

and time on news and comics, still failed to satisfy news-hungry readers. Locally, the most-missed news items were obituaries. Adams reported from Rochester: "A new radio program, ushered in daily by the [organ] strains of 'In a Monastery Garden,' ... perhaps [is] the most popular feature on any of the local stations."

Burgeoning Chains

In the wake of the first world war, newspaper chains mushroomed across the land. William Randolph Hearst, alone, acquired 23 dailies (many since sold or killed off) during the booming '20s, and by the end of that decade no fewer than 60 chains controlled some 300 newspapers in the United States.

In another postwar period of record circulations and advertising, the newspaper market again was bullish as 1947 got under way, and the same pattern of chain expansion was beginning to emerge from the storm cellar to which the publishers had retreated in the '30s. The industry even heard well-founded reports that Hearst was at least in the mood to talk expansion.

But right now, it's the smaller fellows who are on the make for bigger newspaper (and radio) empires. Not long ago, the Ridder brothers—Bernard H., Victor F., and Joseph E.—whose holdings spread from The Journal of Commerce and Staats-Zeitung und Herold in New York to The St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch and papers in the Dakotas, bought heavily into The Manchester (N. H.) Union-Leader with William Loebe, publisher of two Vermont dailies.

Southern String: Two other publishers felt growing pains last week. One was Charles E. Marsh, 60-year-old, tall and stooped eccentric behind the little-known General Newspapers, Inc. The other was Mrs. Ruth McCormick Miller, favorite niece of The Chicago Tribune's blustery publisher, Col. Robert R. McCormick. To his string of Southern dailies and radio stations, Marsh added The Spartanburg (S. C.) Herald and Journal. Mrs. Miller and her husband, Peter Miller, who recently bought The Peru (Ill.) Daily News-Herald, grabbed off the La Salle (Ill.) Post-Tribune.

Smith Davis, the fabulous Cleveland newspaper broker, figured in both deals. For himself and William E. Townes, co-owner (25 per cent) and publisher of the Spartanburg dailies, Davis turned a neat profit. They got about \$825,000 for The Journal and Herald, which Davis bought less than two years ago for just under \$700,000.

Mystery Man: The man virtually nobody knows in the Spartanburg deal is Marsh. As city editor of The Cleveland Press, editor of the now defunct Akron (Ohio) Press, and managing editor of The Cincinnati Post before the first world war, the Cincinnati-born Marsh absorbed the expansion technique of the late E. W. Scripps. Today, as board



Davis: Bullish broker in newspapers

chairman of General Newspapers, Marsh controls, besides his Spartanburg buys, these major holdings: The Macon (Ga.) Telegraph and News, The Gadsden (Ala.) Times, The Cleveland (Tenn.) Banner, The Wilmington (N. C.) Post, The Middletown (N. Y.) Times-Herald; radio stations in Macon, Orlando, Fla., Wilmington, and Gadsden (the last under construction).

Marsh also has dabbled in oil, farm lands, and politics. In the early '40s, he eased himself into a red-brick house on R Street in Washington, there hung an oil portrait of himself labeled "The Preceptor," and set himself up as just that to Vice President Henry A. Wallace and lesser New Dealers. This political romance ended after the Democrats brushed Wallace off their ticket in 1944.

Despite his Midas touch, Marsh rarely looks at a balance sheet, and plans to "die broke" by leaving his properties in a foundation. But he wants the foundation's portfolio to be bigger, and to this end he has retained Davis for twelve and a half years to buy more newspapers for him.

Gentleman of the Press

Shortly before midnight on Jan. 3, the news came over the telephone to the city room of The New York Herald Tribune: "Mr. Reid died at 10:35 tonight." Everybody on The Herald Tribune knew that it meant Ogden Mills Reid who owned the paper, but it was a tribute to him that they found it hard to call him boss.

For Reid more often than not had played at being president-publisher-editor of his paper. The throne room in fact, if not in name, for years had been the

sixth-floor office of his wife, Helen Rogers Reid, whom Reid married in 1911 when she was his mother's social secretary.

But however lightly Reid sometimes took his roles, he valued highly his rich journalistic heritage. The only son of Whitelaw Reid, the journalist-diplomat who took over Horace Greeley's New York Tribune, Reid was born in New York 64 years ago, studied at Bonn University in Germany, took his law degree at Yale in 1907, and practiced only a year. In 1908, he joined The Tribune and worked in all departments against the day he would succeed his father.

