked, the second man may be attacked on his character and motives and the third man cannot be attacked. It is better for the third man to be permitted to attack the vulnerable one,, leaving your own choice free to make constructive ground. In this case let Mann pick up the news and shoot it at Dies. While Johnson goes constructive, attacking neither Dies nor Mann.)

The attack on Mann can only be the attack of inexperience. That is a very weak attack, because most voters are inexperienced and they resent one of experience making a bully out of himself by attacking an equally good man as not knowing how. So it is better for Dies to attack Mann as inexperienced, while Johnson merely plays the violin of his own experience, and his hope that this experience, warranted by the President himself as good and promising to make for national defense shall be offered to Texas voters for their judgement and approval.

So at the present it is very important that the experience and Roosevelt guarantee to Texas be put through with speed--in Sunday's papers in Texas.

A radio commentator in San Antonio is available. He has the largest following. He should give a weekly political review in his news events. I think his friendship in the next sixty days is worth a thousand newspaper columns. He is not exactly Winchell or McNamee but he has got the local following on opinion and comment. I used him briefly in a campaign and found him intelligent.

Blaylock might be consulted on this. It is not expensive. He is on a station whose owners are commercial minded, and pay little attention to this star performer. A certain amount of space purchased ~~at~~ satisfies the owners and brings color into the news comment, if the commentator himself is recognised

personally in some manner. He is honest, but has the view point of a Baldwin that a little extra here and there does not bribe him. It does make him emotionally friendly.

Memorandum to L. B. J.

April 24, 1941

You might say:

I open this campaign with friendship toward all, and malice toward none. If there is to be a unity facing Hitler, it must be a unity founded on trust and friendship, not on distrust and enmity.

This fair Texas has come far. Texans, wherever I have gone, are met with a handshake and a respect which is their due. The fair name of Texas is a well known name throughout this land. That is because <sup>of the</sup> ~~such~~ Texas people and what they stand for. And so let us begin this campaign believing every Texan according to his lights, regardless of race or color or creed, regardless of whether he is a workman or a capitalist, a banker or a farmer, a teacher or a preacher, is one with Roosevelt, one with Liberty, and one with courage in facing the task.

Believing thus let us carry the message to Washington that Texas is a land of individuals bound together in dignity to fight as one. Believing so, I know that Labor in Texas is as healthy as anywhere in this land in its all out aid. I believe that capital so feels. From the cattle lands of the West to the lumber mills of the East, while we may not have among almost seven million a clear sight always; while democracy in its very being means a difference of opinion as to the way of life, I do know that democracy is the true way of life today. Neither despot nor demagog for long may be active in Texas. This Texas is a land of more than five flags now wrapped in one; this Texas is more than men of twenty nations moulded in one; this Texas is at the very forefront of the civilian life marching as one behind Roosevelt, its Commander-in-Chief. Roosevelt knows this. Many times has he said that from the pioneer comes the fight.

May I pause a moment to speak of this man. The miracle of man comes from the spirit of man. This man--this Roosevelt--tires as do you and I. But his spirit re-makes the man, as, from day to day, he fights on. And somehow I like to believe that from Texas comes some small part of his sunlight

some small part of that driving energy with which he meets the changing issues in the horrors of his every minute fight for God and country. Let us keep our own souls pure by keeping suspicion and greed and fear from this land--this Texas.

To Labor I say (Pick up Labor.)

To Capital I say (Same.)

To Management I say (Same.)

To men of all races and creeds and bloods I say, "Unity behind Roosevelt, with love of all and suspicion toward none until the individual fails us." The few individuals who shall be found among us violating the laws of unity and patriotism should be treated as individuals; and there should be no mass indictment. There should be no gospel of fear in this State of Texas. I am against the building of cells and units and blocks of special patriots within our midst. Who is he to say that he is a super-patriot? His voice does not make it so. And, if there is to be management of civilian morale behind the lines of fighting forces, I would rather trust my President to name and control this effort than anyone else known to you or me.

A moment to talk to men in middle life, and young men of superior nines who seek service to the maximum of their country's need. Many of these men are rich, through their own efforts in the field of private enterprise. Many are prominent in church and city government, in business life, and in community affairs. May not these men be misled into forming blocks of hysteria, chasing shadows through the night in the name of patriotism? They rather should prepare for the now and the days ahead. I truly believe that every man in America must be ready on call to give his all in the direct line of masculine defense. These men must give more money, as arms and men in factory and cantonments must be provided and maintained.

I believe these men--these civilian leaders--must be prepared to go where and when the country calls, just as the young men have gone to the training fields. I believe these leaders of our Texas communities in their full strength of mind and judgement are ready to go and ready to perform. The need is very great. At Washington I find the large corporations have been very prompt in ~~affording~~ offering management under the dollar-a-year plan, which began under Wilson in the last war. As I said in Congress (Pick up) a man cannot serve two masters--one for a dollar a year, three days a week, and one for fifty thousand dollars a year, three days a week, any more than a General can work three days a week.

I believe that there is no Texan worthy of the name, whether it is a John Carpenter of this city, at thirty thousand a year, or a President Blauffer of the Humble Oil Company at Houston, at one hundred thousand a year, who would not be ready on his Commander-in-chief's call to go to work for five thousand a year, and not reach back. Certainly such men have stored enough in the bank to give all out service for their country and their people as definitely as any private soldier in Camp (name Texas camp nearest).

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Lyndon, this will get you something, and will save your position when you follow with the next statement that all out labor and all out Capital and all out taxation must come. Get this management thing ahead of this all out business, because it is now, and because it is politically right, and morally correct, and the only thing not yet in the fire.)

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

Dear Dick:

I have just finished talking with Poage, after rather carefully going over your letter and one from Callan and one from Dupree.

Yesterday, at Poage's initiation, the Speaker, Lyndon Johnson, and some powerful people, including Wirtz, got together. The Speaker proposed and Poage accepted the plan to have the Flood Control Committee favorably report the Whitney Dam. After Flood Control sponsors it, it naturally will have the assets of the defense idea as well as Rivers and Harbors sympathetic aid.

From this distance I can see no conflict between the Whitney Dam and the powder plant. It sounds like a bunch of hokey. The powder plant will be built or not built on the place you mentioned here on an immediate and definite report now on file, and no conversation about the Whitney Dam will have anything to do with it.

The check up of the powder plant is not entirely favorable. There is no competition from anywhere in the Austin district that anyone knows anything about here. There is very strong competition from a location on Grand River, in Oklahoma--the Army stating that the water is colder up there. I have suggested to Poage that the thing be checked independently of the Army report as to coldness, and an immediate effort be made to see whether this particular temperature proposition is genuine or merely another bit of hokey. I do not know any rivers in Oklahoma that are cold blooded in Springtime or Summer any more than I know of any in Texas like that. If I were on this job, I would have a thermometer in both of those rivers tomorrow morning.

My surface feeling is that the Army has decided for Oklahoma, and is bolstering up the report, and that probably Senator Josh Lee has it in the bag--and he is a damn good New Deal Senator who carries a punch.

Your Army camp location at Valley Mills is in good shape. That does not mean that you have one. There is considerable local objection in the Valley Mills district which is having weight here, as the home owners in the district are more interested in their location than in getting some money for their ranches. The Army is apt to say that where there is local objection that the Government hasn't time to clear up such objections when they reach the point of formal court action, which is generally indicated by militant objection. If Waco could pacify two or three people and assure the Army here that they are not going into injunction proceedings, and therefore delay, I believe your camp site would work up very fast. But in the long time problem, the power development of the Brazos will ahead with cheap electricity and probably definite irrigation and flood control benefits. I think it is directly tied up with municipal ownership. I think Waco is tax-ridden and utility-robbled.



Mr. E. S. Fentress--April 24, 1941--Page two

I would pay no attention to the danger of any Whitney Dam agitation stepping anything, and I definitely know that if the Army felt that they had cheap power on the way up (and it doesn't take very long to build a dam now) that their long time plan for a long time war would include your district as a white spot.

I believe the power development is the fundamental keystone in peace or war. The present outlook is for a damn long war, and an economy in this country based on more and more nationalization of our energy. If you people don't come along with the Brasos, you are very apt to become one of the old fashioned and forgotten districts.

It is true that I would have no time and could be of no assistance to a couple of men working permanently for sixty or ninety days, or any other length of time out of Washington. I don't believe that they would want me, and I believe that they would be of definite assistance to Poage and Connally in much the same way that the Trinity River District is helping the Texas Power and Light Company.

A man named Fouts is permanently located with one or more assistants at the Wardman Park Hotel, in the apartment of the former head of the University, Splawn. I imagine John Carpenter is sitting opposite Fouts at the hotel at this moment. I know he is in town, and I know the Trinity is Carpenter controlled. The same outfit has about an even break on your Brasos Board now. I do not think Waco can possibly let the Brasos Board go by default. When the Colorado River Board started to go by default through Carpenter pressure on appointments, naturally we stopped him. The Board is always in danger of that. When the Texas Power and Light Company by indirection hired Moody to represent community boards venial to it, we had a mass meeting in Austin and exposed the deal. Dick, there is no substitute for vigor and honesty and drive in the defense and the progress of a people or a community.

