

Baldwin should contact King and Associated Press, and Charles Green should contact United Press at Austin. The editorial which Baldwin has is the basis of the information which should go in advance to the mind of A. P. and U. P. people. That is that Roosevelt wants Garner honored at Waco, and anything less than that he will feel is a slap at national harmony within the Democratic Party. It is worthwhile to say that the President in spite of his extreme interest in the world situation has taken the trouble to ask the people from Texas if they are getting along alright, and if there is harmony.

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Baldwin: Because Blaylock as National Committeeman, and Rayburn as head of the delegation are both prominent Garner-ites, and because a majority of the delegates will be picked by Rayburn and Blaylock, it is most important that the spirit of the news going out of Waco to the country tell the actual facts. The actual facts are that the President of the United States, looking ahead, urging unity within the United States and within the party, privately said if he were in Texas, he would vote for Garner and Unity. This can't be said in the news, but that is the spirit. In this spirit, Democrats close to the President met and said: (And here I give you an ideal news lead out of Waco) Waco, Texas, May 27--Texas Democrats in a harmony meeting today ratified the Texas Plan of two weeks ago, worked out by Sam Rayburn, Garner Friend of thirty years standing, and Lyndon Johnson, New Deal Congressman from the Austin District, after conferring with President Roosevelt.

The administrations of President Roosevelt were endorsed amid tremendous ^{also} applause. Rayburn ~~was~~ a close friend of the President, was named harmony head of the delegation. Lyndon Johnson, in spite of his comparative youth, was made Vice Chairman. Myron Blaylock, who succeeded the persons in charge of the Garner forces in Texas after attacks on the President had caused irritation, was

named National Committeeman.

The sense of the delegates at the convention was unanimously that Roosevelt would be offered the presidency at Chicago, that he could have the nomination on the first ballot, probably by acclamation, but that a harmonious Convention should name Vice President John Garner, the native son, as its offering for the presidency. The Convention believed that should Roosevelt not offer to accept the nomination, Texas would be in splendid position to put forward the claims of the Vice President as the No. 2 Democrat in official standing. The whole story in a nutshell is to be sure that the harmony ticket backing President Roosevelt's plea won in Texas today as scheduled two weeks ago by Texas Democrats of both factions meeting with the President.

My concern is that Europe hear through America that this country is behind the President to the maximum.

That means:

1. Chicago should be unanimous with no other name presented. The machinery of this means Farley in sympathetic control, or out of control of the machinery of the convention.

2. Bankhead probably keynoting, as a compliment to Congress and as an Alabama Favorite Son, putting the Roosevelt message over, and in so doing leading the Favorite Son retirement program. If Alabama withdraws Bankhead, and yields to New York nominating Roosevelt, and then Alabama makes the second nominating speech, followed by Indiana, and, we hope, Texas, and Iowa, and Montana, the condition for the parade of states and acclamation is set. The radio will report to the world the noise and the acclamation. That will be the answer to the counter offensive of the Republicans coming between now and then.

3. Dramatically there should be a pause between the noise at Chicago and the breathless waiting to hear the voice of acceptance from Washington by way of Roosevelt. The timing of Roosevelt's voice of acceptance should be to get maximum reception in America and Europe, according to the habits of the people of listening and when their newspapers are printed.

Mr. Alvin Wirtz has taken the position that he should not be honored by the Convention, because there are not enough honors to go around. But if any one has the President's ideas as to what the Convention should say, it is Wirtz. Therefore, Wirtz should be listened to by the Resolutions Committee at Waco, and undoubtedly should be the Texas member of the Resolutions Committee at Chicago.

Wirtz will ask for nothing for himself because of his modesty, but if the President has any friends whatever in Texas, they will center their strongest on this point.

The intelligence of Texas is at

Memorandum to Lyndon:

I visualize this ad set up in a country newspaper will carry a very small word "advertisement" at the bottom. But if it is set up in the American Statesman in a three-column 10-inch box, with the type set column and a half, with a one column out of yourself inserted in the center, or at the top center under the heading, you will have the effect of a news story. Then it will be attractive enough, if sent out in mat form, to be read as a feature article in an otherwise dingy weekly newspaper.

In other words, I can see it as the main news item in each weekly, and that in many of them you may get page one position at the bottom, for the reason that the majority of these weekly papers carry patent insides, and because if you send out nice looking proofs with the mats, the average lazy country editor may think the article will dress up his first page. If you are trying to make the first page, you might reduce the size and send out two proofs with the statement to the editors that you have sent them two proofs with the idea that the small one might be used on page one, if not contrary to their policy, and if used on the inside the larger one might be more fitting.

The actual cost of display advertising in these papers cannot be over fifty cents an inch. In most cases to the merchants it is twenty cents an inch. You should not ask them their rates, but merely enclose a check for \$20.00 to every one of them. I do not think you will find any of them will return the change. Your letter should say: "Enclosed find my check, which I trust will cover the cost of a single insertion."

C. E. M.

America Today and Tomorrow

By Lyndon Johnson

To the Voters of the Tenth District:

Having attempted to be of service to you at Washington during the past four years, I wish to express my thanks to all of you for your support, your thoughts, your letters, and your good wishes.

I am to serve you again in Washington. The job during the first four years was to help, in an humble way, remake and modernize America under the leadership of President Roosevelt. We of the Tenth District have benefitted by having our needs and desires expressed and carried out by an intelligent government. The next two years will be dedicated to the defense of America--American Liberty--and the American way of life.

Billions must be spent for a strong arm to protect a free mind. As your Congressman, and as a member of the Congressional Naval Affairs Committee, I promise you I shall support our President, and your belief in a strong Navy, adequate aircraft and coast defense, and whatever proposals in the defense of our Democracy our President has made. Not long ago I had the pleasure of writing the President: "

As the future unfolds its problems, I trust not to disappoint you in your just demands that a Congressman support an enlightened President, work to defend his country's liberties, and intelligently to represent the needs of his District.

W. P. Hobby, Editor and Owner, Houston Post, and C. E. M.

Tuesday Night 10:30

H: How are things going? Is the President elected up there yet? We are a little slow about it down here.

M: Understand Mayor Holcomb has announced for either Garner or Roosevelt within the last day or two.

H: He announced for an uninstructed delegation to take up to the convention to trade with.

M: How much influence has holcomb in Houston?

H: I do not know that he has much on this question.

M: Does an uninstructed delegation mean he is for Roosevelt?

H: Certainly more for Roosevelt than for Garner.

M: Do you think the uninstructed idea will be popular in Houston?

H: No. I think there is so great an issue between Garner instructed and Roosevelt instructed that there isn't enough room for an uninstructed.

M: No place for ham in the sandwich?

H: That is it. The fight will get too strong for fence riders.

M: What about Ferguson?

H: Ferguson is a big factor.

M: What is his racket? Third term for Ma, third term for Roosevelt, coat-tailing as usual?

H: That's it.

M: Do you think Ferguson on the coat tail will help or hurt Roosevelt?

H: If anything, it will hurt him. I think with that, and Holcomb in the middle in this city they will balance each other. The fact that Ferguson is only in there because of his own selfish interest can't hurt anybody much, because the people realize the Ferguson is out for Ferguson.

M: When are you coming to Washington?

H: I will know tomorrows, and will let you know.

M: If you are going to call tomorrow, let's sign off. It's late. Good-night.

Frank Baldwin, Editor Waco Herald Tribune, and C. E. M.

Tuesday 11:15 p. m.

M: How is this thing coming down in Central Texas? More interest than when you left?

B: There is more interest. They are opening their mouths on Garner and questioning his capacity to be President of the United States, and wondering why he thought he could. Especially since he couldn't get it anyway.

M: Based on the Wisconsin and Illinois primaries?

B: The Wisconsin and Illinois primaries were reported in the newspapers in Texas, and the people immediately asked, "Why did he try it in the first place?" When the Wisconsin vote came in and Germany issued his statement first on it, the people thought maybe it was a dog fight. But when the Illinois landslide came in, they said Garner tried to put on pants too big for him. They are now calling Garner the fellow who made a fool of himself.

M: How does that affect the Central Texas precincts?

B: I believe if anybody gets up and tries to get Garner instructions, they will be howled down.

M: You do not think you are partisan?

B: I think I'm talking as a newspaper man who has a feel of what is going to happen. In other words, we might lose a few precincts, but there is not a chance for Garner in the County Conventions.

M: Naturally you would not be over confident. You will watch every precinct.

B: The County Convention is absolutely a cinch for Roosevelt.

M: What is Fentress' attitude about the thing now.

B: He really does not care one way or another. He only thinks of it as a news story.

M: The paper's real position is that it is in your control, and that the ownership thinks that you pulled a great editorial policy three weeks ago. Has it helped the prestige of the paper somewhat?

B: Best thing we could have done. Edgar Witt is heading it up here and doing a fair job.

M: If you were to reorganize, would you leave Edgar Witt in charge?

B: Yes, we have harmony with him in charge.

M: What I hear over the state is that with Roosevelt having already 365 delegates to two, it is all over on the first ballot. And they say, "Why should Texas go up there and make a monkey out of herself?"

B: They haven't that idea yet around the district. They just say Garner stuck his neck out. The general consensus is really this:

"The people feel that Roosevelt will be nominated. There is no basis for Garner except state pride. Roosevelt will be re-elected, and it is all hunky dorey with the people of Central Texas." A conversation today with Mr. Average Citizen was about this, "When they meet in Chicago and just about get settled, with the Temporary Chairman just about through, some man, drunk or sober, will get up and say 'Hurrah for Roosevelt!' and it will all be over. They will go through the noise of calling Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona with great noise just to make it legal, and then sit and wait for Roosevelt to say 'Yes.'"

M: Did he say what would happen when they get to the T's?

B: He did not get to the T's.

M: Thank you. Is there anything else you want to say?

B: Nothing else.

M: If you were betting a widow's money and odds were two to one for Waco to go for Roosevelt, would you take the bet?

B: At two to one, even with my own money.

M: What about three to one?

B: When it gets to three to one it is a question of how badly you want to win a little money.

M: You would not spend \$333 to try to win a thousand? You would not invest on Garner either?

B: That is not my kind of betting.

M: Nothing else on your mind?