That day came in 1912, when his father, then ambassador to Britain, died. The business side of the paper bored young Reid and by 1922, two years before the \$5,000,000 merger of The Tribune and Herald, he had turned the commercial departments over to his wife.

But to the end Reid played his part as newspaperman and editor, rarely brilliantly but at least competently when he put his mind to it. He liked to drop into the newsroom late at night to talk shop and politics.

In the last two years, these nocturnal visits had become rare. On the final one, election night, Reid suffered a dizzy spell while reading about the sweep of his beloved Republican party in the Congressional elections. In December he entered the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center and was responding to treatment for an ulcerous throat when pneumonia set in and took his life.

On Tuesday this week Reid was buried in the family vault at Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in Tarrytown, N. Y. Behind him he left a prosperous, excellent paper which his sons Whitelaw and Ogden some day will run. And to his staff he left pleasant memories. Their epitaph for him might well be: "He was decent, kind, and above all, a gentleman."



Ogden Reid, 1882-1947

Political Notes on Meeting of Democratic Party

Officials from Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas,

Louisiana, Tennessee and Kentucky, July 9, 1947

Harber and McIntyre, Governor Turner's secretary, were in Washington attending the above meeting as representatives of Governor Turner. Former Governor Kerr, who is National Committeeman, and the National Committeewoman, as well as several Oklahoma State Committee officers were also here.

Harber reports that the meeting was very well managed, everything was smooth, no controversial matters brought up. There was no mention of Wallace or a party split. Each state delegation had an hour's meeting with the principal officers of the Democratic National Committee, involving a discussion of the 1948 party organization and any other problems that visitors wished to bring up. They had an hour with Truman in which he did most of the talking. He talked about being "imprisoned"--a very nice prison but in which he had to serve alone. He asked for their continued support and cooperation. The Louisiana delegation said that the Louisiana ~~delegation~~ would go for Truman in 1948. Arkansas and Texas also indicated the same but not so strongly or as directly. Oklahoma said nothing, as did Tennessee and Kentucky. The President thanked the Louisiana men without saying he was a candidate to succeed himself. There was a big luncheon, which all the visitors attended, quite a few Cabinet people and Senators and Representatives from the states represented. Clark's speech was unimpressive, mainly about his Freedom Train and law enforcement.

Harber and McIntyre and several other people who attended said it was just a nice, friendly meeting, largely to create friendly relationships between the National Committeemen, State Committee Officers and the President and National Committee Executives. There was no discussion of platform or candidates. There was some discussion of State Party Organizations by individual states and National Committee Officers. Several of the delegations requested Truman to make a ~~tram~~ tour to get himself better known among the rank and file. I am told that he has decided against this.

Notes on Oklahoma: The Oklahoma group informed the National Committee that they expect to reorganize the party in Oklahoma in January. The National Committee went along and said that was their affair. It is expected that Kerr will shortly resign, the Governor will appoint Harber National Committeeman, and in January or February, the new State party officials, who will be Turner people, will be elected. Kerr seems to be going along with this plan, I suppose, primarily, because he is going to run for the Senate and wishes the Turner forces not to oppose him and hopes to have them on his side.

Political Notes---2

Creekmore Fath told me that the Democratic National Committeeman from Louisiana, during the Wallace speaking tour, had written the National Committee and urged that Wallace not be read out of the Party and that everything be done to keep all the groups under the Democratic umbrella. I did all I could to sell the idea of party unity to the Arkansas delegation, as well as to the Oklahoma group. The Oklahoma group is O.K. The Arkansas group is very conservative and is going to be hard to keep in line.

Fath reports that the Regulars in Texas are going to revive their fight to take over the Democratic Party there. He says that Tennessee and Kentucky will probably go along on Truman and will be ~~the~~ middle of the road or slightly liberal on platform.

I am told that the conservative people in the party in the South are putting great pressure on Truman to fire Gael Sullivan because he was arrested for drunken driving. Actually the reason is not drunken driving but because he is advocating National Health Insurance Legislation through the Party machinery and because he made the veto vote on the Taft-Hartley Bill a party issue. They are using the little mistake in an attempt to get rid of his slightly New Deal policies in the National Committee organization. George Killian, the Treasurer of the Committee, is aiding and abetting these conservatives in their efforts to fire Sullivan. Fath reports that Truman is standing firm, as is Hannegan, and that there are indications that they will fire Killian instead of Sullivan.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON
10TH TEXAS DISTRICT

WASHINGTON ADDRESS:
504 OLD HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.