This letter may sound as if I were giving an alibi for not doing something for a district which was the first district that I lived in in Texas, and which is still to me the most important sentimental bit of unfinished business. I would rather have you have the dignity and responsibility for making that town over, with Poage at Washington and you there and Connally waking up, than any other emotional bit of work I know of. But I believe that Baldwin and some fellow like Callan sitting up here and working with Poage will at least show enterprise and determination, and that the letters flowing back to Waco, and the pressure that eventually will come on the appointive power of the Board, will finally break the log-jam of indifference and dis-unity which I feel is largely responsible for the general unsatisfactory Waco progress. So I say, "Let's tighten the belt and go to town."

I will come at any time you say, to do anything you want, under your direction. I think this letter has been too long, but I think the need is very great--the need being particularly for decisiveness in plan, and to have the Washington end and the Waco fronts covered actively and vigorously.

Lyndon Johnson may or may not go to the Senate, but the relationship between him and Poage is very fine. Wirts has attended several meetings behind Poage's endeavor, and I believe, win or lose, the fact that Lyndon has made this Senate race practically at the request of the President is

Mr. E. S. Pentress--April 24, 1941--Page three

bound to result in emotional benefit in high places, if Poage supports him and you support him and the general district proves itself liberal in its attitude toward general defense. The Administration has a program of developing water power. Naturally human beings believing in certain programs over the nation are going to work with those communities which pay the quickest and biggest dividends along the lines of their ideas. That is the reason the far West has gotten its great power projects. The South East has many a river in a much denser and more fertile country which has water power possibilities, but I see the Georgia Power Company in such control in Georgia that they block every project through community indifference.

I am going to stop here, but I will be there on call.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

P. S. The R. E. A. is showing life. This is the Rural Electrification outfit which is moving power lines into the vicinity of Waco from your present dam on the Brazos. The equipment and poles will be sufficient to carry any copper which is needed to supply Waco at a later date. This was accepted this week by Poage, so when the time comes to put the fight on in Waco, you will not have been let down on that point. The line will also be constructed in loop fashion so that you will practically have a two-track power transmission system.

C. E. M.

Memo to A. G. M.:

April 24, 1941

In this speech try to get the first page in the spirit of the part marked Number One, to get away from the trite which all candidates open with.

The meat of what I have said might be arrived at in the following order: The spirit of tolerance with unity is the spirit of Texas, as all Texans unite behind Roosevelt. Texas knows from San Jacinto to this day how to unite for liberty behind a leader. All races, all creeds in this our Texas, seven million strong, are now to unite to send a Senator to Washington to aid the Commander-in-Chief. I seek that job. In a democratic election--not by a Hitler command--shall this man be picked. The masters in this decision come from many bloods. They have had fathers and grandfathers from many lands now under Hitler's lash. Under the American flag in a unity <sup>which</sup> ~~for~~ Texas uniquely under five flags, which Texas tells the nation June 28 that she sees clearly the job ahead. If I am to be the one sent to the Senate, I promise you service, the spirit of tolerance toward all, and the spirit of the peace to be, and in the spirit of all out defense for America.

Let us examine first what all out defense for America means here in Texas. (Alice, from such a line the orderly arrangement of my remarks probably then picks up the paragraphs on tolerance, which are the fundamental rebuttal to the Dies program, and gives the Roosevelt friendship with Johnson a concrete and constructive approach in this. He says that Roosevelt knows best how to fight fifth columnists. Also it ties up Bohemians and Jews and negroes as individuals and not as classes to be hunted by Dies and the fat bellied, middle-aged slackers, whether preachers or bankers or what not.)

Then come the paragraphs on what these middle-aged, rich, and important men now un-used should do. My remarks say they should be paying taxes willingly, and be prepared to work full time under Roosevelt if necessary at small salaries, wherever placed, the same as the men in the camps. Then comes the duty of Labor (no strikes, by inference) and the duty of Capital

and the duty of the individual. These paragraphs are in the remarks, and also in the San Jacinto speech. The reason for using Carpenter and Blauffer are that Carpenter represents private utilities at a large salary, and is working for profits for Wall Street, and is against what Roosevelt and Johnson have worked for in the Tenth District for seven years. Blauffer, of the Humble Company, represents in Houston the International big Business placate-Hitler group. It is necessary for Johnson to name names to illustrate clearly that such men should be working in mind and time for us, and not against us. Johnson will be advised against naming names. I am merely emphasizing that I think it is very important. First, because people must see such men to see issues clearly. The two issues are public power and that Johnson and Roosevelt know more how to handle anti-social or sluggish elements with tolerance, constructively, than does Dies by prejudice and fear—giving emphasis and with unity to his side show. You will have to believe me and see with me the average man in Houston and Dallas when he hears Johnson say these names this way. Blauffer is known throughout the oil world, and Carpenter stands for private greed in Texas.

Memorandum to L. B. J.:

April 24, 1941

You are the principal, and must decide some things soon. As I begin to write what I think should be said in a opening speech, I find myself realizing that only you are going to say it, and I don't even know where and to whom--that is, what group of people--you are to speak.

A speech has to take in the person speaking, and the people spoken to. Naturally, it is Lyndon speaking to all the people in the state over the radio, but the occasion and the place and the immediate audience are important, as it gives the human contact of the people to the speaker, giving the speaker that invisible force which makes the speech, I think, a success or a failure.

So, if I were asked to write a speech at this moment for you to deliver word for word, I would not do it. This speech is going to come from the heart of Lyndon Johnson to his own people. His heart must be not a Washington heart but a Johnson City heart. He is to come through this campaign, not as a Congressman, but as a Texan. He is already Roosevelt's friend. But he is going among the plain people with whom he grew up, asking them anew for their confidence.

To whom will they give their confidence? Certainly to one whom they believe feels as they feel, and to one who understands them, and one who loves them for themselves alone. I consider your hardest hurdle will be the business of seeing these people often enough and clearly enough to contact them in their soul--not with logic and argument. I believe that the Governor and Jerry Mann are as close to their people as you are to Roosevelt and Rayburn. They haven't been anywhere else; you have. The deadly thing I see in Washington is that the people here slowly lose the sight of the places from which they came, and with the sight goes the feeling. The farmer boy, like Owen D. Young of General Electric, spends thirty years in the city, and the farmer boys of the next generation become elude to his sophisticated mind. John Carpenter, the same. The balance sheet of big

business is not so different from the balance sheet of power politics as played in Washington. People get considered as mass, and not as individuals. But it is the individuals who vote. So in this spirit I approach the remarks which follow, having talked the last couple of hours with Young at breakfast and Wirts over the telephone. I believe these men constitute two of the three wise men around you in a Texas sense, and they have spoken their pieces.

Briefly, Young said: "Lyndon starts out as the under-dog with a beautiful campaign ahead. Roosevelt's selection of him will spread by word of mouth very rapidly. The important thing is to go ahead of this news by showing what Roosevelt picked. Johnson is the unknown, and is the Roosevelt choice for Senator. Why? Is it entirely because Johnson has voted with the President? So has Dies. Is it because Johnson is experienced as a Congressman? So is Dies. Is it because Johnson has done some outstanding work which has brought him especially to the attention of the President? So has Dies. And here is the point. Johnson's work has been constructive in the Tenth District of Texas in the Little F. V. A., where Johnson has been the President's best single exponent of the President's desire that the richer and fuller life be brought to all firesides of the American family.

"When the history of the fight of America against the power trust is written, Johnson will have his place in it as the Texas pioneer who fought intelligently and with courage for his people. And Roosevelt knows this because Roosevelt, before he was President, fought the same good fight in New York as a young man. The Roosevelt fight has not been won along the St. Lawrence waterway, as Wall Street blocks him even now. But Johnson's fight along the Colorado has been won with the President's support all along the line. And so in Central Texas today we have the partnership of Roosevelt and Johnson the very partnership which started when Johnson announced for Congress, believing the President was right in attempting to a cleaner and better and quicker justice for all.

"So what has Johnson done which causes Roosevelt to say, 'Johnson is an old and trusted friend.?'"

"In the face of the same power monopoly, Johnson and the Colorado River Authority have done:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

(Here comes your light rates, your municipal elections in twenty-two towns, your flood control, your farm electrification, your terracing, your foundation for the industrial life that is to be in Texas with cheap power, your clean cities with white heat and white light--cities in the sunshine of Texas, not overcast by the coal soot of the St. Louis's or Cincinnati's or Memphis's or Little Rock's--cities where men and children may breathe, where the humble family pocketbook also may breathe.)

"Roosevelt and Johnson know that only thus in peace and war, in control of their own river, in control of their own farms, in control of their own utilities, may the people live most fully in the pursuit of happiness and health. What Johnson, with the aid of Roosevelt, has done in the Tenth District is and must be done wherever God and nature has provided the means for the Texas people. The Colorado project, with its fifty million of expenditure is not any longer an experiment. The sneers of those who declared that paternalism was wasting money are now disproved. The Colorado River Authority has produced light and heat and power in retail and wholesale for a hundred cities and thousand of farm homes at prices which all may pay. And the budget is balanced along the Colorado. Bonds are being paid off. Money is in the bank. The very Wall Street which cried that the Colorado would go broke is now replaced by the request that the Colorado River bonds be financed privately at two and three-quarters per cent by private Wall Street banks. And so this job is the job of Johnson with Roosevelt help.

and that is what friendship between a nation and a state means. And because Johnson has not flinched nor compromised on this job for the American farmer in the Tenth District, Roosevelt sees him so clearly as the man the Senate needs now in the terrific job ahead."