B: Nothing.

Frank Baldwin, Waco, and C. E. M.

Charles Green, Editor Austin American-Statesman, and C. E. K.

Tuesday 11:45 p.m.

M: How are things coming?

G: Pretty well.

M: What happened in Miller-Rayburn record?

G: Tom's strategy in being rough with Rayburn was to make it sufficiently controversial to make it news throughout the state.

M: You think the strategy has worked.

G: I think so. I thought it too rough at first, but I think it is alright now.

M: How is Central Texas District going to go? Any doubt about Central Texas for Garner?

G: No. Very strongly Roosevelt.

M: Even if some slick politicians attempted to manipulate the precincts?

G: The people on the outside of the court houses at the county conventions will be there in such numbers they will do right anyway when they hear the noise.

M: Is there more interest than there was two weeks ago?

G: It is a real news story.

M: If you were to take a poll today of Roosevelt and Garner, what do you think it would show?

G: Last time I took it, it was seven to one. It would now run eight to one for Roosevelt. Ralph Goeth, former President of the Chamber of Commerce, and extremely conservative, moved over to Roosevelt. Three weeks ago he was for Garner. I think the international situation makes him think Roosevelt only answer and to hell with third term tradition. The acuteness of the foreign situation and the almost unanimous feeling that Roosevelt only is our best bet has caused them to ignore the former anti-third term idea.

M: Is Garner as a person either liked or disliked in the district?

G: Garner personally is still liked, but they look upon him as a man who has played cagey politics in Washington, not a real statesman, merely a clever politician. They do not think he has the caliber for the present needs of an American President. They never have thought that in Central Texas.

- M: Is the Roosevelt-Garner question or a third term for Ma Ferguson a bigger piece of news?
- G: Ma is a bigger piece of news right at this moment, but won't be in two or three days. Ma is an item of the week. Garner-Roosevelt is an older story.
- M: Who do you think will win the Governor's race with Ma Ferguson and O'Daniel? Who else is in it.
- G: Jerry Sadler. It will narrow down, I think, to these three. I think Hienz is practically out now, but I don't know about the future. Sadler is out and out for Roosevelt. Ferguson is out and out for Roosevelt. O'Daniel is neutral. No one is for Garner.
- M: O'Daniel told me, and I am quoting: "I can't conceive of Garner's being President. He hasn't the size for the job. When the Democratic State Committee met at Mineral Wells, I opposed it. First, because I did not think Garner was the right sort of man, and I did not think it was any of the State Democratic Committee's business." Why did he not come out openly on this matter at this time? Do you know?
- G: I think his position in not saying anything about Roosevelt or Garner is because he will think it smart to say he is running for a state office, and not a national office. I personally think he isn't even sympathetic to the New Deal.
- M: I only have the statement which I quoted. You have the facts of what he has said many times, and what he has done, and you personally think he is not particularly enthusiastic for Roosevelt. I know he is not for Garner. So he is a neutral.
- G: Most of the people who are for O'Daniel are very pro-Roosevelt.
- M: That is because of the protestant bible belt people.
- G: That's right.
- M: How is Miller?
- G: Tom Miller has done good work, and has spent a lot of his personal money and a great deal of energy. I did not think he could stay on the track as long as he has. He tells story on himself that he has been crazy, and is not sensitive about that any more.
- M: When will you be in Washington?
- G: About April 29.

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

Tuesday evening 10:00

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

M: How are things going?

Y: Very well.

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

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

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

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

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

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

M: Is there a specific Garner sentiment?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Y: April 24.

M: Where?

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

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

Y: I think we will fill it.

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

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

Mr. C. Wild, Austin, Texas and C. E. M.

Thursday 8:00 p.m.

Wild prefers Wirtz call him Monday. He will be in Austin. He prefers Wirtz call him to keep the record straight for Balylock, so that he can say he did not seek Wirtz out. He will be glad to give Wirtz whatever information he can.

Henry Fulcher, Wichita Falls, and C. E. M.

Monday evening

(Fulcher is associate editor of Wichita Times)

M: What is your territory thinking about in connection with Garner and Roosevelt?

F: Great preponderance of voters are for Roosevelt.

M: What does it mean at precinct primaries May 4?

F: What will happen on May 4 is impossible for me to predict. I do not know how many voters will actually go to the conventions.

M: Is there excitement there, or will it all go to Garner by virtue of his organization?

F: I do not believe Garner organization in my district is efficient; not as much as people have been lead to suppose. There are a good many New Dealers are precinct chairmen.

M: Are they active? What are the Garner people doing?

F: Both sides sitting around on their fannys.

M: What do you think will happen on May 4?

F: If no motion or activity is made by Roosevelt people, it will go to Garner by default. But if the Roosevelt people go to convention and say, "Let us endorse Roosevelt," I believe the Roosevelt people can carry in most precincts.

M: You think it is too early to say whether the matter will get hot enough in that territory to result in expression of great interest.

F: Neither side has worked yet.

M: If both sides worked equally, do you think Roosevelt would carry decisively?

F: Yes.

M: What has the paper done?

F: As a practical proposition, the afternoon paper has said, "We are for Roosevelt." Morning paper has said, "We favor favorite son."

M: Are there two editorial writers there?

F: We have said in effect in the morning paper that it probably ought to be Garner, as favorite son, but we do not like Roy Miller.

M: Have you seen Austin front page stuff?

F: Have seen some. I, personally, think the state is very strongly for Roosevelt.

M: How is your congressman coming along?

F: Gosset is not a New Dealer. He has no opposition this term, I think.

M: I should like to get the results of a newspaper poll out there.

George Brown, Houston, and C. E. M.

Wednesday evening

B: Saw Manager Butler by accident yesterday, and he said, "Things are looking stormy. I doubt if we can carry Harrison County for Garner."

M: Did Butler think he was talking to a Roosevelt sympathizer?

B: No, he thought he was talking to one of his boys.

Hon. E. O. Thompson and C. E. M.

Monday evening

T: I feel a little depressed tonight because I heard from a high class place in Washington today that the President wants Garner to have everything in Texas.

M: Who told you?

T: Sorry. I can't tell you.

M: Well, you might find out in three days that Sam has made an error.

T: I hope so. But, if he has, he ought not run the Waco convention and fool people.

M: How about the Panhandle from Dalhart through Amarillo to Lubbock?

T: Oh, that is all right.

M: How all right?

T: About four to one for Roosevelt May 4.

M: Sure? How do you know?

T: Well, after I had made a third term speech in Albuquerque, I stopped by Amarillo, and the boys out my way haven't been asleep.

M: Who are the three best men in the Panhandle that think as we do, who have courage, integrity, energy, and political sense?

T: Why do you want to know?

M: Because I don't want to be dumb if I am asked, and why don't you want to tell me?

T: Because I have already made it clear in Washington that we are taking care of West Texas, even before Grover Hill went down there.

M: If you have taken care of it, I will forget it.

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

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

M: How is everything?

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

M: What are you doing?

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

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

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

M: How about Josh Lee?

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

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

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

M: How about A. J. Wirtz?

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

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

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

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

Y: Let's make it Texas then.

M: Fine.

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

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

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

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

B. S. Humphries, editor, Texarkana, and C. E. M.

Monday evening

(Humphries is a Republican, pro-Garner, anti-Roosevelt)

M: How is the Roosevelt-Garner business coming along in Texas? You would say pro-Roosevelt sentiment is increasing rapidly, or slowly?

H: Business interests antagonistic and definitely for Garner. The people, however, have started to talk, and the people are for Roosevelt.

M: Definitely do you think the pro-Garner people are going to have a hard time holding their position?

H: Afraid so.

M: You are opposed to Mr. Roosevelt? Your paper has not been for Mr. Roosevelt? "Afraid" because of your personal feelings? You think the pro-Roosevelt people by May 4 are going to be in control? Is the paper taking any stand at all either for Garner or for Roosevelt?

H: The paper is not making any play on it either way.

M: Who is leading the Garner movement in that district?

H: Blaylock at Marshall is really running Texarkana.

M: Are you in the same congressional district? Is Blaylock running the whole district? How is that congressional race shaping up?

H: I believe the present man is going to be re-elected.

M: Is there much doubt about it?

H: I would bet more than even money, but think there is some possibility of his defeat. I have always opposed him, but I think he will be re-elected.

M: Who is running Roosevelt side? What type people?

H: Nobody really active, but all talking Roosevelt.

M: Are you going to take a poll? I would like situation in Blaylock's district.

James E. Day, Editor Port Arthur News, and C. E. M.

1 p. m., Tuesday

Subject: Jefferson County and Southeast Texas

M: What about the list?

D: 1. E. M. Black, Beaumont. Attorney. Young. Family background good. Longtime resident, probably native of county.

2. E. B. Alsop, Beaumont. Groceryman. High in labor circles. Probably middle aged. Probably popular. Probably dumb.

3. Cecil Morgan, Nederland. Attorney. Young. Lot of energy.

Nobody at Port Arthur to be recommended by Day or others of sense of values.

Since talking last night I have discovered that there is considerable county antagonism to Garner. It is beginning to take form. Discovered mainly in refinery workers.

M: Do you believe from what you have found today that there will be more than usual large attendance at precinct conventions May 4?

You believe so because of the awareness of these people that they do not want Garner, and aoul of some that they do not want Roosevelt. The vote is chiefly "against" people. Those that want Roosevelt really want him. Those that want Garner merely want him because they don't want Roosevelt. So the real vote is really for or against Roosevelt?

D: Absolutely. One hundred per cent.

M: Does Garner merely represent a peg to hang a hat on?

D: Just about.

M: Let us say two pegs--one for Roosevelt, and one against. And Garner is merely a hat rack.

D: That is right. That is right. Have you found this hat rack business all over the state?

M: I find in Texarkana, Wichita Falls, Dallas, Austin, Waco, always the same story. This, Jim, is the story in one paragraph, and you might make some editorial comment on it.