ASSISTANT:
WALTER JENKINS

Political

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

COMMITTEES:
NAVAL AFFAIRS
SELECT COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR
MILITARY POLICY

SECRETARIES:
GLYNN STEGALL
MISS MARY RATHER
MRS. PHILIP NICHOLS, JR.
MRS. SAM B. FLYLER
MISS JOSEPHINE CROUCH

August 2, 1947.

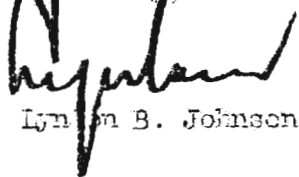
Mr. Charles T. Marsh,
c/o General Newspapers, Inc.,
6 East 92nd Street,
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Charles:

I have been out of town for three or four days and just got your note this morning. Bird and I will place a call for you Sunday, but should we not reach you I have hopes that this letter will catch up with you.

We plan to leave here about August 13th for Texas and likely will not be back until January. I am so glad to know that Diana and Michael are doing well and I am sure Cape Cod will be good for them. Our three year old Lynda Bird is in Texas and will not return. We plan to fly Lady Bird and Lucy Baines to Texas some night week after next and thus eliminate a great many travel problems. I do hope you will be back this way before we leave. I need the inspiration and stimulant that a couple of hours with you always gives me. If you are around, do call us.

Sincerely,



Lyndon B. Johnson.

TRANSFERRED TO HANDWRITING FILE

P. Martin

ELLIS ARNALL

1407 CANDLER BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

August 19, 1947

Hon. Charles Marsh
6 East 92nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Charlie:

I'll appreciate it if, at your convenience,
you will contact Dr. Roscoe Martin, University of
Alabama, Tuscaloosa.

Dr. Martin is a very fine friend of mine
and he is delighted about your acquisition of the
Tuscaloosa paper.

When you are coming down this way, let
me know.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



Ellis Arnall

ea/gc

Porter

SOUTHERN FARMER
MONTGOMERY 1, ALABAMA

AUBREY WILLIAMS
PUBLISHER

August 19, 1947

My dear Charles:

Helen does me too much credit.

I have talked with our friend and will
be in the East within the next ten days. Would
enjoy continuing our discussions.

I will be at the Mayflower in Washington
Sunday the 24th.

Sincerely,


Aubrey Williams

Mr. Charles E. Marsh
c/o General Newspapers, Inc.
6 East 92nd Street
New York 28, N. Y.

CHARLES W. TOBEY, N. H., CHAIRMAN
C. DOUGLASS BUCK, DEL.
HOMER E. CAPEHART, IND.
RALPH E. FLANDERS, VT.
HARRY P. CAIN, WASH.
JOHN W. BRICKER, OHIO
JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, WIS.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
BURNET R. MAYBANK, S. C.
GLEN H. TAYLOR, IDAHO
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.
ROBERT C. HILL, CLERK

10-10-47 note

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

August 25, 1947


Mr. Charles E. Marsh
c/o General Newspapers, Inc.
6 East 92nd Street
New York 28, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Marsh:

In the absence of Senator Taylor,
I am taking the liberty of answering your letter
of August 23.

I plan to leave this week to join
the Senator in Idaho for a brief trip over the
State. I will transmit your message to him and
I know that he will look forward to a long visit
with you upon his return to Washington in October.

Sincerely yours,


J. A. Keefauver
Administrative Assistant
to Senator Taylor

JAK.nip

Political news.

THE NEWS AND OBSERVER

JOSEPHUS DANIELS, PRESIDENT

RALEIGH, N. C.

August 26, 1947

Dear Mr. Marsh:

It was good to receive your letter and to recall our meeting at Austin, Texas.

As you know, I held Mr. Fitzgerald in high esteem and we had many things in common. I recall the incident you speak of and your visit to Raleigh.

Since I talked with you about my first book I have written several others, the last being one of my experiences in Mexico called "Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat".

With appreciation of your letter and hoping we may foregather again, I am

Sincerely yours

Josephus Daniels

Mr. Charles E. Marsh
c/o General Newspapers, Inc.
6 East 92nd Street,
New York 28, New York.

Harry Williamson
Vida Williamson

THE McKENZIE BANNER

A Good Advertising Medium

Serving Carroll, Henry and Weakley Counties

Commercial Printing Expertly Done

August 27, 1947.