I would open in Dallas, because I see Mann as the ultimate threat—not Dies. It would be natural for you to open in Johnson City, but I believe in leading through weakness into strength. In Dallas there is a beautiful hook up with the power problem, because you are standing on a platform where the Texas Power and Light Company is best known, and at a place where Mann must be silent on power. (And so I would have Young, who sold Culbertson last year with the most beautiful speech I have ever heard on this question as your experienced manager and one who knows how to carry on this campaign and has the courage to do it. The speech I heard Young make was a simple statement at six o'clock at night in fifteen minutes to the housewives of North Texas. He talked about the monthly light bills which should be less. And said that Culbertson was the man for that. He told of Culbertson's fight to reduce the price of gas, and his voice was the slow persuasive voice which in simple words did not hurry the childish minds of his female listeners. Young on the radio and Young in organization can sell Johnson as the Senator to help the Texas family unit and the Texas family pocketbook.)

And now Marsh speaks for himself as he sees the campaign unfold.

I see Dies saying : "Johnson and I have fought side by side with the President on all national defense measures. Johnson is one hundred per cent New Dealer. So am I on every vote the record shows. But I have been more. My experienced time in Washington is more than Johnson's. Johnson has seen the President more often because I have been throughout the nation fighting with you people for things and measures important to the national defense. The President has not overlooked me, and once or twice some of the lesser men around him have spoken harshly of me as I got on their corns when their



feet dragged. But the President and I are friends now all along the line, and I have my shoulder to the wheel fighting Hitler everywhere--over there and over here. And I say that my greatest service to you and Roosevelt has been the Dies Committee, which has stopped the Communists and John L. Lewis and the C. I. O., and I pledge you my word during the days to come that no Communist shall work at Washington aiding Hitler. That I shall clean out the stables there as an aid to the President, and I say to you that no John L. Lewis with his unholy hordes of labor racketeers shall cross the Texas state line as I upheld the Governor in his courageous stand against these men. And if anyone believes that Roosevelt doesn't like me, let him prove it by asking Roosevelt."

And Jerry Mann may say: "I have had no experience in Washington, for I have been serving you Texans in Texas. It is for you to judge how poorly or how well I have served you. Who is there to say that if Roosevelt knew me he would not have known me well and affectionately? For those of us who are in state life, and who in our state work have served you humbly, is this to be a bar to service in Washington? Do we not have a strength and an experience for such service? Do we not know our people? Do we not know how they feel and what they want? Are we unfit to be their representatives in the Senate? Loving our President as we do, should we not give the best we have to Washington so that he may have fresh minds and fresh service and fresh viewpoints--blowing from the West and South in ever increasing strength? I am unknown in Washington, but I promise that when known there I shall so conduct myself that the people who know me here and those who respect me here shall have no cause to be ashamed. There is no monopoly of those who hate Hitler, and I say to you that I hope to be "an old and trusted friend of him who leads us, and I shall support him, because, with you, I love him and respect him as our defense of America in the things we love and must save."

I have written Dies and Mann, not as I think they will talk, and, of course, the Mann statement could have been written with O'Daniel as the name. What I have said is something in the line of what inarticulate people may feel. I love my son, my brother, and respect my father. I would not have any other than Roosevelt leading us. But certainly I don't follow any of these people blindly. And there are millions in Texas who are individuals and who may not, and will not, follow Roosevelt blindly on a statement of preference, although they would and will follow him blindly on a statement where Hitler and defense are the items. So Johnson must be tied into this picture in such a way that the Texas voter may know why Roosevelt finds Johnson an "old and trusted friend." The why is found at the point of a special service rendered the Texas voter by Johnson, which no one else has rendered, and this service must have a promise of future benefit to the voter, in his very home life. This is not to be a campaign against Roosevelt and the Roosevelt policy by anyone. It may be Roosevelt judgement against the field as to who should come to Washington. But this judgement is, in the end in June, going to be the judgement of the Texas voter and not of Roosevelt. And certainly Roosevelt can't have any judgement about Mann or O'Daniel, and probably will not express himself adversely about Dies.

So the campaign of Johnson must be highly individual; must tie up with Roosevelt with Johnson's actual work for Texas, and must have a war plank not possessed by Dies or Mann or O'Daniel. I think the safest and politically wisest plank is the draft of management proposal, which thus far is yours in this country. You have proposed it in a House committee. You have proposed it in a public speech before you announced. It is not a campaign belief. It is a principle and a conviction. This was true of your conviction that public power of the Texas rivers is best for Texas family life. Now tie up your work on public power in the Tenth District with what is to come along the Brazos and the Trinity and elsewhere where power in commercial and practical quantities exists, and where such existence developed by the

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public will mean cheaper competitive rates and extension of benefits in competition with the present private power existences. And at Dallas and Waco you have your examples. And this also may be tied up with your management plank.

NIGHT PRESS RATE

APRIL 25, 1941

FOR RELEASE IN SUNDAY PAPERS:

WASHINGTON, D. C. - SPECIAL - APRIL 26, 1941--TEXAS AGAIN THIS SPRING IS TO BE A POLITICAL TESTING GROUND FOR THE NATION.

THE BATTLE RAGES HERE AS TO WHETHER THE PEOPLE ARE BEHIND, EVEN WITH, OR AHEAD OF THE PRESIDENT.

THE TEXAS SENATORIAL RACE IS BEING WATCHED. THE RESULT WILL GIVE THE FRIENDS AND THE ENEMIES OF THE PRESIDENT THEIR BASIS OF ATTACK AND DEFENSE.

LINDBERGH AND SENATOR WHEELER, LEADING A CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE EVEN WITH VICTORIOUS GERMANY, ARE DRAWING RESPECTABLE CROWDS IN THE NORTH FROM THE ROCKIES TO THE ALLEGHANIES. REPUBLICAN LEADER, JOE MARTIN, POLLED TWELVE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN THIS WEEK WHO SAID PEACE SENTIMENT IS GROWING.

JOHN. L. LEWIS IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT ROOSEVELT WILL HAVE TO CRAWL ON HIS BELLY BEFORE LEWIS QUILTS HIS OFFENSIVE THROUGH STRIKES TO GET WHAT HE PLANS FOR LABOR.

ROOSEVELT STRUCK OUT VALLIANTLY THURSDAY NIGHT WITH A RADIO BARRAGE TO INFORM THE COUNTRY OF THE ACCUTE AND IMMEDIATE DANGER. ON THE SAME NIGHT HILLMAN TOLD LABOR, SPEAKING TO HIS OWN UNION, THE TEXTILE WORKERS, THAT STRIKERS SHOULD NOT DELAY FOR ONE HOUR DEFENSE PRODUCTION. AMID ENTHUSIASTIC APPLAUSE HIS HEARERS PASSED A RESOLUTION TO THAT EFFECT.

SECRETARY OF NAVY, KNOX TOLD NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS THAT WE ARE IN THE FIGHT TO THE FINISH TO SAVE AMERICA, BY GETTING WAR MATERIAL TO ENGLAND NOW AT ANY COST. HE RECEIVED TREMENDOUS APPLAUSE.

SECRETARY OF STATE HULL TOLD MILLIONS BY RADIO THAT NOTHING MUST STOP OUR DELIVERIES TO BRITAIN NOW AND CONFESSED WHAT HAS BEEN KNOWN FOR WEEKS HERE THAT ALMOST HALF OF AMERICAN PRODUCTION IS BEING SUNK IN MID ATLANTIC. THIS SPEAKING BARRAGE IS LAID DOWN AT THIS TIME BECAUSE ROOSEVELT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF KNOWS THAT THE PEACE AND DEFEATIST AND ISOLATIONIST

GROUPS ARE GAINING IN THE MIDDLE WEST, AND BECAUSE HE KNOWS HE MUST USE OUR FLEET TO CONVOY. HE KNOWS ANY OTHER COURSE WILL MEAN THE FALL OF BRITAIN THIS SUMMER.


THE ABOVE EXPLAINS WHY ROOSEVELT CALLED CONGRESSMAN LYNDON B. JOHNSON TO HIS OFFICE A FEW DAYS AGO. THE PRESIDENT HAD BEEN ADVISED NOT TO CONCERN HIMSELF WITH THE TEXAS CAMPAIGN. HE HAD BEEN TOLD THE TEXAS VOTERS WOULD RESENT SUCH CONCERN. ~~AND~~ IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD NOT HAVE SPOKEN HIS CONCERN AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR THE PECULIAR AND PARTICULAR SITUATION WHICH TEXAS PRESENTS THIS SPRING. THE PRESIDENT KNOWS THAT AMERICA IS FIGHTING FOR ITS VERY LIFE. BRITAIN IS MERELY A MEANS TO HELP SAVE ~~THE~~ <sup>our</sup> COUNTRY. THE PRESIDENT KNOWS BRITAIN'S FALL MEANS YEARS OF MISERY AND DANGER FOR THIS COUNTRY.