Roosevelt predominately is favored for 1940-1944 by all parts of Texas. Roosevelt is either liked or disliked--no middle ground. With Garner there is mostly middle ground. But people who like Roosevelt are getting active and becoming aware that they have to say something about Roosevelt May 4 at precinct meetings. Garner does not represent anything but a hat rack with two pegs. Nobody dislikes him, and nobody

likes him. He is a political eunuch, but he is a convenient hat rack for and against Roosevelt. If Garner wins it is because the against-Roosevelt vote has been organized, ably financed, and worked down into precincts over many months. But it seems apparent at this date that the pro-Roosevelt people will bestir themselves sufficiently to justify the prediction in all parts of the state that the Waco convention will be controlled by persons favoring the continuation of Roosevelt 1940-1944. From the Panhandle, Delhart to Lubbock, last night came the report four to one Roosevelt, fairly well organized by precincts for Roosevelt. Dallas getting along satisfactorily. Pro-Roosevelt organization by precincts and working up to big rally before April 20. Progress is satisfactory in Waco. From Austin the same. From Texarkana a Republican editor, who voted for Landon, says, "I am afraid the pro-Roosevelt people are going to beat Blaylock in this congressional district." (Blaylock being the present Garner leader in this district.)

D: (Answering this summary.) Except you have made no mention of the that a good many people who will vote for and believe in Roosevelt's operation have the third term tradition rather definitely before them and are thinking about him negatively. Such people will not work actively, but when the time comes will vote for him unless they see a man almost as good somewhere else.

Conversation Monday evening 8:00

M: What is happening in Jefferson County on this Roosevelt and Garner business?

D: Quiet.

M: What is Dies doing?

D: Nothing

M: How will it come out on May 4 in precinct conventions?

D: Roosevelt will beat Garner.

M: Why do you say that?

D: Because of the big labor element in both Port Arthur and Beaumont, and the farmers in the northern part of the county.

M: How about Garner organizing for over a year?

D: All organizing by Garner has been by mail.

M: Has he any paid workers?

D: He has no paid workers. Never heard of any. Garner will get merchants and business men. Think with increased publicity it is supposition of newspaper man that Roosevelt will carry two to one.

M: Who will get the Roosevelt people out?

D: Young Democrats and labor people.

M: Are they political people?

D: Young Democrats active in politics. They do not see future with Garner and have not been consulted. They can't stay on pay roll with Garner.

M: You think Roosevelt crowd is showing activity?

D: Natural activity, not yet leadership.

M: Who is strongest man in Port Arthur on Roosevelt? What is Carl White's value? You would say he is discredited?

D: He has double crossed everybody in town. Runs a little labor paper. Labor gang has thrown him out.

M: When?

D: Several months ago.

M: On what grounds?

D: They say he did not properly represent union labor.

M: Official act?

D: Yes.

M: How is Beaumont Journal-Enterprise handling matter? How does Jones, editor, feel about it?

D: Anti-Roosevelt.

M: Has he editorialized against Roosevelt?

D: General policy against New Deal. Conservative attitude against Roosevelt and over-spending. Nothing on Roosevelt-Garner situation editorially.

M: What has Port Arthur News done, if anything? Have you seen Austin papers in last ten days? Ask Austin for editorials. Truthfully, what will happen out there, and who will make it? Mellon's Gulf Refining Company and The Texas Company?

D: They will not force or direct their men because they are afraid of labor troubles and disruption in their own plants. They do not vote their men as they used to.

Conversation Monday evening 9:30

D: State Young Democrats are meeting in Beaumont Friday and Saturday of this week. Believe it is a Garner controlled group and Garner will be endorsed. The constitution does not permit them to endorse anyone, but they will have

a pro-Garner resolution jammed through. The Young Democrats are headed by Price Daniels, of Liberty. Until a year ago he was for Roosevelt and suddenly became an arch conservative. His father died and left him an oil fortune. Mrs. Driscoll is angel behind Young Democrats. They admit it.

M: Roy Miller and Myron Blaylock, what about them?

D: Roy Miller and Blaylock have been trying very hard this last week to get some one to head up Jefferson County for Garner movement and have gotten no one.

M: County Superintendent by name of Boyles, has he brains? Would he be possible Roosevelt leader?

D: Rather neutral person. He is coming up for re-election. Maybe he believes it will help him. He has no opposition. He is a short stocky Irishman with good front. He seems to have done a good job, but I do not know enough about it.

M: Who would be best man in that county?

D: Allen Shivers.

M: What kind of baby is he?

D: State Senator. Fine looking. Tall and strong. Good politician.

M: Is he virtuous and honest? Is he for Roosevelt?

D: I would say that he is.

M: Has he courage and does he know how to say yes and no, and could not be bought off?

D: I do not know.

M: Are you going to conduct a poll on Garner-Roosevelt? Believe it is a good idea. What will it show?

D: Predominately Roosevelt.

Dear Lyndon:

The following conversations have been assembled according to their significance, and not according to their geography or the time of the telephone conversation.

C. E. M.

April 16, 1940

April 17, 1940

Dear L. J.

More clippings if needed.

Dallas letter, Dallas speech high spot in this bundle. Balance corroborative, so have put in that order.

Save speech, as I want to use it for editorial comment.

C.E.M.

Save letter also, or have copy made for my files.

M. L.

May 21, 1940

Dear Lyndon:

That you are terrifically busy, I well know, but about all that I can do now is to offer such help as a life spent in the study of history may permit me to contribute.

The present struggle means the end of democracy and the capitalistic system in Europe. What is sweeping over Europe is a revolution against capitalism. Capitalism failed to take care of workers and lower middle class in Germany and Italy and revolution set up new states. These new Totalitarian states seem to be a final development of the machine age. Capitalism had tended to set up monopoly in various forms of industry (such as Fritz Thyssen's steel trust in Germany). The new state took over these monopolies and amalgamated all of them in a state monopoly. The state took over foreign trade, raw materials and control of labor. The new states, therefore, are nations organized on the Big Business method of complete monopoly, using all the efficiency that Big Business has developed for mass production on a national scale. Advertising has become propaganda to sell the new state idea. Germany is now one national, monopolistic business corporation. Just as American corporations have destroyed or absorbed small competitors, so this German national corporation is destroying small neutral competitors and is now going on to absorb its largest competitors, France and England.

The democratic states are not prepared to defend themselves against Germany because they have not organized themselves for such national mass production. They have had much unemployment and so have not used their labor resources. They have not centralized industry and so have not directed production toward the one purpose of national defense. Neither France nor England have even yet organized for mass production on a national scale. Consequently, notwithstanding their greater resources in raw materials and greater capitalistic wealth, they cannot compete with Germany in the production of airplanes and other instruments of mechanized warfare. The war is being lost on the battlefields because it has already been lost in the factories and in the failure of the Government to monopolize the factories and organize mass production for national defense.

Why the ruling classes in England and France failed to realize how strong Germany was becoming can easily be understood by Americans, who have the same democratic and capitalistic ideas. The Chamberlains and Daladiers were traders and negotiators, who like business men, had confidence in making good deals, which would be settled by contracts or treaties. But the Hitlers and Mussolinis have no regard for such business morality; they do not want to negotiate; they prepared to use their monopolistic force. They fooled the capitalistic aristocrats by implying that they would fight communism; when it should have been evident that their states were becoming more like the Russian state every day. Trusting in appeasement, the democracies waited till after Munich before they began halfheartedly to prepare to use force instead of appeasement. America goes the same democratic way.

It is necessary, therefore, that we make a great effort to profit from the failure of France and England. I need not emphasize the danger that confronts us, and I do not know how soon we must actually fight it. If the British fleet is surrendered or destroyed, we must defend ourselves with an antiquated fleet, which may be no better than that of Japan. We will have to build as fast as we can to compete with Japan, Italy and Germany. We cannot expect to keep Germany or the German revolution out of South America. We cannot take the products which Latin America has to sell, and so the South American states will be forced to trade with a German dominated Europe, and on German terms. German agents, "fifth column" will spread through Latin America and set up their political system there. The United States and Canada will have to unite to defend the North American continent (and we may have to take charge of Mexico and Central America to hold the canal) from the revolutionary forces that are likely to spread

over the rest of the world. The only hope for time to prepare depends on the more prolonged resistance by France and England that seems possible now, and -- the possibility that Russia will seek to prevent Germany from becoming so strong that Russia will be forced to defend herself.

I, who have lived a free a life as anyone in our democracy, now say that we are going to find it necessary to surrender a good deal of our democracy. No more than England and France can we compete with totalitarian states by continuing our democratic, capitalistic ways. If England and France go under, and are incorporated in the German system, we will have to compete with all Europe, organized on the principle of business monopoly for mass production. We cannot compete if millions of our workers continue to be unemployed, if industry and agriculture continue to produce only as much as profits dictate. We cannot compete if American business continues to sell airplanes, war materials, or raw materials to the enemy. There must be Government control of labor and industry. As Stuart Chase puts it, the question in Europe now is not "where is the money coming from," but "Have we the men and the raw materials?"

Germany has been spending half of her national income on building her war machine. Half of our national income would be what? say forty billion dollars, and we are preparing to spend three billion dollars. We are still in a Pre-Munich state of mind.

We pay several times as much as any other country to build a battleship. Why do we not begin to establish more of our own navy yards and take over those privately owned. The business of building ships has ceased to be a matter of private concern; it may become a life and death matter for all of us. The same is true of the aviation business, which has an incredibly rotten record. Congress, I believe, should set up a board with extensive powers to direct and control the private companies that make airplanes to defend us, and eventually we should nationalize the industry, which is soon to be more necessary to all of us than the Postal business. Congress should also begin to establish government aviation factories and train men to operate and work in them. America, everyone says, has the best set-up, the best plant, for mass production in the world. If we are going to compete with totalitarian mass production on a national, or European scale, our industrial plant will have to work for us as a whole people and not for the profit of stockholders and directors.

I hope all this dire forboding is wrong, but it does not seem so in the light of the German advance toward England. I hope that America will have time to realize that she must use the methods of her revolutionary competitor states, but it may very well be that she will not have time enough to unite in a great enough effort to prepare herself for defense. Germany has reorganized her whole economy and political order and expanded it in an incredibly short time. We have all the weakness of democracy; unemployment, Big Business anarchy, social struggle. The germs of revolution are within, and the revolution which is expanding by means of military force may soon be at our door. We must arm completely, and we cannot be squeamish about private business and private personal rights. In saying this, I am going back on all that I have ever stood for, but I see no reason in indulging in wishful thinking with the lesson of Chamberlain and Daladier before me.