McKenzie, Tennessee

Mr. Charles E. Marsh,
General Newspapers, Inc.,
6 East 92nd Street,
New York, 28, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Marsh:

Your letter of the 25th came today. I had wondered what had become of you, and had about decided that you became disgusted with Tennessee during the election campaign, and had sort of shaken the dust from off your feet.

Yes, there is no question in my mind about Gordon Browning's standing in Tennessee now. He can sweep the state for Governor in 1948, and many feel that he would have no trouble defeating Stewart for the Senate. However, I am very anxious for him to run for Governor, serve two terms, and then take McKellar's place in the U. S. Senate. Personally, I am for Estes Kefauver for Stewart's place. If we could get Browning and Kefauver to team up together they would win in a walk.

I will be mighty glad to have you or your son come to Tennessee, and if I can be of any assistance in helping you look over the newspaper situation here, I will be glad to do what I can. Just let me know when you plan to come, and I will arrange to be with you.

As for Meeting Lt. Col. Browning, if you will arrange to come down to McKenzie I will get him to come over and join us in some old fashioned Tennessee fried chicken at my house. You have not quite enjoyed life to the fullest until you eat some of Mrs. Williamson's fried chicken. Let me know ahead of time and I will get Gordon to make his plans to be with us.

I am still taking cracks at the Crump crowd at every opportunity. I believe in keeping up the fight, and never giving time for a breathing spell.

Mrs. Williamson joins me in best regards, and also in inviting you to visit us.

Yours very truly,

Harry Williamson
Harry Williamson

THE McKENZIE BANNER

Published Every Friday at McKenzie, Tennessee

Harry and Vida J. Williamson..... Owners and Publishers

Entered at the McKenzie Post Office as Second Class Mail Matter

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Carroll, Henry and Weakley Counties.....1 yr. \$2.00

Six Months..... \$1.25

Outside these Counties.....1 yr. \$3.00

To All Service Men Anywhere.....1 yr. \$2.00

NEW GOVERNOR'S MANSION SILLIEST IDEA YET

The Crump-McCord scheme to purchase the Rogers Caldwell "Pink Palace" and some 200 acres of land for a Governor's Mansion is about the silliest idea that has come from Nashville recently.

Regardless of all the lie-calling McCord has done about the plan, the Press-Scimitar Bureau in Washington states that State's Attorney General Roy Beeler, and his Assistant Nat Tipton, have been in Washington, and that United States Attorney General Tom Clark's office admits that the Caldwell Mansion was being discussed.

The idea of burdening the taxpayers of the state and our future Governors with this \$350,000 "White Elephant" is the most ridiculous proposal we have heard—No, not quite. The effort on the part of the Administration to have Burgin Dossett made President of the University of Tennessee still heads the list in ridiculousness.

Why a Governor's "MANSION" anyway? The state should own a good practical home conveniently located where the Chief Executive could live. It should be somewhat in keeping with the average home of the men who have served as Governors—and most of those lived in rather average houses.

We here in Tennessee, and in these United States of America are not interested in "Royal Mansions" and have no interest in setting our Governor up like some European Duke or Lord. We want men for Governors who have the interest of the people at heart (Not simply a desire to please Ed Crump) and who while serving as Governor will live in simple dignity in a house called a "HOME" and not a huge barn of a place that was built during the crazy days of the Caldwell-Lea check-kiting regime. Surely the people of Tennessee will not sit by and say nothing and permit the state Administration to pull a deal like that . . . However "the people" will stand for most anything, for example the Sales Tax.

c/o General Newspapers, Inc.,
6 East 92nd Street,
New York 28, N.Y.
September 20, 1947
(Written at Falmouth, Mass.)

Mr. Harry Williamson,
The McKenzie Banner,
McKenzie, Tennessee.

Dear Mr. Williamson:

Your ticket is my ticket.

My time is so jammed at the moment that
I can not make a positive date for McKenzie.

I can tell you and Mrs. Williamson, however,
that if I had my way today I would be with
you tomorrow, with or without the fried
chicken.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

c/o General Newspapers, Inc.,
6 East 92nd Street,
New York 28, N.Y.
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that if I had my way today I would be with
you tomorrow, with or without the fried
chicken.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Partial

Woodley Petroleum Company



OIL AND GAS PRODUCERS

POST OFFICE BOX 1403

HOUSTON 1, TEXAS

September 10, 1947

Mr. Charles E. Marsh,
c/o General Newspapers, Inc.,
6 East 92nd Street,
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Charles:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 28th.