SO THE PRESIDENT, WATCHING ALL FRONTS, SAW A TEXAS FRONT BEHIND THE LINES ~~AND~~ <sup>He</sup> SAW SEVEN MILLION PEOPLE WHO HAD TO MAKE A DECISION, DUE TO THE DEATH OF SENATOR SHEPPARD.

~~ROOSEVELT~~ <sup>Roosevelt</sup> CALLED LYNDON JOHNSON, THE YOUNG TEXAS CONGRESSMAN, SIMPLY BECAUSE FOR TWO YEARS HE HAS BEEN LEANING SOMEWHAT ON JOHNSON IN THE BATTLE BEHIND THE LINES. IN EFFECT HE SAID: "SHEPPARD'S LOSS IS TREMENDOUS. I SEE A MAN ALMOST NINETY IS TO BE SENT HERE FOR A FEW MONTHS. THE TIMES ARE TENSE ~~AND~~ <sup>we have no</sup> WE ~~HAVE NO~~ TIME FOR SENTIMENT. WE HAVE TIME NEITHER FOR SENTIMENT NOR INEXPERIENCE. NOR HAVE WE TIME FOR INDIVIDUAL GLORY AND BAND WAGONS AND BEATING THE BUSHES. LET ME UNDERSTAND TEXAS."

JOHNSON TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT THERE WAS A VERY POPULAR GOVERNOR IN TEXAS AND A VERY POPULAR ATTORNEY GENERAL WHO HAD THE CONFIDENCE OF TEXAS VOTERS, AND THAT CONGRESSMAN DIES WAS VERY WELL KNOWN.

MUST  
ROOSEVELT SAID: "WHAT WE/HAVE HERE IS EXPERIENCE, ABILITY, DRIVE, SPEED, COURAGE. HOW ABOUT YOURSELF? I BELIEVE THAT BETWEEN NOW AND JUNE YOUR PEOPLE WILL PICK THE BEST THEY HAVE, AND I THINK YOU ARE THAT BEST

FOR THIS SERVICE HERE. YOU SHOULD GIVE YOUR STATE THE OPPORTUNITY. I AM NOT A TEXAN, BUT TEXANS SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT IN A DEMOCRATIC WAY TO NAME THE BEST. 

THE REST IS CURRENT HISTORY. JOHNSON LEFT THE PRESIDENT AND GAVE NEWSPAPER MEN HIS ANNOUNCEMENT IN THE WHITE HOUSE LOBBY, KNOWING FULL WELL THAT HIS YOUTH MIGHT BE AGAINST HIM, AND REALIZING THAT THE TWO MEN ALREADY IN THE RACE WERE BOTH BETTER KNOWN IN TEXAS THAN HE, ~~THE~~ THE PRESIDENT MERELY TOLD THE NEWS MEN TEN MINUTES LATER THAT JOHNSON, WHOSE ANNOUNCE\*  
MENT HE HAD JUST READ, WAS "AN OLD AND TRUSTED FRIEND."

THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION AND JOHNSON'S ENTRY INTO THE RACE PROBABLY WOULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED IF THE PRESIDENT HAD BELIEVED TEXAS VOTERS ALREADY HAD A CHOICE TO FILL THE BILL OF THE SENATE IN THESE TIMES. EVIDENTLY THE PRESIDENT BELIEVES THAT THE DIES' PERSONALITY IN THE SENATE WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL TO THE NATIONAL DEFENSE; EVIDENTLY HE BELIEVES THAT THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR EXPERIENCE AT THIS TIME, OR HE WOULD HAVE HOPED FOR MANN TO WIN AND SAID NOTHING TO JOHNSON.

JOHNSON HAD SAID TWO YEARS BEFORE WHEN ROOSEVELT HAD OFFERED TO APPOINT HIM TO THE HEAD OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ( R. E. A.) THAT HE PREFERRED WORKING IN CONGRESS, AND HAD POINTED OUT THAT TEXAS HAD, THROUGH WORK AND SENIORITY, CONTRIBUTED A SPEAKER TO THE LOWER HOUSE AND MIGHT SOON CONTRIBUTE ANOTHER. HE REFERRED TO GARNER AND RAYBURN, AND INDICATED HIS OWN HOPES.

BUT THE PRESIDENT SPOKE THIS WEEK AND JOHNSON ANNOUNCED. CONGRESSMAN DIES AND ATTORNEY GENERAL MANN ALREADY WERE IN THE RACE. HOUSTON, THE DAY BEFORE, HAD BEEN APPOINTED TO THE SHEPPARD VACANCY. SPECULATION IN TEXAS AND WASHINGTON CENTERED AROUND THE POSSIBILITY OF GOVERNOR O'DANIEL'S RUNNING IN THE RACE. EVERY TEXAS FRIEND OF THE PRESIDENT IN THE ADMINISTRATION HAD TOLD HIM THAT O'DANIEL WAS PROBABLY THE WINNER IF HE ANNOUNCED, THAT DIES HAD A VERY STRONG HOLD UPON CERTAIN GROUPS OF TEXAS VOTERS BECAUSE OF THE DIES' COMMITTEE ACTIVITY, AND THAT ATTORNEY GENERAL MANN WAS <sup>AN</sup> UNUSUALLY STRONG

VOTE GETTER WITH A GOOD RECORD AS ATTORNEY GENERAL. BUT THE PRESIDENT IS IN ACTION ON ALL FRONTS NOW, REGARDLESS OF DANGER TO HIS OWN HEALTH, REGARDLESS OF THE ATTACKS THAT MAY BE MADE UPON HIM, AND REGARDFUL OF ONLY ONE THING--THE TIME AND THE EFFORT AND THE BRAINS NOW NEEDED IN THIS HISTORY'S GREATEST HOUR. HE WAS TOLD THAT TEXAS WOULD RESENT A SUGGESTION DIRECT OR INDIRECT. HE WAS TOLD THAT STATES RIGHTS WOULD BE AGAIN CALLED UPON IN THIS POLITICAL RACE IF THE PRESIDENT SPOKE HIS MIND. BUT WIN, LOSE, OR DRAW IN THIS TEXAS CAMPAIGN, THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN AND JOHNSON HAS ANNOUNCED, PROBABLY BELIEVING IT IS JUST ANOTHER JOB FOR A SOLDIER IN THE BATTLE OF PEACE.

~~The nation is saying: Will  
Roosevelt's judgment on Johnson  
be victor over Roosevelt's  
judgment and experience with  
Texas~~



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Henry Kyle , Hutto  
G. E. Lundelius, Round Rock  
W. K. McClain, Dist. Atty., Georgetown  
K. L. McConchie, Taylor  
B. O. McCormick, Hutto  
Willia Martin, Hutto  
Harris A. Melasky, Taylor  
Finley E. Milstead, Bartlett  
E. P. Morris, Hutto  
O. B. Mosley, Hutto  
Mr. and Mrs. O. K. Nelson, Hutto  
Mr. Paul Nelson, Hutto  
T. E. Nelson, Round Rock  
James N. Patterson, Hutto  
Mrs. E. B. Payne, Hutto  
E. B. Payne, Sr., Hutto  
E. B. Payne, Jr., Hutto  
W. E. Ragan, Hutto  
John Sharpe, Georgetown  
John H. Stephens, Hutto  
Carl S romberg, Hutto  
A. W. Swanson, Hutto  
W. E. Votaw, Jarrell  
R. E. Ward, Georgetown  
T. Lowry Whittaker, Taylor  
Roy R. Witt, Georgetown  
D. B. Wood, Georgetown  
Dor W. Brown

WILSON

Mr. Sam Fore, Jr. , Floresville  
Mr. and Mrs. Elmo Spear, Stockdale



Beundell - op 16 E

Phil Fox  
Rawlins

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April 30, 1941

Out of the present war business we shall set-up a better and broader system for peace between Labor and Capital--a system which shall make the word "strike" obsolete. We see this by the passage of state laws called "cooling off" legislation. Such legislation in the States of Washington, Texas, and Michigan predict this. Wherever we have had reform, such as the direct election of Senators, woman suffrage, and the like, these reforms have started in state legislatures, and not at Washington. The Federal Government rarely moves first on the biggest of the social reforms. The reason is that the Federal Government is composed of representatives of all the states. Until the majority of the states feel alike, there can be no favorable action in the Senate of the U. S. So always there are states ~~acting quickly and in~~ acting within state borders on vital matters before the U. S. is able to act. Only under a great national danger do a majority of states act quickly and in unison. Many such actions occurred in the Spring of 1933 at Washington because of the national danger as millions faced starvation. We call these reforms which curbed the greedy of Wall Street and which declared the principle of social security, and which attempted to bring justice to the poor as well as the rich--such reforms we call the New Deal. All out for America is a slogan now worthy of the name America. We have said we will protect the Western Hemisphere. We have declared that England must not fall. We have declared that peace must come with Liberty. A national hero of ten years ago who says that Germany will win, and that we must make peace with a Hitler, we now find retiring from the national defense itself. So times change as Lindbergh retires. Labor must not retire. And Roosevelt, the national leader, must lead all to labor for freedom.