There is much to be said for a national, no-party government, headed by the President. If we must have dictatorship, I have less fear if the President is the dictator. Who else can unite us for the struggle that is coming?

This is not all academic defeatism or fear. I am ready to face the end of capitalism or as much of capitalism as may be necessary to save what we can of our American life.

Last night a business man agreed completely with all that I have said. For the first time, some Americans are facing the facts, and I hope that public opinion will continue to move as rapidly as it has moved in the past week.

You will not agree with all this now, perhaps, but I am bold enough to predict that you will agree before much more time passes.

Sincerely,

June 17, 1940

Memorandum to Mr. Johnson:

Please let us know as early as possible, and on the authority of the Army and Navy, on the basis of peace time operations how long it takes to build (of average and approximate size):

A tank?

A plane?

An armored car?

A modern, motorized artillery?

A first line battleship?

Cruiser?

Destroyer?

Submarine?

Aircraft carrier?

C. E. M.

June 22, 1940

On the basis of peacetime operations and on a general average without regard to specific sizes and types, Admiral S. M. Robinson, Coordinator of Ship Building, says that to build a first line battleship requires four years, six months. A cruiser can be built in three years, six months, while a destroyer takes only two years, six months. A submarine can be launched in slightly less than two years, and construction of an aircraft carrier requires four years.

Major Warner, Ordnance Division of the War Department, gives the following figures with regard to various types of equipment:

1. Tank. Assuming that the drawings have been completed, a tank of average size will take six months to complete. Under a commercial contract, after the first tank has been constructed they may increase their production from ten a month to 150 or 200 tanks a month. Of course, a little more time will be required in the construction of the heaviest tanks used by the Army.
2. Armored car. Ordinarily requires three months for construction. The most difficult thing and the greatest problem in the construction of these cars is the armor plate, which ordinarily holds up production.
3. Modern motorized artillery. With regard to a 75mm gun, the average time required for complete construction will run between a year and a year and a half. The gun itself can be built in slightly less than a year. However, the recuperator often takes a year and a half. The carriage can be built in considerably less time than the gun itself. In a smaller gun, the 37mm, they now have a contract let providing for the construction of 350 in one year. Under ordinary circumstances, that is the length of time required to complete a gun of this size.
4. A plane. Major Gross of the Ordnance Division of the Air Corps advises that from the time the general plan for construction is laid before the engineers and before any plans whatsoever are drawn, to the time when the ship is finished, ready for test, will require approximately three years. This figure is based on the assumption that the plans desired require some material change, such as the increasing of speed fifty miles per hour. Assuming that the plans have been drawn and it is desired only to produce more planes of a type that are in existence and being flown, it will require between nine months and a year. Mr. Ford says he can produce planes under these conditions in from four to six months. However, that figure is considered a little too low by the Air Corps. Admiral Robinson of the Navy advises that in construction of a plane, the time required under peacetime operations is in the neighborhood of one year.

The family unit- the man, woman and child, joined in high endeavor- is the basis of the American way of life.

Such a way a despot would destroy by making a new religion of States and force.

But in our American way, America shall meet his challenge.

The American Government must take the defense of America to American ^{the} ~~XXXXX~~ family.

Certainly not by moving unnecessary millions of workers from South to North, from West to East.

Certainly not by slowing defense effort.

Certainly not by failure to tax all fairly.

Certainly not by failure to train all for defense service.

Certainly not by refusal to place defenses of America as paramount in every private profit.

But also- certainly- not by leaving vast idle areas in the south and the west super-taxed and idle while the east and North booms with high living costs and congestion of railroads- with millions of husbands and fathers leaving idle, depressed areas, seeking work.

Use our North-east industry to a twenty-four hour fullest, but-

Build new plants South and West to family and labor.

You get no taxes from idle, tax-ridden states.

You raise labor defense costs in over busy states.

Make Knudsen- Stettinus- Army-Navy- Roosevelt see this before too late.

I saw twenty-seven million southerners in dislocation in the last war effort.

I saw twenty million westerners dislocated.

I saw northeast over-boomed.

Can't we move much new defense industry south and west, benefitting

family life, increasing patriotism, aiding taxation, leveling the transportation load.

Note- Even Hitler and Mussolini and Stalin have had the sense to spread defense industry to even the labor spread and bring factory to existing people and raw material. I am very much afraid in this rush we shall develop an intellectual myopia thru northeast operating brains which will leave the south and west idle and prostrate.

July 5, 1940

Dear Lyndon:

Every four years there is an open season of platform makers. Feeling that no one except the boss man has anything really to say about it this year, what I have just written is just another citizen taking his exercise.

You are the victim.

C.E.M.

Some Platform Notes

Defense of America in an American way is the business of the United States Government—a business paramount to all other considerations.

Speed is the essence of this contrast. The Democratic Party has proven the alertness of its leader in the business of national defense.

Events frighten or inspire. The inspiration brings a broadening of vision. The Democratic Party pledges it will use every brain, every dollar, every man as best he may be used in an offensive for safety, regardless of the party, race, or creed, but not regardless of the American way of life.

The Democratic Party believes that the American people constitute in the spirit of the free life the basis of the offensive that must save the western world.

The family unit—man, woman, and child in high endeavor—is the basis of the American way of life.

Such a way despots would destroy by making a new religion of State and force.

America with courage meets the challenge.

The Democratic Party conceives the defense of America begins within the American family.

The battle of this American family since 1932 has been the battle of economic life, and restoring and enlarging for the American family its right more fully to pursue happiness.

The American family's present concern is with safety. In happiness and with courage this pursuit for absolute safety shall continue. Youth shall prepare itself in body and in mind.

American manhood shall give defense of America the first place. American womanhood shall support its men and train its girls. American factories shall, under intelligent, free management, manufacture for defense. All Americans shall as a privilege pay the cost to the utmost and in fairness to all. There shall be a free press, free expression as to ways and means, but America will not tolerate for one minute by any man or group of men any conduct which slows down the national unity.

This is America for Americans. In the business of national defense, which the Democratic Party believes will be the business of America during the next four years, an intelligent distribution of the national effort is called for. Such intelligence and the speed with which the national will is exercised must be the basis of any leadership. The clock does not turn back. This is not a peacetime calendar.

In confidence in itself and the American voter, the Democratic Party believes a continuation of eight years of economic leadership now calls for four years of intensive national defense leadership. The Democratic Party which has accomplished its economic fulfillment now is engaged in the business of American defense. The Democratic Party believes there should be no retreat consistent with the national defense in the improvements accomplished. The Democratic Party believes that the leadership now operating the American government will be and is the most intelligent leadership in making the necessary changes as defense plans require. Over sixty million effective workers in the world's most able country await the call. The Democratic Party is aware and at work.

The national economy calls for an even spread of activity so that all America share. There is no North, no East, no South, no West. Wherever possible there shall be no dislocation of the American family. Materials and endeavor and money shall be used with sole regard to two objectives:

1. To make America safe at the earliest possible moment from any enemy or combination of enemies of the American way of life, on both sea and land.

2. To accomplish this goal that no factory, no political consideration, no profit motive shall hinder the accomplishment.

August 5, 1940

Dear Lyndon:

I am on my way over to the R. F. C., and from there will probably take the train.

Hopkins is at the St. Regis, New York, today. A call is in for him to find out about committee appointments and such. I may have information tomorrow. Will attempt to reach Appleby, and if have any information this source, will drop you a note from the station. Otherwise, I will see you in the interest of golf and blood sugar Thursday.

C. E. M.

An Army is the force dedicated to defending or expanding the nation for which it works.

All good Generals are mathematicians applying force in defense or expansion.

A Commander-in-chief is one over all Generals. A Commander-in-chief in America has the duty of defending America.

Armies in peace time have nothing to do except to play at their theories about force in defense and offense. And so security, precedent, mass play called social tradition, flattery for advancement—all these become the business of the Generals and the would-be-Generals at play.

In America since 1918 the American Army has been at play, in the great peace time offensive as our stomachs returned to normalcy after the World War One. An Army bloated with officers fought a bitter inside battle—a civil war among the officers to keep their jobs. Peaceful business for profit took charge of Washington. A Mellon with a mania for paying debts starved Army and Navy. A Hoover, building a record as a peace-man on top of his well known record as Mr. Santa Claus, sank a large part of the Navy. Naturally when the ships were sunk the Navy men went ashore to play some more. Hundreds of other ships un-sunk idled in American harbors while ensigns danced with Admirals' over-fat wives and Captains' ugly daughters.

Here and there in the Army and the Navy is a hard working person—the rare soul who did not marry in the money, one of intellectual honesty, who believed his business in the Army or the Navy was to prepare for war.

Such a one studied other things besides "squads right, and squads left." An over-fat wife might commandeer him as the extra man and find him at the General's table.

But of the workers between 1920 and 1940 in this our America there were very few in either the Army or the Navy. It was twenty years of keeping one's job, advancing the slow ladder of seniority before old age pulled the curtain, and of keeping the Colonel's lady in a good humor. And the poor little girls who hoped to be Colonel's ladies played the social racket from pillow to post--there is a bit of sense in all this. There are ten years ahead. The stables stink. The clean up must come before an Army of defense can function.

You may have all of your bi-party unity in the Navy and Army secretariats. You may have your Knudsens and Stettiniuses drafting New York to Washington at a dollar a year. The big stick of a Commander-in-chief may crack down on the little greedy boys here and there. The industrial stream lined think which is the United States in mass production may spend fifty billion dollars in making things.

But the Colonel's lady and twenty years of soft living among the men of the Army and Navy can't be laughed off. There is no balm in Gilead.

* * * * *

I The pompous persons strutting here and there amid the medals don't know a blimp from a plane; an armored truck from a camp wagon with a motor. Half of them could not drive a car with safety. Their vision is "squads right, and squads left." A mental photograph would show rust predominant in unused brain areas.

At best the thing is a comedy of the Gilbert and Sullivan school. A re-reading of the Pirates of Penzance is justified by one who would clean out the stables. "For he is an Admiral in the Queen's My-ee."