Since I will not be in New York in September, I shall hope to see you when you come to Texas in October, although I am scheduled to be at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington between the 8th and 12th of October after which I will return to Houston.

You ask about Woodley Petroleum Company. This stock has been traded in on the New York Curb since the year 1922. Ours is a small company but I think has a good record for consistent payment of dividends to stockholders. Naturally our earnings will be up somewhat this year due to the advance of the price of crude oil.

I enclose herewith a copy of our last Annual Report to Stockholders.

About the oil industry generally, I think the future is bright, because all of the forecasters show that we will continue to have an increasing demand for oil and all products for some time whereas the finding of new oil has slowed down considerably in the past four years. In other words, I think investment in oil reserves is a good one at this time.

c/o General Newspapers, Inc.,
6 East 92nd Street,
New York 28, N.Y.
(written at Falmouth, Mass.)
September 20, 1947

Dear Aubrey:

I noticed that you were a Madison Square Garden speaker the other night. Prize fighters and politicians consider this hall the top flight spot. So you have no further place to go.

When I next reach Alabama I hope to be with you.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Mr. Aubrey Williams,
The Southern Farmer,
Montgomery, Alabama.

c/o General Newspapers, Inc.,
6 East 92nd Street,
New York 28, N.Y.
(written at Falmouth, Mass.)
September 20, 1947

Dear Ellis:

I have been trying to get to Georgia but
am constantly side-tracked.

I have not been in Tuscaloosa since the
purchase.

Perhaps by November I will be at both
places.

It is good to hear from you. I want to
talk the whole political show over with
you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Hon. Ellis Arnall,
1407 Candler Building,
Atlanta, Georgia.

DRAFT

For release Saturday morning, Sept. 27

The following statement was issued jointly today by Chairman Robert W. Hannegan of the Democratic National Committee and Representative John J. Sparkman of Alabama, chairman of the Speakers' Bureau of the National Committee:

"We today discussed with Senator Claude Pepper of Florida the 1948 election campaign. Senator Pepper will devote most of the month of October to the campaign and will speak in support of all Democratic nominees in various sections of the country. Senator Pepper is one of our most effective campaign speakers and we are counting on him to be very helpful in this campaign. He agrees with us that it is vital to the future welfare of this country to return a Democratic Congress on November 5."

Written in Mississippi
December 30, 1947

Dear Mr. Daniels:

I have been spending considerable time on the Pepper-Taylor tail end business. A week on Cape Cod with Pepper was satisfactory. The condition of Taylor is not as bad as this morning's news indicates. I have had three or four long sessions with Senator Taylor. I started to take him by car out of Washington on my present political swing through Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. He was willing to go but I thought it bad politics to have him around while talking with former Governor Browning of Tennessee whom I visited on Sunday.

I believe you may help should you phone or immediately write Senator Taylor, saying in effect that you hope his consideration will cause him to stay in the liberal groups which may save the democratic processes as well as the Democratic Party.

I am writing you because I consider you the only remaining Elder Statesman among the liberals. I have the same feeling for you and your function as I had for House in 1930-32. Wisdom does not grow on trees.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

The Honorable Josephus Daniels,
Raleigh, North Carolina.
CEM/ceh

Jessamine Hill,
Washington, Va.,
Dec. 18, 1947.

Dear Gen. and Mrs. Taylor:

I enjoyed your visit. Perhaps Wednesday, if you invite me, I will drop in on you in Washington.

The only information I have to offer on important things is that the proper names of Mr. and Mrs. Lion are Percy and Priscilla. The horse is named Square Head -- possibly because of his stubbornness and apparent stupidity.

These facts were discovered by deep research in the interior of China along the Tibetan border. The archeologist in this matter was Prof. Turnbask Truman, assisted by Pamp Pawley, and that great expert on moral idiocy, Prof. Ape Allen.

Sincerely,

c/rn.

Memo on Sen. Glen H. Taylor (Idaho)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political Forecast.

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

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

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

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

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

This bleak prospect probably means the full indignation of the average American citizen will reach its economic peak about 1950 with world affairs still chaotic, but not in a 3rd World War. That will be the time when the maximum youth and courage of the non-bolting Democratic Liberals will be called upon to carry this country forward in the 1932 pattern for economic progress and world peace.