April 30, 1941

Memorandum to L. B. J.:

I suggest that you emphasize in your opening speech that point where you discuss no production delays (labor section), words about as following:

It has been said that the right to strike, being a part of our peacetime social gains, that under no circumstances shall such a right be questioned by any citizen. As one citizen, I do question the right in these times of unrestricted right to strike on the part of American Labor.

All for one, and one for all was once the rallying cry of thirteen states fighting for freedom. No examination of the present coal strike can measure up to such a slogan at this time. It is not all for one when coal is needed to bolster up a shrinking steel out-put. It is not all for one, or one for all, when power plants shut down; when the City of Charlotte, North Carolina, is making clothes for fighters reaches its last car of coal; when the Capitol of the United States has a two weeks' supply for its lighting plants.

All for one, and one for all, means that this government of forty-eight states must have a one major authority when danger forces a decision meaning safety for all. If a Commander-in-Chief saw vandals stealing coal from a cantonment, he would order action. Acts must be judged by the effect of the act. Precious weeks have passed. War industry has been crippled, for men--American men, men seeking safety as bombs rain the front lines of defense over there--say now that the precious peacetime right of strike is paramount above the need of all. If this peace time right must be suspended for the period of this danger, then the Government itself must prevent both Labor and Capital from taking advantage of the national need, and the national danger. The time has come when "strikes shall cease," must be our slogan. Anything less spells France; anything

less spells the death of England; anything less means our sailors convoying food shall convoy in vain.

Labor knows this; Capital knows this; and, thank God, the Government is beginning to see this as the necessity over this fair springtime throughout our land.

If we cannot have peace and production in America, where is the hope of Democracy?

Mexico, which has not the responsibility of all-out aid to Britain already is leading the way. South American countries have not hesitated. Why do we hesitate these precious days?

At this moment, I ask my Labor friends, "Won't you condition your leaders, such as John L. Lewis, to see this thing as you see it? Won't you tell such men that it is no longer clever, no longer shrewd, no longer patriotic, to seek petty and temporary advantages as Labor supplies and war needs grow? shrink" I promise you that your Commander-in-Chief, Roosevelt, who has been your friend, who has protected you in the horrible springtime of 1933--from the first day he took office until now--I promise you that you should put your trust in Roosevelt, the leader of this country. You know what he has said. The issue is, "No strikes in this danger time." There can be but one answer. Roosevelt, your leader in peace and war, or Lewis, and the little hundreds of Lewis's seeking things now at the price of production? You may know. I promise you that Roosevelt will not let you down. He will see that you shall not be robbed. He will see that you are not oppressed. The strong arm of this government will not allow a single capitalist to take advantage of you now, any more than Roosevelt premitted advantage to be taken of you when millions sought work and sought food--depend upon the great heart of your leader, not upon the petty hearts of men who say they <sup>lead</sup> ~~led~~ you justly and rightly when they order you to lay down the very tools which Liberty must have to save and serve this country.

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May 1, 1941

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May 4, 1941

The women of America are the un-seen, but vital, force in freedom's fight. All men know that the women they love are the motive force of their lives. You women must also know this. I ask you simply, "What do you want your men to do?"

"What do you want your men to say?"

"What do you want your men to feel?"

It has been said by a man you know—a very great man—that this defense of freedom is no stronger than the women make it. He was seeking in his troubled heart a way to arouse America to the danger that blindness and fear and indifference might produce in this fair land. More than almost any man he is wise in the simple things. He has the wisdom that Wilson flashed now and then across this country in an earlier year. He has the wisdom of Lincoln at Gettysburg, the wisdom of Washington in his farewell address. I am proud to have been called by him "a friend." This man who leads you says that the women are sound in the essence of their being and in the defense of the fundamental family existence. "Where is the way to awaken this spirit?" he has asked.

I do not know the answer. Only you women may in your own wisdom know these things—these answers to these questions:

"How may my family best save the things we love?"

"How may I best work for the dignity and the strength of the man I love and the child I have borne?"

I may suggest the answer is the defense of the American way of life, of the right to speak the truth, of the right to move about this land in freedom, and the right to earn and to save will depend upon how you women answer this question—in the strength you place in your men, in the faith you place in your Commander-in-Chief.

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May 5, 1941

Memorandum to L. B. J.:

Youth is not afraid. Texas youth never has been afraid. No man afraid ever will frighten young Texans. Those of us who grew up in Texas and have gone elsewhere from time to time always come back to Texas, here to breathe the breath of bravery--of the positive "yes", but not the negative "no".

So all of you who hear me are saying "yes" to Roosevelt, and "no" to Lindbergh. You are saying "yes" for freedom and "no" to those who would enslave. It is with regret that I have to tell you that youth throughout this country is not always as brave. There are groups of pampered persons in the colleges of the East who meet to talk defeat and fear. They clothe their trembling with the hypocrisy of a fake. The fake is that they will save their country by refusing to see the grim facts of this life of now. Men who are brave never see the truth as ugly. They are not frightened by facts. Young men such as you meet facts head-on and say, "So what!" You get busy. If need be, you get tough. You are gentle with women. You work for the weak. You hold the coat of a fighting strong man such as Roosevelt.

You will not be banded together in bands of defenseless, effeminate groups covering cowardice under the slogan of a hatred of war. Who doesn't hate war? Every brave man hates war. War truly is the refuge of a bully. So these secret cowards fighting war for their own skins have no monopoly of courage and truth.

The only way peace may be saved for you and yours is to be prepared to meet the bully and call the turn and get tough.

We shall have to toughen our bodies, whether in training camp or on the farm or in the factory. We may not get all the sleep and all the beer and all the dancing of a peacetime world. "So what?"

I am talking to Texas youth--a man already passed his youth, but not too far passed not to remember and not to feel the vitality and the drive that only youth may give. So, may I talk to you concerning what youth of Texas may do now? and here? to save America under Roosevelt?

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May 5, 1941

When Hitler crashed the Rhine-line smashing Holland and Belgium and France, I spoke here, stating in seven paragraphs the minimum defense plan of America. I repeat what I said then, merely that we may review a brief moment the very great distance we have come since last June.

On June 22nd I said here:

"1. Confer upon the President full war-time power to prepare and defend America.

"2. Universal defense service so that every citizen may be best trained and placed for the country's defense.

"3. Confer upon the President power to suspend all rules, regulations, and statutes, including Army, Navy, and Departmental seniority regulations, which in his judgement interfere with the maximum speed in the production, transportation, or manufacture of defense material.

"4. Confer upon the President the power to suspend the present debt limitations, if in his judgement such limitation interferes with the maximum speed of the defense program.

5. Grant the President the authority to aid in material or credit those countries and nations which in his judgement at this time constitute America's first line of defense.

"6. The President and the Congress to begin immediately the preparation and adoption of a defense budget and tax program adequate to the national defense.

"7. Confer power in the President to take into custody for the duration of the defense effort all aliens whose freedom would, in his opinion jeopardize the defense program.

"These powers to continue only for the duration of the emergency."

Until all seven of these points are completely accomplished and in force there can be no hope of a freeman's peace or a freeman's defense.



I rise now to say that these things must now be done. When I say done now, I should say done yesterday--done ten months ago. It is very, very late. Bitter tears may come soon. The light of liberty kindled in this fair land two centuries ago may be snuffed out for two centuries to come.

We must as one work in a high fever of the will to save. There are no hours now to burn or talk away. There is but one leader to lead us as one.

Three things, in the current days, tell the need in facts better than any words of mine.

An American youth of twenty years age was able because of American aid in saving the liberties of Europe to fly the Atlantic in a peacetime world--to fly to fame and fortune. Today in middle life this man, Lindbergh, now flies around America carrying a message--not of youth and daring, but a message of fear and defeatism. The fact is not Lindbergh; the fact so desperate is that a Lindbergh is heard and believed here by millions living under our flag of liberty. So where is that will to win a peace with liberty, united 100 per cent behind the Commander-in-Chief? I answer for us all. I hope to answer for the average man everywhere. The answer simply is: There comes a time in the affairs of a world when there is no substitute for an all-out drive to save and serve a nation. That time is when self-preservation demands--when death and destruction of the nation itself is in the offing.

If this shall be called defeatism, then I am a defeatist. I do say, I hope in a brave spirit, that America faces death to all we Americans believe worth life.

We have had within a week our final warning--this time from the Japanese leader telling his people of his visit to Hitler, to Stalin, and his side courtesy call on Hitler's jackal, Mussolini. This Jap calmly, cruelly, coldly, said: The Phillipines are ours; the East Indies shall feed and supply us for war; Australia shall open for our millions to exploit; Hawaii shall be

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personally in some manner. He is honest, but has the view point of a Baldwin that a little extra here and there does not bribe him. It does make him emotionally friendly.

Mr. Phil Fox  
Dallas, Texas

You have such an unusual loyalty that I hesitate to tell you how very much I appreciate your work through the days and nights and under the difficulties of the campaign. You never lost your temper and you never gave up. Thanks.