* * * * *

This now is too silly. At an earlier moment of great anguish when the walking delegate appeared before a Naval Committee defending 32 hours, time and a half, and double time as the price of Navy plans, one thought of a march from abroad. At this moment Lady Luck briefly rides the American

flag as the English do a job.

But no Commander-in-chief having a moment for a bit of humor would see the average Admiral and the average General of this country as other than a serious Sioux Chief believing in the majesty of feathers and the great value of the right of eminent domain to the country of his ancestors. There are no cannon because he hasn't seen any.

And when ageing and rusty minds strut from the War and Navy Departments and Congress and sit whispering together about the big new jobs and who is to get them, a person might change a sense of humor for a sense of proportion.

There are needed twenty skilled, fighting young men working to the point of exhaustion in the business of defending America to every play boy now sunning himself in his approaching importance. Let's train the youth of America as rapidly as possible regardless of Army and Navy and Capitol routines.


M. C.

Mary Louise:

While we were working on the Rosie Poeller case, at the suggestion of Mr. Marsh, we asked the State Department to send a wire to the American Consul regarding the matter. The enclosed letter is one of the results.

John

TEXAS.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

SEP 10 REC'D

In reply refer to
DA-D 811.111 Poeller, Rosie

September 9, 1940

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, and has the honor to state that upon his request, the Department, under dates of July 6, 1940 and July 15, 1940, incurred an expense of \$1.89 and \$4.93, totaling \$6.82, for two telegrams sent to and from the American Consul at Lisbon, Portugal, in regard to the visa case of Rosie Poeller.

In accordance with the Department's practice, this notice is sent in order that payment of the tolls may be made by the party interested. In settlement of this account, check should be drawn payable to the Secretary of State of the United States and transmitted to this office.

Carbon to: Lyndon

September 17, 1940

Dear Sam:

It being "Speaker" from now on, I shall not see you any more unless I think I have something for you. You will be too busy for anything else.

Between you and Roosevelt and Hitler and the "grab" boys and the "can't" boys in Washington, I see the bearcat you have taken by the tail.

Keep your sense of humor, and if you need a laugh, let me know.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

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To CONGRESSMAN LYNDON B. JOHNSON

SEPTEMBER 16, 1940

Street and No. NEW HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

Place WASHINGTON, D. C.

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CHARLES

CHARLES E. MARSH ROOM 2320

nder's address
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1. The company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the unreported-message rate beyond the sum of five hundred dollars; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the repeated-message rate beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, unless specially valued; nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines; nor for errors in cipher or obscure messages.
2. In any event the company shall not be liable for damages for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of any message, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, at which amount each message is deemed to be valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing by the sender thereof at the time the message is tendered for transmission, and unless the repeated-message rate is paid or agreed to be paid, and an additional charge equal to one-tenth of one percent of the amount by which such valuation shall exceed five thousand dollars.
3. The company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this message over the lines of any other company when necessary to reach its destination.
4. Domestic messages and incoming cable messages will be delivered free within one-half mile of the company's office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or towns. Beyond these limits the company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender's request, as his agent and at his expense, endeavor to contract for him for such delivery at a reasonable price.
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7. It is agreed that in any action by the company to recover the tolls for any message or messages the prompt and correct transmission and delivery thereof shall be presumed, subject to rebuttal by competent evidence.
8. Special terms governing the transmission of messages according to their classes, as enumerated below, shall apply to messages in each of such respective classes in addition to all the foregoing terms.
9. No employee of the company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

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ASK ANY WESTERN UNION OFFICE OR AGENCY FOR FULL INFORMATION

September 20, 1940

Memorandum:

Pepper wants LaGuardia into Florida. This may be something for Johnson, by way of Coreoran, to handle. I checked ten Florida Democrats here today who say he is big with Florida Democrats, inspite of Republican, Italian, Northern background, and that his sea base Canadian activity would give him a whale of a reception.

C O P Y

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson,
House of Representatives.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of August 26, 1940, regarding the location of new plants in the Central Texas region and requesting that a survey be made of the region from San Antonio to Dallas.

Representatives of the several supply Arms have surveyed this area and many facilities are now allocated due to these surveys. The several chambers of commerce and business men's associations in this area have submitted brochures setting forth the advantages of Central Texas.

There are several general policies which govern the selection of new plant sites, namely, the location should be such as to assure the earliest possible production of munitions; the area should be reasonably secure from long range bombing operations; congested industrial areas should be avoided as far as practicable; labor, transportation (railway and highway) and electric power and other technical requirements should be met; and plants should be dispersed over as wide an area as the other factors permit.

The area considered generally suitable from the safety standpoint is, roughly, from the Alleghenies to the Rockies, both inclusive, and well within our North and South borders. This area has been subdivided into five districts in order further to insure the dispersion of new plants. Central Texas is included in one of these districts. Congested industrial areas have been avoided as far as practicable in the plant site selections made to date and this will continue to be the case insofar as such locations will satisfy the requirement of early production. Existing plans contemplate as wide a dispersion of the new plants as the technical requirements thereof will permit.

You may be assured that every consideration will be given to the region between San Antonio and Dallas, Texas, in locating new plants.

I trust this information will enable you to advise your constituents more fully in this matter.

Appreciating your continued interest in industrial preparedness, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Henry L. Stimson
Secretary of War.

September 16, 1940

Dear Lyndon:

Waking up this morning with a great distaste for Mid-West Senators, I found it more pleasant to write you a note.

This is a by-product from a very refreshed mind after nine hours sleep, coming out of a sentence or two from you yesterday about "squads right, and squads left."

Everyone knows the story who is half honest intellectually. I don't think anything will be done about it until December first, but there are more ways than one of saying, "What is in the wind?" I don't think the steel method is the best after the person in authority is awake. The intermediate method of humor or ridicule never should be directed at the king himself--only his whipping boy. Maybe this is not all only words over a cup of coffee, as the idea came from you.

Sincerely,

C. E. M.

October 15, 1940

Want to give Lyndon insurance in his own district, keeping them off his neck for not bringing pork barrell for the next six months.

-o-

There are some things more important than the spending of a lot of money in a town.--Training the men to build airplanes and tanks. There are certain specific localities--not where labor runs the show, not where newspapers are not with the business 100 per cent, not metropolitan areas--such as Wichita Falls, Waco, Texarkana, Port Arthur. Suggested plans be drawn up for bringing three or four hundred men within sixty days to be trained.

Go to Hughes Tool and get between twenty-five and fifty of their best men to act as instructors. Take farm boys and train them for six months, paying them ten dollars a month. These boys should be country boys between ages 18 and 25. After six months' training in metal trades, an expert should be set-up to place these men in the tool companies and wherever required in the building of planes and tanks, etc. This would put the number one training unit in America in Texas.

The expenditure would be small--totaling for cost of food and all items probably about \$75 per man per month. The town will have to do the business of supporting the idea, getting a place to locate the barracks, lights and water, and probably \$5,000 to get started while waiting for Federal funds.

October 15, 1940

Texas papers:

We have very few men from Texas taken in the draft, but we do have hundreds of thousands of men in C.C.C., N.Y.A., unemployed, etc., each one wanting to save us from Hitler for their future and for their countries future. They should equip themselves to earn a livelihood and defend us from Hitler.

N.Y.A. in Waco is taking in five hundred and teaching them to become metal workers. We hope the Waco project will extend to the other ^{places} ~~in the~~ in the nation,

To help meet the need for metal and mechanical workers in the National Defense Program, the National Youth Administration in Texas proposes to set up facilities and equipment to give 750 boys work experience in metal and mechanical shops that will fit them for employment in industry essential to National Defense.

The city of Waco located in the geographical and population center of the State is proposed as an ideal location for the project which will involve the building of resident facilities and shops at a cost of approximately one half million dollars. The payroll for youth workers and for the 40 shop foremen would amount to \$30,000 per month. The 40 foremen would live in Waco. The boys would live in the NYA barracks and would be selected from all over the state for assignment to the project.

Industry such as the Hughes Tool Company, Houston, the aircraft manufacturers of Dallas, and the various industrial shops in Waco all with or about to receive National Defense orders will be asked to help to select shop foremen who will supervise all work to be done in the NYA shops. The shops will produce articles for public and governmental agencies such as the State Highway Department, various state institutions, and possibly the United States Army.

The boys will be given six months' work experience under the supervision of expert craftsmen so that every six months 750 workers from this one NYA project will be ready to step in to beginning jobs in industries essential to National Defense preparations.

The project would be sponsored by the City of Waco. The city would be requested to set aside adequate land to be used as a project site and to furnish \$5,000 which would be used by the NYA in starting construction operations. (10 acres)

The Waco Public Schools and the Vocational Division of the State Department of Education would be requested by the National Youth Administration to set up a program of related information for the benefit of all boys employed in the shops.

June 29, 1940

Dear Lyndon:

Attached are a couple of miscellaneous, loose thoughts which generally precede any final effort of writing. This is just the material of a mind examining itself. I want you to read it in that sense only, without looking for final phrasings, as all this will be thrown away. But I thought we together might dictate a simple group of statements, and possibly a preamble.

Naturally, I suppose emphasis would be put on strength where the Republican platform is obviously weak, but I can't work that way without weakness. So, I have written largely what not to do in order to get my mind in shape for the doing. This doing is always short and simple. The pain is in the scrubbing off of the "don'ts".

I am not giving you what you asked for, but indicating that I may try, if you look at my disordered mind and believe that order is coming to it.

C. E. M.

June 29, 1940

Dear Lyndon:

There may be some thoughts in what follows. I am on a low, and thus you may never get this, but I am talking in the spirit of the one just past thirty who is going to Chicago where the spirit of cleverness and combat will be seeking to outwit and out sell the Republican Party in order to get more votes November 15. In this spirit is a tragedy. If ever in your life there will be the need of being on a high plateau in a cool wind, it will be July 15. For around you will be the feed troughs and the stink.

The real line is that Chicago should tell a waiting people what is now and what must be.

Unfortunately I have not read the Republican platform. I presume the Republican platform will have been read by everyone. On second thought, perhaps it were better if no one writing the July 15 platform had read what Wilkie is to stand on.