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

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

Look at this background today. Henry is not carrying on. The Army and Navy and Wall Street and the Catholic princes have the country. They cannot and never have kept it wither under Harding or Hoover. The bell is ringing for 1950 and 1952. Let us take the Democratic party and go forward in the light of 1930 and 1932. Only thus will the new day and the new dollar be practical. It takes more toughness to take the fight waiting than jumping on a white horse behind Henry.

Memorandum.

I find myself in little Washington this Sunday morning thinking of the big business of public welfare for a change. It is, of course, the part of public welfare in government. I saw some of the Washington factors in government yesterday. The situation is one of mental bankruptcy in Congress -- perhaps at the White House. It is the old story: no politician wants to do anything in an election year that might hurt him personally. There are a lot of lightning rods among the Republicans in the Senate other than Taft and Vandenberg. A third of the Senate is up for re-election. Probably a half of the Senate body in both parties has vice-presidential thoughts. I know of no Senator who does not want to preside over his own body in the hope that death will favor him. So emphasis is on foreign affairs, with Marshall in the saddle and Admiral Leahy, the President's main adviser, in the background. Perhaps not unfairly citizen friends might name them the "military twins."

But in a practical world there is something to be said in favor of military men. Of course, I personally do not like it any more than I would like policemen sitting in the parlor, or a night watchman at a bank director's meeting. Their training has always been the one-two punch. Their way to peace is through force. They rarely make good negotiators, but since Russia is also filled with forceful men and the present prizes are Western Europe and the Near East, it may not be the right time for citizen diplomacy and the rule of reason as a primary base. Perhaps the cold war must go on until it gets hotter.

But what I know of interior Russia as well as the past military history of the Slav peoples, of whom Stalin is one, I do not believe Russia will initiate a hot war until thoroughly ready. Stalin's two major operations since achieving power give the background.

He protected his Far East front for two years before the war with 500,000 soldiers immediately opposite the Japanese battle formation, without declaring war on Japan before or during the war in spite of many casualties through skirmishes which were censored by both Japan and Russia so that the people would not be inflamed.

He kept a trading position with Germany until Germany actually invaded with a surprise attack. So I cannot believe the Russian position will become militarily effective.

We cannot say that much for American history. We all remember the Maine and Ft. Sumter. America gets the news quick and acts hot. There is no Oriental fatalism and chess playing in Occidental emotions.

In philosophy and religion we may find Oriental and

Slavish fatalism, but the pioneer spirit of America is definitely emotional. The blowing up of an American battleship in the Bosphorus would be enough. So there is some powder lying loose around the keg.

This is the practical reason why I wish there were less uniforms among ambassadors and in key State Department spots and around the President.

Having talked with you (in order to hear myself perhaps) I come to the point when I asked a secretary to take this letter.

I got some collateral evidence in Washington yesterday of what I had previously picked up from Kansas and Washington sources. The Eisenhower strategy board would take Stassen on the tail end. This board realizes the latent protest against a military figure for President. It realizes that Eisenhower must be presented as a man who has seen much of war, so much that he is the best man emotionally to preserve the peace. They will present Eisenhower as the one man most responsible for a victorious war and an associate with high military figures of Russia — that is, as a man most respected and best known of all Americans by the Russian power group as a man who can best "get along" with Russia without war. They will point out Stassen is an able administrator — an assistant president for domestic economy in war or peace. All this makes sense politically.

I note that Taft is being promoted as a major Republican candidate emotionally desirous of peace. His campaign is to infer that Truman's stiff policy toward Russia would have to be followed by an able citizen negotiator, should Truman be rejected at the polls. So since Dewey seems to be losing color and Vandenberg is too old, the present box score indicates Dewey probably will be the leading contender on early ballots. Taft will be quite a respectable collector of Southern delegates — the job-seeking group which supported his father against Teddy Roosevelt in the 1912 Republican convention which resulted in the Bull Moose revolt.

When the Republican convention opens, the argument against Eisenhower will be that he is a military man; the argument against Taft will be that he is a big business man who is set up for Truman. The argument for Eisenhower and Stassen will be that they are the only pair certain to beat Truman. There seems to be little argument for Dewey, except that he has the largest block of pre-convention support and is certain to carry New York against Truman, regardless of where Labor winds up.

These factors indicate a reasonable probability of an Eisenhower-Stassen deal, since Stassen cannot make peace one and he also knows that Eisenhower is the best vote getter of the Taft-Dewey-Eisenhower trio.

#3 none

Will you therefore tell me whether there is any secondary choice sentiment among Ohio Republicans for any Eisenhower-Stassen ticket?