Judge Wardlaw  
Fort Worth, Texas

You are one of those quiet people whom some folks don't see at the first glance. You kept punching along, and the results in Fort Worth speak for themselves. Thanks.

Mr. Chilton O'Brien  
Beaumont, Texas

Dear Chilton:

You had, perhaps, the toughest territory in the whole campaign as far as I am concerned. It is the tough babies who can take it that one remembers.

Mr. Stanley Marsh  
Amarillo Building  
Amarillo, Texas

Dear Stanley:

It was good to see you at Amarillo. Will you please give my regards to Mrs. Marsh? I hope to merit your true friendship, and at sometime there will be a place to come to in Amarillo where I know homefolks. Thanks.

Mr. Lawrence Hagy  
Amarillo Building  
Amarillo, Texas

Dear Lawrence:

I know you were very busy out of the city for some of the campaign, and I was very late because I got started late out of the hospital. But I feel that my final arrival at Amarillo was one of the bright spots of the campaign, because I found out there men, like yourself, full of bunch and enthusiasm. Thanks for everything you did.

Mr. Gene Howe  
Amarillo, Texas

Dear Mr. Howe:

Before I met you, some people had told me you were an iceberg. Well, I found what I like. It may have been the fine human touch that you communicated to me, but I am on your ball team as another admirer. Thanks.

Mr. Taylor (Radio)  
Amarillo, Texas

Dear Mr. Taylor:

You have a smooth, fine organization. I want to particularly thank you for the courtesy of the Valley radio station. If I ever leave public life, I know of no bunch of fellows I would be as willing to work with. Thanks.

Professor Davis  
Wichita Falls, Texas

Dear Mr. Davis:

I know why Wichita Falls and North Texas swear by you. You have that rare quality of extemporaneous speaking and good sense with it. You stimulated me as I answered your questions in Colonel Knight's house. Thanks a lot.

Mr. Humphries (either Lubbock or Wichita Falls)

Dear Mr. Humphries:

You put the punch hour by hour into the campaign in your section. The results certainly show that you did a lot. The final vote surprised me. Thanks.

Mr. Charles Guy  
Lubbock, Texas

Dear Mr. Guy:

I felt that Lubbock was going to be a tough proposition because of the Governor and Mann and the fact that I have never been among you. But I found in West Texas, and particularly at Lubbock, that you people are quick to make a friend if a fellow is half way decent. I will be seeing you. Thanks.

Mr. Lloyd Croslin  
Lubbock, Texas

Dear Croslin:

Your work throughout the plains country is appreciated more than you know. You had a tough assignment and did it splendidly. Thanks.

Mr. Schaubauer  
Midland, Texas

Dear Mr. Schaubauer:

When I looked at the vote return from Midland, I could hardly believe my eyes. Think of Johnson coming through like that! I suspect you of doing rather slightly more than I had any right to expect. Thanks.

Mr. Jim Allison Jr.  
Midland, Texas

Dear Allison:

I was at Midland in the early days of my second West Texas trip. I had been told by the polls and many people that I had not dented the territory. The warmth of the Midland meeting was most helpful in carrying me through a gruelling finish as I hit the Mid-Texas cities. Thanks.

Mr. Charles Marsh II  
Monahans, Texas

Dear Charles:

It was good to see you at Midland, coming through the night with your very nice wife. I suspect you really came to see your Dad, but I think I know enthusiasm when I see it. Yours is of the quiet kind that sticks, and I heard about the stickers. Thanks.

Mr. John E. Marsh  
1321 North Westmoreland  
Orlando, Florida

Dear John:

I shall always remember the quietness and the intelligence you showed in handling affairs very close to me in the campaign. I was much helped by you. Thanks.

Mr. G. Ward Moody  
Odessa, Texas

My dear Moody:

Your work in the West plains is remarkable in that I did not think I had a chance, and you plugged splendidly. Thanks very much.

Mr. M. P. Bryant  
San Angelo, Texas

Dear Mr. Bryant:

Your financial and personal work for me will always be remembered. It was unusual. Thanks.

Mr. Dean Chenowith  
San Angelo newspaper (Harte paper)  
San Angelo, Texas

My dear Dean:

San Angelo came through splendidly. This would not have happened if you had not had intelligence and punch there, and a very good newspaper to work with. You know, of course, how very much I am indebted to you.

Mr. T. W. Smith  
San Angelo, Texas

Dear Mr. Smith:

Your handling of the campaign in your territory has no points in it either of weakness or lack of courage. You are not one who makes alibis. Results show for themselves. Thanks.



Mr. E. H. Perry  
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Perry:

You performed as usual. No one can thank you adequately for always being on the right side. I hope there will never be a time when we see the same public question differently. Thanks.

Mayor Tom Miller  
Austin, Texas

Dear Tom:

You are one of the few who impresses himself in a statewide way. You made your influence felt in the campaign outside the state. Without you, the result would have been spelled in different figures entirely. Thanks very much.

Mrs. Max Brooks  
Austin, Texas

Dear Mrs. Brooks:

Your energy, drive, and intelligence impress anyone who works with you. I don't like to speak of the word "loyalty", because that implies loyalty both ways, and I have done nothing for you. Thank you very much for what you did for me.

Mr. Charles E. Green  
Austin American Statesman  
Austin, Texas

Dear Charlie:

I have always thought of you as one who holds the boat steady. While I thought now and then that I had more coming to me than I got, that will always be the case of a candidate in his own home town, and I suppose an editor has to watch against being too partisan to the point that the influence of the hometown boy be not lessened by partisanship. Anyway, for everything, you have my thanks.

Mr. Herman Brown  
Austin, Texas

Dear Herman:

You have a personality that doesn't make it possible to say thanks, because everyone knows that what you do is because you want to. But there is never a dull moment about the way you do it. Thanks for everything you have done for me in this campaign.

Friends & fellow Texans:

One (July 4th?) night — years ago, I appeared on this same platform asking to represent the people of the 10<sup>th</sup> District in Congress. This request was granted —. Tonight I am asking for the privilege of serving the people of Texas as their junior Senator in Washington.

No Texan can replace Morris Shepard. He worked for 30 years for this State and for this Nation which he loved, giving his life and energy to the task as he saw it. His experience he could not leave to cloak the shoulders of the man who follows him — ~~but~~ his spirit of unselfishness in work he did leave behind him. It is this heritage <sup>+ example</sup> which ~~has been passed on to me~~ I wish to carry on ~~at heart of my life~~.

I open this campaign with friendship toward all — with malice toward none. It is my desire to finish it <sup>in</sup> the same ~~feeling~~.

The greatest concern of all Texans and of all Americans at this time is our future in relation to the rest of the world. We ~~all~~ know that destruction

and horror, and chaos are filling the lives<sup>of</sup>  
of many people in many lands. ~~It is~~  
~~the task~~ <sup>Today</sup>, it is the task of our great  
President to lead the American people.  
To lead us now and to lead us into  
a future whose outlines are not  
clear to any man, he needs  
support; he needs unity ~~behind~~  
~~him~~. He needs the knowledge  
that the American people will  
work with him to do whatever  
they must do to preserve their  
independence, their liberties, and  
their honor. ~~I am confident that~~ <sup>I believe</sup>  
Texas <sup>demand</sup> ~~is~~ this unity behind  
Roosevelt — it is my desire to  
carry this message back to  
Washington. My record in the past  
~~is~~ <sup>is a guarantee for the future.</sup> of complete cooperation with Pres.  
Roosevelt. ~~My record in the future will~~  
~~be the same~~. <sup>The</sup>  
~~Our immediate~~ job ahead is national



We have seen them driven from their homes, separated from their families, starved while their <sup>own</sup> bread went into the mouths of their enemies. We can not sit idly by believing that we are secure in our own homes. Our turn may be next, — not far distant. We are late in realizing that <sup>the</sup> doorsteps of American homes are no longer thousands of miles from enemy guns, ~~but~~ <sup>merely</sup> a few hours from enemy planes and bombs.

American boys have been drafted. Now all Americans must <sup>draft themselves</sup> ~~be drafted~~. Labor must <sup>draft itself</sup> ~~be drafted~~, management must <sup>draft itself</sup> ~~be drafted~~, capital must <sup>draft itself</sup> ~~be drafted~~ — I and you <sup>must draft ourselves</sup> ~~must be drafted~~ to the call of the needs of our country. It must be a <sup>voluntary</sup> ~~willing~~ response, ~~and an~~ <sup>an</sup> eager response.

~~Business and industry must be~~  
~~dedicated to the task of building up a~~  
~~great nation. We must not let our~~  
~~eyes be turned down while we sit on the~~

We have built a nation of many parts, <sup>⑤</sup>  
dedicated to the values of freedom,  
speech, freedom of religion, freedom  
of the press. ~~There are many~~  
~~things~~. ~~These things~~  
A nation of many races, many minorities,  
~~we are~~ bound together by  
our common ideal of love of freedom  
and democracy.