To write a platform upon which to speak for the favor and to the spirit of fifty million voters is the task that generally wrecks the sincerity of the builder. He constructs such a platform to please rather than to serve, and in pleasing he approaches fifty million people in groups and sections. He listens to minority groups which bring this and that plank to the builder. Obviously a minority group plank cannot be the voice of a majority. Such a plank will have great vigor--probably will sound well--but if the plank represents the maximum wish of ten per cent of the population--such as soldier bonus for instance, or organized labor--it is definitely submitted to advance further a special privilege group. These advances rarely do more than take from the majority.

So I think most platforms are insincere, impractical, and designed for vote catching rather than performance.

Remember 1932 Democratic and Republican platforms on economy and low taxation? Remember 1936 on the same subject? This is designed to appease the frugal and saving tax payer minority. Remember the farm planks? While it is true the Democratic Party may have done more for the farmer in protecting the basis of our economy than

even the platforms promised, it is also obvious that such promises and performances were only possible in contradiction to the adjoining economy plank. So you have boards laid crosswise without mails, rattling inconsistencies, and making basic nonsense. In themselves the planks sound all right. It is the platform that is nonsensical.

So there is a unique opportunity July 15 to construct a platform from a single plank, or rather a single concept. This conception must be based on the assumption that the fifty million voters want one thing more than all other things combined-- that until they get this one thing, they want no interference in the shape of a lot of loose lumber, having nothing to do with the one thing, or definitely not in keeping with the architecture of the kind of a platform idea that the people have in their souls. It becomes action through votes November 15.

I think this idea dwarfs all past platforms. It is simple, "How may we defend America?"

I heard a radio recording by Representative Smith the other day, and it made me very ill. Smith discussed the very great need of keeping the home fires burning as such. He discussed God and religion; the cultural advantage of high living standards and great tolerance toward minority expressions which constitute, and must continue to constitute, the fabric of the America of our fathers; and the peacetime progress of the last eight years--bigger and better New Deal, more and better expressions for the groups that make up the whole. He even mentioned the peculiar and particular rights of negroes. Later he asked me whether he had not covered in the thirty minutes all the points; and his actions lead me to believe that he felt that he had written the last work for the Democratic campaign. It was significant that he touched defense with a gentle finger in about thirty seconds. On cross examination he said there were a great many negroes in Chicago, and that he did not know anything about Europe and foreign affairs, and was perfectly willing to leave that up to Roosevelt. So my opinion became a simple statement. I said: "You are living somewhere behind the now, and if life events were not where they now are, what you say would not sound so strange and antique."

There may be something in this Smith episode which makes sense regarding July 15. Very frightened minorities will crash Chicago, and paid leaders seeking frantically to preserve their nickle's worth from the very real need and cost in time and money of all. It will take a very strong, high wind on a barren plateau to escape the poison gasses of greed and fear of these paid persons.

Politically Roosevelt has probably lead the Philadelphia platform into a catch-all and narrow concept. As I said, I have not read it, but I know that Hoover and Lewis, and Taft and Dewey influences constructed a platform with a carpenter from Wall Street, using ten penny nails on many sized boards to please the demands of little men leading groups who all together make an appeal. I do not believe that Wilkie will be standing on a platform November 15 which the people will approve of, because undoubtedly his platform represents the mind of politicians seeing public opinion insincerely a week ago.

Back to July 15. This platform must be written in the light of rapidly changing events. It must leave the candidate sincere November 15. What is the only thing we are sure of November 15? Obviously that the Hitler machine will be functioning. The platform, then, should be a working statement of what this country must do to save the liberty and dignity which is the American way of life. We all know what the American way of life is. There is probably no dispute between the two parties when safety and the continuation of what is called democracy and liberty are the issues. The great danger at Chicago is that the planks written now will be rotten in direct proportion as they are inconsistent with the structure of the minimum need for safety from Hitler.

I concede the minimum need to be: Every practical effort of all Americans in time and money to secure the safety with great speed. So why should a platform defend through paragraph after paragraph the details of a peacetime economy which may, we hope, never be scrapped, but must be put on the shelf in part as we race the clock?

So the less said about keeping everything we have while we race the clock, the better. If we say that we are going to scrap these cherished ways of ours, we will make all minorities militantly angry. If we say we are going to keep these ways of

ours fully active and progressive, we will lie and lose the confidence of fifty million people looking in anxiety at and toward leadership for safety. This thing is entirely too big to fool with. People simply won't be fooled this time. I don't think it necessary to place a seven, or an eleven, or a fifteen point detailed sort of proposal into this platform--an honest set of minimum necessity planks which in their very essence will tell these frantic minorities that they haven't a chance to function during the defense effort. But what you say and don't say is vitally important.

We know that if a doctor has a very sick patient it is not incorrect to tell him he is sick and that you are going to get him well as quickly as possible. It is incorrect to tell him that he is normal, because he knows you are a liar. It is very incorrect to tell him that he is going to die, or that he will come out of bed a cripple for life. What the sick person wants to know is whether he has a good doctor alive to the situation who informs him that he is seriously working, at whatever cost in time and money and effort, for health. For obviously a seriously threatened patient is concerned about life itself, the continuation of his very existence, and only incidentally is he thinking about how he is going to look and feel AFTER and IF he recovers. So spare the fifty million as much detailed unpleasantness as possible, but for God's sake do not put planks in his safety house which will be weak and maybe rotten when the house is occupied November 15. So, finally, I see a platform strong, definite in spirit, terse, honest, and indefinite in dogmatic finality. For anyone who says that any specific minor issue, whether it is our legal rights, our economic rights, or government aids--such as bonus and farm aid and W. P. A.--are to be continued in full bloom is a liar if he also says at the same time that this is not inconsistent with the needs of the present and immediate defense. So, terseness, simplicity, a single concept to reassure America that the doctor is and will continue to do his darndest to save America from Hitlerism is all I see to the Democratic position--Roosevelt standing on a platform built for Roosevelt.

And where is Roosevelt now? He faces many charges of inconsistency and vacillation, and insincerity and personal desire to continue power. I see the Republican fact book filled with many petty truths. I see these orator people pounding tables through the land, and on petty facts I see a good case--a case that may lead Roosevelt himself, as well as hundreds of his orators, into a trap of personal defense instead of defense of America.

There is only one reason for Roosevelt. It is that he is the best bet for safety. The charge that in a peacetime economy he did not prepare for war up to the demands of the present fear and need is an absurd distorted charge, but the multitude of petty charges that the Army did or did not function for safety are probably in the main absolutely true. So a defense to little charges should be non-existent for the first forty days--until September 1--then when all of the charges are in the open and the Wilkie hand has been read, certain of the cards will have acquired greasy and dirty repetition to the point that they will not be news and will be open to attack as basic untruths in the light of the march of effort and events.

Always the best defense is a better offense. And, speaking of offense, I see the possibility of an Ickes beating the kettle drums that Wall Street and the Utilities are the primary issue. I think this type of offense should also be delayed until the people themselves begin to ask, "Why Wilkie? Who Wilkie? Who with Wilkie?" These Wilkie people will come out of hiding if not attacked too soon. Wait until you see them before telling the people something they now will discount as they look at the pretty boy and his family--the pretty boy who upset the talent. Only in about forty days will they see the money talent using Wilkie in the Punch and Judy Show. Always remember an offense, if strong, must surprise the enemy. It will be no surprise if Ickes gets out the Wall Street drum at once. Also remember that the drum beaters of the Roosevelt political family are themselves vulnerable in the light of the present necessity and their seven years of responsibility. Human error is recorded in official acts. These errors would be minor in

the light of the performance if looked at through ordinary peacetime glasses, for them the list of performances and the promise of more^{of}/the same would be the answer. But this is not a campaign of drastic economy, or two party bickering, of hidden motives, and greedy monsters to be pulled from under the rug.

Most people believe now that they are patriots, and believing themselves patriots engaged in a stop Hitler, they won't want to hear other people called traitors to American defense. The thing is obvious to any one that no one could be such a traitor as to want to die before a Hitler tank. So one must suppose that every American, except a fifth columnist, is sincere in fighting Hitler. I may be mistaken, but an accusation that any American is a conspirator seeking his own advantage at the expense of his own life and freedom is something common sense America won't believe from Ickes or any one else. So, putting this platform into a Roosevelt platform also calls for a single conception and simplicity.

I asked, "What is Roosevelt now, and what will he be November 15?" He is the top hope for defense. His record of humanitarianism needs no apology and can withstand any attack. His domestic policies are safe, because no one supposes that he is going forward with more of them. Minorities will believe that the maker of the New Deal will do his best to save all he can of his own making. These minorities may distrust a Republican Wall Street-er, but they won't mistrust Roosevelt the builder. So, let them rave.

But Roosevelt, the hope of America for safety, has a platform to write--a reason why an American gentleman is willing or wants to work four more years. Why? Simply because a majority of America's millions believe he is their best insurance policy against Hitler. Otherwise why? I say that if there was no Hitler threat: One, Roosevelt would want to quit. Two, true leadership might suggest that he had not done a seven year job if he could not produce others within the party who know how to work and continue. Three, the American people would not get tremendously

excited at the prospect of Roosevelt's retiring. To view his retirement as a national catastrophe is to admit America's incompetence and his own in not producing a man. So it all gets back from all these wordy diffusive ramblings to the simple statement that voters are waiting to determine whether their safety requires Roosevelt or Wilkie. On this point even a platform may be badly constructed if bragging reaches the point of saying that Roosevelt is the only pepper in the pot. It must say that Roosevelt is indispensable, spiritual and experienced in leadership now, and that all other considerations are of no importance to the American people except the selection of its best defense member.

Obviously the best defense member has a group of workers in defense. All America really thinks of and wants to work for its own safety. That is under Roosevelt. So the platform must show not that Roosevelt is the only pepper in the pot, not that the Democratic Party is the safety of America, and not that one million payroll eaters now constitute the Roosevelt machinery and are the only working defense; but that Roosevelt is the key man, the Democratic Party is the organization in action, and that the governmental machine should not be subjected to the dislocation of its defense effort that must come should a million walk out and another million walk into jobs they know not of. The American public knows that a change of administration means a million inexperienced politically hungry persons clogging routine Washington. It knows an administration change spreads fear and incompetency immediately, as government workers seek safety in new jobs. So the "Don't swap horses in the middle of the stream" should be revamped from the Lincoln slogan into a 1940 edition, just as the New Deal came out of the Roosevelt I Square Deal; and just as Two Chickens in every pot came out of the McKinley Full Dinner Pail. Examine these slogans. The Republicans of the Wall Street type always promise people more to eat and to wear through high tariffs and busy factories. Roosevelt I wasn't one of these, and promised the people justice in administration and fearless service to all. And Roosevelt II promised a new deal (that is, new values.)

But Lincoln was no slouch when he pulled this horse in the stream thing, and that is the real basis November 15.

But if the horse when examined is found to be wind broken, there might be a desire to swim to safety with Wilkie.

Therefore, what this country needs, said Roosevelt in '32, "Is action, and action now." If Roosevelt will take the last paragraph of his first inaugural and work at it, telling this country again that fear is a folly and paralyzes action, but that action is a health giving thing which kills fear and the necessity of fear, he will not be questioned as the horse to ride the torrent of Hitlerism.

So a platform of action, a man of action, enlarging the action to include the hope and prayer of all Americans that they be taken into the deal.

1. Labor to remain in the family unit in the American way with no more dislocation than necessary. That is, where possible and practical the money spent in building defense material and factories, other things being equal, should be spent where the people are, and the people should not be moved where the factories are. The last war sucked millions from the South as well as billions in taxation from the South. A war economy must not wreck the far West and the mountain states, the Mississippi Valley and the South by sucking labor and taxes to the point of death. Otherwise, how are the depressed areas to function long as tax payers? If a Waco, Texas, loses five thousand to Detroit and is asked to put up five millions to Detroit payrolls, how is it going to be done? So a plank intelligently stated that nothing be done which would delay one moment the defense of America, but that everything be done in the defense program to protect the wide and even prosperity of this land. It would not be amiss to state that some things are learned from war as well as from peace and that the last war taught us that it was a painful and silly effort which dislocated unnecessarily the families and the family life of the country. It is a silly effort when a tax burdened country was left with decreasing and stagnant cities as other and fewer points became bloated with prosperity and

rising living costs--this plank should be called an even spread of war defense activity, or a national plan for defense activity. This plank is number one.

Number two would enroll the maximum number of voters into the defense effort by stating that the American way begins in the home, from the home to and through freedom of worship, freedom of speech to city and county and township governing organizations. Since this is the American way, and since this is the American machinery--it is in the democratic way we must function in national defense in military service selection, in youth training, in subversive activity reporting (not authority, or you will have the fat boys with the guns in the cedar breaks chasing skunks and hysteria all over.) I think to organize subversive activity into an authority is one of the most important means of taking carbon out of the defense machine. Every man is one reporter, but every reporter must report to the guy above and must not grab a gun. And person who is wanting to chase spies is surely going to chase them, and he is going to talk his head off. But if you give him a place to shout and whisper, where he can deposit his product, he will be happy. If you don't, he will be repetitious and noisy and will organize his own units. I believe it has a place in some early part of the platform because of the fifth column business. In the Pepper proposals the fifth column business was immediately snapped up, even by Fentress. It is a lot of hooey to me at the moment, but I remember before we went into the last war we found the German Embassy intelligently working against the war effort. Only the individual workman and the individual observer ever will see a sabotage and the Department of Justice will just have to put enough men on the job to take care of the jams of the direct reports. For the people must have service against fifth column action and fear, for they remember Norway.

If I were to state the taking the factories to the people plank, I would say: Wherever the war effort is not delayed, the Democratic Party pledges its every effort will be made to spread the defense activity evenly throughout the country so that all sections of the country may continue in healthful activity in the public defense.

If I were to write the fifth column plank, it would read: The Democratic Party pledges that the existing machinery of our law enforcement machinery will be used wherever possible in preventing fifth column activity; that every American citizen is urged to report to his county or district attorney his observations for submission to an action by the Federal Government, which in turn may instruct the sheriff and the county attorney of the district reporting that they take up the action. (This plank practically says to all sheriffs and district attorneys that home rule on fifth columning will be controled, and yet not supressed, and gives every alarmist a clear path to the court house for having his mental knots removed without shooting the Department of Justice direct.)

The preamble of the resolutions should be all inclusive and very short. The preamble is merely a statement of intent and spiritual belief in the now. It may say: The Democratic Party believes in the American way of doing things, in the American way of life. In the present emergency the Democratic Party promises to the American people the maximum speed in an adequate national defense capable of protecting the two American continents from any aggressor or combination of aggressors.

The Democratic Party points out that this effort is already in the making and is the doing under the leadership of far seeing and experienced leaders who should be used to the utmost in the national defense. (A reason for not naming Roosevelt is that only Roosevelt is sure and, since the acceptance comes after the platform, it would wreck the effect of acceptance by naming Roosevelt as the only person to carry on.)

I believe the above is sufficient to say, "Don't swap horses in the middle of the stream."

Digressing here, I hope that nothing in the platform mentions Hitler by name, or Mussolini, or Germany, or Italy, or Japan by name. This is a defense of America from all or any present or future enemies. The situation in Europe should be limited to an expression of sympathy for and a belief in the ultimate health of democracies and democratic principles among the white races of the earth. A ringing statement that the pursuit of happiness is the eternal demand of all human beings, that certainly there is no provision in the dictator pattern for the individual pursuit of happiness; that the individual must not have a Frankenstein of State headed by a monster of power, an eighty ton tank and a mechanical jurganaut ruling over human beings driven by a power crazed maniac, said in platform language in the preamble. The Democratic Party declares with confidence that democracy's freedom of individual thought and emotion is necessary in the human pursuit of happiness; that any system of government in which a power maniac in a belching fortress drives over multitudes whose only crime is love of liberty, is not the ultimate scheme of this world. (The pursuit of happiness declaration in the preamble to the Constitution may be useful, for after all that is the point of the dictator versus the democrat. The dictator is more effective in the pursuit of objectives that he elects--war and robbery by mass millions--but he is a complete zero in the pursuit of happiness which is the aim of man. So the Democrat, pursuing happiness, says to the dictator, "We meet on the field of Armageddon defending our right to pursue happiness, and the right is the American way.") When you say that you have told all minorities that you believe in the spirit of freedom and democracy, but that you are going to defend it in any and all ways with speed; you are not going to two-time anybody by putting a mortgage against the speed.

October 16, 1940

Trying to carry Ohio by making draftees and their parents mad at Roosevelt, the Willkie Clubs have issued a smear circular showing the President smiling as he signs draft, and indicating that if you are against Roosevelt for ordering the draft, you are for Willkie.

Suggestion: Big photograph of Roosevelt--same one used by Willkie Club, showing the President smiling as he signs the bill--and on the second page a photograph showing Willkie saying, "I am for the draft," and on the third page the Willkie Clubs saying, "If you are mad at the President for calling the draft, vote for Willkie." Then ask, "Which do you approve?" "This is unity."

October 20, 1940

Memorandum: Defense raw materials for cash to establish necessary Western Hemisphere gold base now.

If there are twenty billion gold dollars here, why not two billion away from here in the Western Hemisphere--a ten per cent deal to get gold going and get an income of other minerals needed for defense? These minerals lie largely wouth of the Rio Grande.

Syphon gold to Canada for cobalt and nickle and Canada can then move it on the English. This saves the Johnson Act controversy, but gets going now.

Bolivia, tin; Brasil, manganese; Chile, nitrates--the list and the locations need no mention here because they can be on the President's desk in six minutes. A practical immediate-minded business man will say that immediate purchase will raise prices abnormally; it is contrary to the private ownership and normal purchase system under which we live; and besides there isn't any to be bought.

The answer is that government must function as realists and with immediate efficiency. There can't be bother about a capitalistic democratic formula which beat France and almost beat the English. If the Bolivian tin king sits hungrily waiting for a higher price before settling, there are ways. The manganese cartel in Rio can be handled. What is needed is cash in gold to load the gun; cash in large enough amounts to tell every South American dictator that he is fixed up; and cash and credits in large amounts to tie up the production of all mines needed in hemisphere defense for ten years, as well as providing modern American mining machinery and management to get out the product. It is a three-way deal in which cash and the object of safety is the motive and the principals are the United States with too much gold putting South American nations on financial safety which will result in interior prosperity and political stability, and which will have the private owners of the South American mines a happy lot. The last merely because these private owners very largely control the governments through their political puppets and could block through newspaper and political pressure the whole business if they are ignored or unfairly treated.

Summary: Get something real for \$500,000,000 instead of leaving it sluggish on the original State Department plan of buying surpluses of food and handling next years export problems. Do it now, before November 5, in a sufficiently substantial way so that the American people may be notified that at least one or two clear, business-like deals have been made which definitely direct American policy toward defense and defense material control in exchange for gold.

Two, protect the Pacific side of the Panama Canal now, emphasizing the speed because of known facts on German and Japanese plans. This answers Willkie yaps about the date's being near the election.

October 20, 1940

Memorandum: Export-Import Bank \$500,000,000 sitting moribund as far as the public knows. Probably actually being used as the basis of many negotiations yet unannounced.

Our people know \$11,000,000,000 hasn't returned from Europe loaned to bigger and stronger nations during the last war. They haven't any idea that the \$500,000,000 when sent below the Rio Grande is coming back. So why not be honest and in the first kick-off get something concrete and show business sense? Have Hull and Jones jointly announce the purchase or lease of three northern pass approaches to the Pacific end of the Panama Canal from Mexico for cash--preferably gold--to re-establish the first nation south on a firm gold basis and establish increased activity, tying it up with the American dollar in gold facts. This adds also to Western enthusiasm that the Pacific Coast off-shore has been protected southward from Japanese-Mexican infiltration.

The Gallipagos Island lease, prematurely announced by Secretary Knox, should now be announced by Knox to strengthen him as Ecuador is fixed up on gold and the Southern approach to the Panama Canal and the first stop and fuel station in a prospective Southern route to Australia and the Indies is built. Knox probably truthfully can say that Ecuador has refused a German airline to Gallipagos as a part of the deal, and that Japanese fishing permits have been tremendously stepped up (this from Ecuadorian records.)