Today this bond must prove  
its strength. Our minorities, our  
majorities must be protected and  
maintained, but only so long as they  
work for the whole. We have  
no time and no place in the  
defense of America for individual  
objectives or individual gains. If we  
allow the progress of our defense to be  
slowed down by ~~any~~ minorities - we  
are lost. Any individual <sup>or group</sup> who can  
not realize ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~if~~  
~~the~~ his own ambitions must  
fit into the national ~~scheme~~ <sup>unity</sup> ~~scheme~~

~~be considered an enemy~~ <sup>is an</sup> enemy; us all and <sup>this</sup> government. (6)

1 Labor knows that in the past their cause has been a part of the Roosevelt program for social gain. Labor knows that under our government their rights to bargain collectively, to have reasonable hours and ~~minimum~~ <sup>reasonable</sup> wages have been made law. It is our hope ~~to be able~~ <sup>peace time gains</sup> to maintain all these ~~things~~; if we cannot ~~do this~~ <sup>if the government demands otherwise</sup> then labor must ~~be prepared to sacrifice~~ <sup>that in the future</sup> ~~be the~~ <sup>put safety first and freedom first</sup> Capital must ~~join in the national effort for defense~~ <sup>put national defense</sup> ~~must~~ <sup>come before profits</sup> ~~come before profits~~ <sup>Peace time</sup> ~~orders must be placed~~ <sup>come second</sup> ~~material~~ <sup>banks must be</sup> for ammunition, for planes, for guns, ~~for the~~ <sup>must be available</sup> and available in large quantities. Monopolies must supply the need

leave cars.



There must be no profiteering <sup>①</sup>  
at a cost we can pay, ~~or give away~~  
~~to larger means of production.~~

~~and of the most market places,~~  
~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> believe in maintaining our American  
system of business. — ~~It can only be~~  
maintained <sup>if business itself only depends</sup>  
~~through the defense~~ <sup>America</sup>  
~~and~~.

~~The farmer, the housewife,~~ <sup>The Consumer</sup> each  
~~must be a part, and so it is that our~~  
~~nation must be paid for its~~  
~~industrial production.~~

The objectives of America are not  
imperialistic, we do not wish to  
take the land and industries of  
other people. We do not wish to  
force other people to pay homage  
to us with airplanes overhead and  
armies on their frontiers making  
it impossible for them to answer  
no. None of these things are any  
part of the make up of America. What  
we want is to live in a democratic country  
and in a democratic world. ~~and~~

We want to buy and sell in a free world,  
a world which respects the  
American flag and knows that it  
stands for strength in peace.

We believe that men ~~in~~<sup>in</sup> small  
countries have their rights, as well as  
~~the people~~<sup>men</sup> in p. l. countries.

We are not championing the rights  
of the small against the large, or  
the large against the small — but the  
rights of each man, wherever he  
lives, the rights of the individual not  
to be driven in hordes unable to  
resist that which they do not like  
or approve of.

Q ~~Since 1932 I have worked with~~ in harmony

R ~~Since 1932~~<sup>His</sup> administration has  
tackled many problems — he has  
always had not only my vote  
but <sup>my</sup> energy in carrying out his  
program within my limitations as  
a Congressman in my own district

~~and in my state~~ ~~the~~ ~~this~~ ~~is~~ ~~possible~~. ✓ Roosevelt is the ~~great~~ hope  
 of the world of ~~little~~ men, he is  
 the champion of <sup>man himself</sup> ~~their cause~~. The  
 future of democracy, the future of  
 world freedom depends on the  
 peace which will follow the war.  
 Our ability to help in molding  
 this peace depends on our  
 strength behind Roosevelt in our  
 present and future efforts for  
 defense. His is the voice which  
 will be heard throughout the  
 world saying we must have  
freedom. It will not be your voice,  
 or mine; we will not sit at the  
 peace table — but we will have  
 made it possible for Roosevelt  
 to be there ~~and~~ this voice  
 will be <sup>mine</sup> ~~yours~~. The world must be  
 bound together in peace and  
 understanding — we must stay

10

who

then

After this

Officer

him. ¶ These gains must not  
be abandoned. The future must  
see <sup>for Texas:</sup> (your program for Texas-electricity  
etc)

I pledge my experience in  
your service as a Texas Senator.

This pledge is based upon my  
record as a Texas Congressman.  
These years have been dedicated  
under the leadership of Roosevelt  
to the building of my district and  
of my state.

You as voters will examine the  
record of all candidates. It is with  
humbleness and yet with pride  
that I quote your leader and  
mine as saying:

"Lyndon Johnson has just announced  
for the Senate. I have read this  
announcement. Johnson is a tried  
and trusted friend."

Pearson and Allen Correction:

I said fifteen Senators met to push O'Daniel from a Governor-ship in Austin to a Senator-ship in Washington. I now find they met many times, but not altogether, but that they merely weaved in and out behind Coke Stevenson, Lieutenant Governor who wanted to be Governor, and Walter Beck, beer lobbyist who was afraid O'Daniel, the <sup>miracle</sup> ~~miracle~~ man, might turn the state dry. Texas Senators are to meet on me Monday.

(Some other news)

Bulletin: Uncertified rumors relative of Dies is clerk in Angeline County may have to certify county returns of the Senate election in Texas to Governor O'Daniel because the judge has gone fishing. The judge is reported to have said he will not sign. The Belden Poll, which is the Gallup Poll of Texas, says Angeline is screwy.

(More news)

Bulletin: Flour salesman O'Daniel's friend, bakery owner, O. P. Lockhart, of Austin, now O'Daniel's Insurance Commissioner and buddy, is an early riser. He was wide awake at five a.m. Monday morning, very happy, and said, "It is in the bag for O'Daniel". Lyndon Johnson who lost to O'Daniel was then five thousand votes ahead.

Winchell: Austin, Texas, Flash! Governor O'Daniel will certify himself Senator Monday unless votes are counted again. He will not follow the hint of his appointee, Secretary of State William Lawson, that the meeting be not open to the public. The news men will be there.



Chilton O'Brien -  
Beaumont

Stanley Marsh - Conville

Lawrence Hazy "

Gene Howe "

Mr. Taylor - Rodin "

Prof. Morris - Wichita Falls  
& Humphries

Charlie Guy - Lubbock

Alfred Crosslin - "

Mr. Pearce - Midland

Jim Allison Jr "

Chas. Marsh Jr

John Marsh

B. Word - Moody - Odessa

M. P. Bryant - San Angelo

Dean Benbow " "

T. W. Smith " "

Kurtin, Geo

E. H. Perry ✓

Leon Mills ✓

Mr. Mrs. Brooks ✓

C. E. Green ✓

Herman Brown ✓

Buck Hood ✓

Gordon Fulcher ✓

Frank Adams ✓

Scott

Mr. Beverly ✓

Wilbur ✓

Ross

Bill Vaness ✓

President Chamber Commerce

Port Arthur ✓

Carl White " "

Mar (?) Head of Central

Trade Committee, Port Arthur

✓ Mills, Port Arthur

✓ J. M. Stein - Brownsville  
✓ Harry Johnson - Harlingen  
✓ Willard Sims - Abilene  
✓ Joe Cheeky - Tyler  
✓ Mike Anglin - Panguitch  
~~Raymond Alred~~

✓ Gus W. Oulson - Houston  
✓ Willard Cope - Newman  
Herald

✓ Leo Perry Wilcox -  
Editor Sherman Democrat  
✓ Lindbergh - Galveston  
✓ Bob Anderson - Vernon Tex  
✓ Sam Ford (Fore) - Harlingen  
✓ Tom Smith - Corpus City  
✓ Ly Cobb - Harlingen  
✓ Manger, Hotel at  
Harlingen

✓ A. S. McBride - Houston  
✓ Phil Fox - Dallas  
✓ Judge Wardlow - Fx W

Mr. Gifford  
President of the Chamber of Commerce  
Port Arthur, Texas

Dear Mr. Gifford:

I had no reason to expect anything from you in the campaign. For that reason your intelligent and outstanding help is all the more appreciated.

Mr. Carl White  
Port Arthur, Texas

Dear Carl:

We have known each other a long, long time, and I have often relied upon you. You have added to the debt. But one does not worry over-much about the kind of friendship you have shown. It is of that solid type that you know always where it is and how it will function. Thanks.

Head of the Central Trade Committee  
Port Arthur, Texas

My dear friend:

It is unusual that a candidate for office gets strong support from a man in the other fellow's district. It takes courage to fight for a man whom you know will not carry your town. Thanks very much for what you did.

Mr. Mills  
Port Arthur

Dear Mr. Mills:

Thanks very much for any and all help you gave me in the campaign. It is hardly to be expected that a man from another district, in a race where two Congressmen are running, should have any assistance. I would have looked twice at the same thing happening in my district. I thus can understand your broadness in the campaign.

Mr. J. M. Stein  
Brownsville, Texas

My dear Mr. Stein:

I found that your judgement and knowledge of people in the Valley is excellent. I shall call upon you again and again until you stop me. Thanks very much.

Mr. Harry Johnson:  
Harlingen, Texas

Dear Mr. Johnson:

You were a bright spot in the Valley. I came in there cold with reports that I was running last among the four. You gave me a lift. Thanks.



Mr. Wilfred Simms  
Abilene, Texas

My dear Simms:

The reports from Abilene make my heart glad. I never expected that you boys could have taken me, practically unknown to you, and have done such a job. Thanks very much.

Mr. Joe Sheehy  
Tyler, Texas

Dear Joe:

You had a tough district, and an unknown candidate. For that reason, I thank you the more.

Mr. Mike Angelin  
Longview, Texas

Dear Mike:

I remember my visit to Longview, and your enthusiasm for a wet candidate. I had barely gotten out of the hospital. I was not so groggy that I did not know a good man. Thanks.

Mr. Gus Wortham  
Houston, Texas

Dear Gus:

The quality that you have of always being there at the right time, and saying the right thing at the right time, is known to everyone among your friends. But I think you have a special quality of trying to be just and to use your effort along lines of public welfare whenever the job permits. Thanks for everything you did for me.

Mr. Millard Cope  
Dennison Herald  
Dennison, Texas

My dear Cope:

Results from Dennison surprised my opponents, I am sure. I learned a lesson myself in watching your enthusiasm in bringing in the votes day by day. Thanks very much.

Mr. George Henry Willeox  
Sherman Democrat  
Sherman, Texas

My dear George:

Your district did better by me than I had a right to expect. I dreaded the Saturday afternoon, as I knew how hard it would be to buck the day and the crowd and the weather. I was very tired. You people pepped me up. Thanks.

Mr. Lindbergh  
Galveston, Texas

My dear Lindbergh:

Galveston came through in fine shape. I know you worked every minute, and did not waste time while you worked. Thanks

Mr. Bob Anderson  
Vernon, Texas

Dear Bob:

Your work for me will always stand out. I did not believe your territory would respond in such a short campaign in behalf of a man who was practically unknown in your territory. Thanks very much.

Mr. Sam Fore (or Foard)  
Floresville, Texas

Dear Sam:

In friendship as old as yours for me, it isn't possible to write an ordinary thank you letter. I am looking forward to seeing you. I may not have time to fan over the campaign, but I know where to find Sam in the next one. Thanks. Write me everything you know. I will be seeing you.

Mr. Tom Smith  
Carnes City, Texas

Dear Tom:

We certainly had a swell campaign. Your part in it stands out. I shall always remember. Thanks.

Mr. Ty Cobb  
Harlingen, Texas

Dear Ty:

You made a bright, warm spot on the dull and cold territory when I hit Harlingen. I had heard that Dies had taken over while I was in the hospital, and the first polls showed me in awful shape. You evidently have the quality that fights hard when the going is rough. Thanks.

Manager of the Hotel  
Harlingen, Texas

You made my stay in Harlingen very comfortable, and your work in the campaign is much appreciated. Thanks. I hope to visit the Valley again.

Mr. A. S. McBride  
Houston, Texas

Thanks very much for the very fine support you gave me in the campaign. I hope we shall work together again.



May 5, 1941

Notes for L. B. J.:

"Everybody said you could not fly the Atlantic, but Lindbergh did."

\*\*\*\*\*

Senator Pepper has offered to come to Texas to make a speech on the subject of "What Roosevelt Needs Now." That speech will not specifically endorse Johnson, as an outsider coming into Texas he cannot well do that, but it should be under the auspices of a neutral body, and not a Johnson organization. Probably at Houston or Dallas.

Josh Lee has also agreed to go in on a **broad** basis.

\*\*\*\*\*

It is time for America to get tough.

The Dillingers. The Barbary Pirates.

\*\*\*\*\*

May 7, 1941

Pepper to Dallas.

Harold to introduce Pepper at a "State of America" rally.

Pepper talks.

Pepper turns to where Lyndon is as an incident in his speech when he is talking of spiritual values, and says:

"You here in Texas have the spirit of the free. You have sent free spirits to Washington for our inspiration. A free spirit is never old. A free spirit is never young. The free spirit in the mind of the aging Senator Sheppard inspired me in the Senate. The free spirit of the comparatively young Lyndon Johnson--and I see him over there--inspires me as I see him moving with ever quickening speed through the important affairs which must be settled well and quickly if we are to save the liberties we love.

"And that is why your Commander in Chief could say, or rather could not help saying: "Johnson is an old and trusted friend."

For Release Sunday papers, May 18, 1941

Washington, D. C.--Special--May 17, 1941

"If Johnson, as a Congressman of one out of twenty districts, has been able to sell the natural resources of his district and its value to the United States Government in the extent of fifty million dollars--if this fifty million dollars of service from the Federal Government to the Tenth District has been sound and wise so that the Government is getting its money back--then the Tenth District certainly has been fortunate."

So reason many people not too closely concerned with their own affairs.

At this time people awakening to the fact that the defense of the nation is paramount are looking at the bridge that reaches from Texas to Washington. They are looking at unity between one state and forty-seven others.

Granted the cynical fact that all men think of themselves first, those who believe that Lyndon Johnson will win the Sheppard seat June 28 have reasoned that the selfishness of Texas voters will elect Johnson over any opponent.

This is simple reasoning. If a man in the Panhandle, or in the saw mills of East Texas, or growing cotton near Greenville, begins to think of himself he is certain to think of himself on June 28 as a voter, and what his vote means. If his vote means the election of a person--a candidate--to help himself, he is almost certain to vote for Johnson. The reason is that Johnson has done more in six years to sell and promote the advantages of five per cent of Texas at Washington than any ten Congressmen have done in promoting fifty per cent of the resources of Texas at Washington.

Well, this is merely a matter of plain figures. If Johnson has brought fifty thousand dollars of Federal money to the Tenth District in six years, is it not possible that he will bring twenty times as much to Texas from Washington in the next six years. If Johnson does this--if one billion dollars of new work and activity can be brought by Johnson to Texas, it must be because what Johnson has

done for the Tenth District has been wisely done. History does not repeat itself. A fake salesman does not get a second order. So, if Johnson has chosen wisely, has terraced the farms of his district, has brought power and flood control and proper housing to his three hundred thousand people, it may be a foretaste of what the same man, now a man of broad experience, will do at Washington in the growth of Texas in making a bridge between Texas and Washington as the Senator to succeed Sheppard.

A man of inexperience, or a man not friendly to the President of the United States obviously can be of little value. So those who see Texas and real things; the voter who votes for himself and not vaguely through prejudice, probably will vote for Johnson in self interest.

This is the very argument of those political forecasters who believe that they see the average voter at the ballot box. There is much of fanfare in a political race. The twenty Congressmen who represent Texas here are not unanimous in their appreciation of Johnson--a very young member of the delegation. In a recent test vote, which would have elevated Johnson above a senior in a most important assignment in Congress, the vote was ~~fix~~ eleven to nine against Johnson. But every Congressman knows what Johnson has done for his district. Every Congressman knows that Johnson has done more for his district than any five Congressmen from districts represented for a longer time by present Congressmen. The type of driving energy and attention to the business of the district which Johnson has shown doesn't always bring popularity, but there are those in Texas and those in Washington who are placing bets on Johnson to win on the age old theory that the man who has delivered the goods is worth promoting.

For Release in Sunday Papers, May 25, 1941

Washington, D. C.--Special--May 24, 1941--

Far-seeing Texans who travel between Texas and Washington are going back to Texas with a peculiar message. Summed up, the message is: no matter how the Texas senate race comes out, Lyndon Johnson is the next Senator in fact.

These men look at the long range. As politicians they have to be right. The reason is simply that Roosevelt told Johnson that he wanted the Roosevelt view point represented in the Texas Senate race, and that naturally, if Johnson takes the assignment after telling Roosevelt the issue was doubtful with an O'Daniel and a Mann and a Dies in the race and with Johnson less known throughout the state, that the President would re-act only one way. He may not have said a word to Johnson, but men who must know, and must not guess, say that Johnson is the man whom Roosevelt will consult from here on about Texas affairs vital to him. He also, of course, will consult Speaker Rayburn, and Jesse Jones, and Tom Connally. But the new star, in his early thirties and good for twenty years, is Johnson, from Johnson City, regardless of who wins Sheppard's seat. For Johnson, the soldier under assignment of the Commander-in-Chief, is running for the place in the Senate held by the man who upheld Roosevelt always as Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee. Roosevelt merely felt that he wanted to know personally a dependable man who was to fill Sheppard's seat. That man being Johnson, it is no reflection on those also in the race with the exception of Dies. The actions of Congressman Dies in Washington have not made Roosevelt his friend. And men attached to Roosevelt are as much concerned that Dies not be promoted by Texas to bother and harass an already harassed Roosevelt, as they are that Johnson, the dependable and the known be not nosed out by Mann, the popular and decent Attorney General, who is unknown and inexperienced at the nation's capitol, where the fight to save our liberties is being waged twenty-four hours a day.

Memorandum for July 12:

Charles wishes to see Tom Connally. Theme song: "Tom, you are not definite enough. You have been a past master of intelligent manipulation, but you know that in Texas this last month I heard that you had supported four candidates. What I think is that you are getting to be just a shadow everywhere, and you might, before you get through, be called something like "The Man Who Was." I think you need a definite issue so that history will record you as a man who did a definite thing. Dies will go down in history as a man who did something, right or wrong. O'Daniel has a clear position. Huey Long even had a position, although you prosecuted him, but what is your position? And how can I help you? Because, after all, Johnson has no color, even if he gets the job, which he might do.