Willkie and company have been telling our people to watch out for Roosevelt's pulling a final political rabbit. If Knox, Jones, and Hull are carrying on routine defense acts while Roosevelt is turning political, I think the people will answer this in Roosevelt's favor.

October 20, 1940

Memorandum to Johnson:

Roosevelt, in making five speeches, all over-night from Washington, misses the beat in the Mid West--probably making the difference of fifteen Congressman on the borderline. If two speeches had been in the Mid West and three in the East, better balance.

Roosevelt's speeches will leave the general effect that he is still on the high line of National Unity and the defense of America, or will find him falling toward Willkie in controversy, defending internal seven year policies and permitting the entire Republican pack to yell "liar" and "fright" and "frenzy".

Believing still in the high line and in the one hundred million out of one hundred thirty million who definitely are trying to pick a leader for the one thing ahead, some are concerned for the two weeks ahead. Roosevelt can't lose if he remains the big man, and merely uses his five speeches to clear up the campaign confusion by showing himself as the peoples' leader and reaffirming human rights, tying it up with his foreign affairs leadership and laying off of departmental controversy regarding farm and factory--the question of Ickes and Wallace have battled well, or whether Perkins should be a man. But the outlook on the surface seems bad as Willkie and Roosevelt tie into the same Eastern territory, sometimes in the same city on the same day. The rule is that the man ahead must keep ahead and must not fall back to trot along with the fellow behind. No newspaper with one million circulation ever mentions the policies and personality of a newspaper of two hundred thousand circulation. No Governor up for re-election attacks a candidate trying to up-set him. The day of Teddy Roosevelt shouting "liar" is gone. The Lincoln-Douglas debate days are gone. The mechanics of radio and the size of the question and its distance from these shores all turn the average American mind from the petty to the big, and from the interior to the world, and from the quarrel between two Americans to the defense of all Americans from two or three foreigners. The original line of Unity and the wrapping of the American flag around the Unity which is represented by the Capital of the United States and the leader in it, is the finish line as well as the starting line.

The opening announcement of Roosevelt that he was making five political speeches because somebody lied about him and his work was as low a line of reason as the high line could tolerate, and was only made possible because it was the "out" line which he gave to Chicago on his acceptance and probably had to be used once to keep his consistency in order. But it was used again the next day in making a statement of malicious lying by opponents. Two more weeks of that sort of statement make Roosevelt and Willkie even on the ground throwing rocks at each other while Hitler and Mussolini laugh from the side lines and Democracy stands aghast, facing the knowledge that Unity after November 5 under Roosevelt is being damaged--especially damaged in the minds of the American people who wish to go into a cathedral November 6 and pray to the God of Liberty and high resolve.

Our people really hated this political controversy; they knew they had to go through it because Democracy for 175 years made it necessary. But our people were praying that it would not hurt them, and that it would not stop the intelligence and speed of defense, and that it would not break out in a family quarrel.

It is all very good to say that Willkie caused this, but a family putting out a fire in the only home they have won't remember whether one of the boys was drunk and quarrelsome while the rest of them were fighting the fire. I doubt if they will forgive the head of the family if he quits fire-fighting to quarrel with his son while the women and the children carry on in spirit at least. So, the stage being set for two weeks ahead and with the minds of probably 85 per cent of the people already made up, some see a bit of corrective, or possibly helpful, work that may be done. The same is attached.

Washington, D. C.
October 21, 1940

Dear Lyndon:

As a newspaper man, I have been asking people during the last week what they would like to have the President tell them. Two things stand out.

One: Why did not the President buy or lease the island bases off Mexico and the Galapagos Islands to protect the Pacific side of the Panama Canal from the Japs? This has come up because Knox said something about the Galapagos, and because the Chicago Tribune and West Coast papers have carried maps and editorials about off-coast Mexican islands to save the Panama Canal and the West Coast from Jap activities. Since the Japanese-German pact this has taken some fire. Some stories, probably irresponsible, are that Japanese fishermen are moving into Galapagos, and that German controlled air lines are seeking twice a week flights from Ecuador to Isabella Island, Galapagos, which I understand is as big as Long Island.

Two: If we are defending the Western Hemisphere, why doesn't the President tell us about the raw materials that we need for the defense of the Western Hemisphere? Who owns them? And are we getting control of them? People know about tin and rubber in the East Indies, and have heard about prospective American and British naval contact at Singapore.

But many also know that cobalt and nickel are in Canada. Manganese, tin, nitrates, tungsten, and copper are big South American raw war materials, with the companies mining them being largely German and British controlled. If the President were to say that the Export-Import \$500,000,000 was a base of operations for the defense of America as well as controlling foodstuffs in South America, and that swift activities had (A.) purchased all available supplies already mined, and (B.) had and was negotiating with twenty-one governments south for stepping up production by modernizing mining and lending management and contracting for the next ten years' out-put through using gold to buy, and thus stabilizing this hemisphere on the gold basis.

It is probably these things are already in the works of the government, and the President may have these statements already in a speech. But I know only that the people of the middle class, and to some extent the business people and factory superintendents, are thinking this way and wondering when the President will tell them: "The Pacific Panama approach is safe, and we control all necessary raw material on a long-time basis."

Some have said that we should make a deal with the Dutch East Indies government with gold for rubber and tin control there. Others say we should take British securities of South and North America in exchange for credits here at once. One fellow said, "Gold in Kentucky hills isn't worth as much as tin and rubber and copper in making defense."

Sincerely,

Charles E. Marsh

Mid West Headquarters Report, October 22, 1940:

Order in which confidence is expressed on carrying for Roosevelt:

1. Kentucky
2. Missouri
3. Ohio
4. Illinois
5. Minnesota
6. Indiana
7. Michigan
8. Wisconsin
9. Iowa.

South and North Dakota and Nebraska considered safely Willkie.

The odds placed by top man privately were 3 to 2 on carrying Ohio, 6 to 5 Illinois, 6 to 5 Minnesota, even for Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

Some suggestions: Ohio, Inhoff, who lost by 400 votes two years ago with possible modest aid to two congressmen at large.

Indiana, Fort Wayne and Terre Haute district hopeful. Illinois, does not believe there will be losses. James McAndrews, Chicago, friend of Congressman Buchanan and former member Appropriations Committee, should be helped. Fries, 21st district, and Parsons, 24th district, especially mentioned. In Iowa, Jacobson and Harrington. Michigan, Ternowicz, first district, Hack. 12th. Indiana, Larabee, 11th district. Missouri, Wood, 6th district, Duncanson, 3rd district.

October 23, 1940

Memorandum to Lyndon

Lucas was feeling good. Thomas, of Utah, on the Labor desk. Barney gone. A good man functioning as straight-shooting assistant to Lucas while Lucas travels. Evidently a little money, as full page ad for Chicago papers in proof was shown me to run this weekend, carrying the Saint Louis Post Dispatch editorial on "Why Roosevelt."

Am sending on Dorothy Thompson's editorial on Roosevelt has the assets and will be the liabilities for possible smaller display ads in small city newspapers as a follow-up to the Post Dispatch blast.

On congressional prospects Lucas said privately he did not see many losses coming up. He felt the Democratic state ticket and Slattery were in trouble and that Roosevelt would lead his ticket everywhere, but was counting on Roosevelt to help Congressmen more than state tickets.

He did not even mention Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota, and seemed, like Flynn, concerned with the bigger states of Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan, with the feeling that the next two weeks, with Willkie leaving the Mid West for good today, would show the Democrats in good working position for a fine experienced machine-like drive with no factional disturbance anywhere except Wisconsin.

I was surprised at his calmness, as I had expected to see a worried, tired, semi-defeatist condition. He particularly said Indiana was being skillfully handled with good drive in big towns and labor at Fort Wayne, Terre Haute, Indianapolis, and Gary in definite Roosevelt dominance, both organized and un-organized. He thinks Missouri and Kentucky are safe, needing little other than the work now being done within the states themselves. Since he has practically given up three states and thinks two are safe, and is not handling Wisconsin because of technical position, he has got his problem actually in six states and feels the issue is in the hands of intelligent, experienced leaders who in two weeks will do a maximum job, as such leaders always do as the vote day nears. Naturally I am pleased, as I think Lucas is no fool.

December 18, 1940

Marsh:

Johnson should take radio lessons, which might be taken at the House Office Recording Room. The best possible elocution operator in Washington may help on voice rises when he uses feeling. He should make no more speeches of major importance or on any occasion bigger than the Tenth District with some message in it.

Young:

Johnson thinks that his speaking is perfect. He has expressed himself as believing that passionate orators--such as Connally and Sheppard--are out of date, and his so-called conversational tone more effective than their speeches. At least 1,500 people disagree with him.

Marsh: Mrs. Roosevelt started terribly, hired a voice teacher with reference to the radio and is now alright.

Glass: A man may not have any egotism about breathing from the upper, rather than the lower, part of his chest. He may have much about the style of his delivery. This seems to me a matter of breathing.

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

December the twenty-first
1940

Mr. Charles E. Marsh
1810 Twenty-fourth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Charlie:

I sent the attached wire to General Donovan
at Fort Sam Houston today and the attached letter
to Stanley at Amarillo.

Thank you for the opportunity to do this.

With every good wish for the season,

Sincerely

Lyndon B. Johnson

TRANSFERRED TO HANDWRITING FILE

December the twenty-first
1940

Mr. Stanley Marsh
Amarillo Building
Amarillo, Texas

My dear Friend:

Enclosed you will find a telegram which I sent General Richard Donovan at Fort Sam Houston in behalf of Mrs. L. M. Parten today.

You know it's a pleasure to do this and I hope it will get the job done. I'll let you know as soon as I have further news.

With every good wish for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year,

Sincerely

Lyndon B. Johnson

Lbj hch

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

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

COPY OF WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

Washington, D. C.
December 21, 1940

General Richard Donovan
Commanding, Eighth Corps Area
Fort Sam Houston, Texas

Strongly endorse application Mrs. L. M. Parton of Amarillo, Texas, for position as Senior Hostess with United States Army. Appreciate your giving her most earnest consideration with view to an early appointment if at all possible.

Lyndon B. Johnson, M. C.

PAID DAY LETTER
OFFICIAL BUSINESS