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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PSP R. H. J.
Justice

March 23, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

Wisconsin Primary

Before lunching with Senator La Follette you may wish to glance over this letter to Bob Jackson which presents the point of view of "the other side" in the Democratic split in Wisconsin.

JHR

James Howe, Jr.

Secretary Wallace is still calling to find out whether he should appear under the auspices of the Broughton-Farley slate.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

Wallace and the Wisconsin Primary

Secretary Wallace telephoned that Jim Farley wants him to speak in Wisconsin before the April 2 primary. Farley wants him to speak under the auspices of the Roosevelt-Farley slate of delegates selected by Broughton, the National Committeeman, and pledged to Farley as second choice.

Wallace feels his appearance would mean the Administration is backing the Broughton slate and opposing the so-called "Roosevelt-New Deal" slate. He does not want to leave Washington, but will go if he can be helpful. But he does not want to get mixed up in the factional fight. I told the Secretary I would try to get him an answer.

I think the following is a reasonably disinterested description of the Wisconsin situation:

The Broughton slate is backed by Leo Crowley and Jim Farley. Broughton, no New Dealer, (he is in fact an honorary Colonel on the staff of the Republican Governor) has "played ball" in the past with the Progressives and was recently instrumental in their getting some census patronage. Broughton has alienated many party workers who have joined the so-called "Democratic Organization", composed of liberal Democrats and the dissatisfied politicians. It is led by a man named Currie whose reputation is none too good, but who is a tireless worker among the precinct captains.

The fight is really between Broughton and Currie, who hate each other, and who are struggling for the job of National Committeeman and control of the Wisconsin party. Leo Crowley thinks he can put forth a compromise slate at the last minute. He may be right, but there is a very good chance he cannot, particularly because Currie knows that Broughton and Crowley are very close.

If there is no compromise, there is a possibility that the Garner ticket might slip through and a probability that Garner will get one or two delegates. This would be disastrous publicity because it is the first competitive primary and is liberal Wisconsin.

There are, supposedly, good men on each ticket. A selected list of these men, with an indirect hint that they are the Administration choice, would be sufficient.

The Progressives are ready and willing to come into the primary, but are waiting for a suggestion of what names should be voted for. (Bob and Phil LaFollette are, as you know, willing to run as delegates.)

Labor wants to come into the primary, but is also waiting for a signal.

Crowley may solve the situation, but is suspect to one group. A possible alternative is to have someone suggest to someone like Judge Devaney of Minnesota, who has been successful in such matters before, to see what he can do.

Shall I tell Secretary Wallace anything?

JHR

March 22, 1940.

Honorable Robert A. Jackson,
United States Attorney General,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jackson:

The last time I wrote to you regarding the Wisconsin political situation was on February 2nd.

On February 8th, the Democratic Party Organization of Wisconsin filed nomination papers placing President Roosevelt and the names of the twenty-four delegates pledged to him on the Wisconsin Preferential Ballot. You no doubt have read some of the widespread newspaper publicity that followed this action. I am herewith enclosing several clippings that tell the story.

In spite of the fact that the name of the President and twenty-four delegates pledged to support him were already filed with the Secretary of State of the State of Wisconsin, Charles E. Broughton, National Committeeman, called a state-wide conference at Wisconsin Rapids for February 12th. This was attended largely by federal employees and people indebted to Mr. Broughton. The rank and file county organizations of most of the counties of the state rejected the invitation to attend. That conference endorsed a rival slate of Roosevelt delegates and designated them as the "officially endorsed" Roosevelt-Farley delegates. A telegram from Mr. Farley was read at that conference and Mr. Leo Crowley, a personal friend of Charles Broughton, attended it. The dominant personalities of the conference were men that were openly affiliated with the Republican coalition in this state and are known "Anti-New Dealers." State Senator Harry Bolens, the major dome of the Republican reactionary coalition of 1939 was one of the principal speakers and chairman of the resolution committee. Other well known Anti-New Dealers were very conspicuous in their activity at that meeting.

The slate endorsed by the Wisconsin Rapids conference is a strange conglomeration. Three of the endorsed candidates are members of the state committee for McNutt. Their names appear on the McNutt stationery. Several of

March 22, 1940.

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Honorable Robert A. Jackson.

the candidates endorsed are known as strong supporters of Farley. Two or three of the candidates endorsed have openly expressed their leaning toward Garner. In reality, this slate is uninstructed and will be personally controlled by Mr. Broughton and Mr. Farley.

Mr. Broughton and his supporters are trying to create the inference in our state that his slate (Roosevelt-Farley Delegates) is officially endorsed by the administration at Washington. He makes much of the fact that Farley sent a telegram of greeting and encouragement to his conference, and that Leo Crowley personally called upon the President before he attended the Wisconsin Rapids meeting.

Our group is conducting a very intensive campaign to elect the candidates pledged to the President. Our candidates carry the slogan "Roosevelt Delegates - State Conference Endorsed". I am enclosing two copies of a tabloid that we are distributing house to house in every part of the State. This tabloid fully discusses the issues of the Wisconsin campaign and states our position.

We are succeeding in enrolling the support of Labor in our industrial centers and many of the liberal groups are beginning to respond to our campaign. Many Progressives and Liberals, however, are reluctant to make any affirmative gesture of endorsement for fear the administration recognizes the Broughton-Roosevelt-Farley slate as the official slate. If there was ever a time that the Liberals and New Dealers connected with the National Administration could render a service to the liberal cause in Wisconsin and to the Nation, it is now. Any affirmative gesture from you or any other Liberal leader close to the President will enable us to win the primary with ease.

I talked to Dr. Charles Lane Newberry of Milwaukee and others in the last few days, and it is their belief that inasmuch as James Farley is now openly a candidate in his own right, that some of the New Deal leaders in Washington that really desire to have the slate of twenty-four

March 22, 1940.

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Honorable Robert A. Jackson.

Wisconsin delegates elected pledged to the President, must come forward and in some form indicate their support of our slate.

Will you please take this question under consideration immediately and if possible discuss it with some of the other Liberal leaders in Washington. Dr. Newberry and I will call you on the telephone Saturday morning to get your personal reaction to this problem.

My kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

JMW/L.
Encs.

J. M. WEISMAN.

(Spec. Del.
Air Mail)

Rowe
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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August 12, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

You may be interested in this excerpt from the Princeton Public Opinion Research Project. As you probably know, this service uses the Gallup Poll machinery and Gallup can use its questions if he wants to.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.

"If there is starvation in France, Holland and Belgium this winter, should the United States try to send food to these countries in our ships?"

Yes 39 No 61 (No opinion 10)

"If 'Yes', ask: Would you be willing to do this even if some of this food might go to the Germans?"

Yes 22 No 78

The following questions may also interest you:

"President Roosevelt has asked Congress for authority to call the National Guard for one year of military training. Do you approve or disapprove of calling the National Guard for one year of training?"

Approve 82 Disapprove 18 (Undecided 9)

"Regardless of how you, yourself, plan to vote, who do you think will be elected President?"

(2.9. 589. of 90%)

Willkie 42 Roosevelt 58 (Undecided 10)

Incidentally, in former polls this last question has always proved to be more accurate than any other single question -- including all those dealing with the candidate the respondent himself will vote for and hopes will win.

PSF Howe
Justice

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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October 22, 1940

Memorandum For The President.

Negroes

(1) Ramspeck Bill. The Ramspeck Civil Service Bill is deadlocked in conference. The real reason for this is because the House refuses to accept an amendment which will substitute fingerprints for photographs in civil service applications.

This change has been earnestly advocated by the Negro race and opposed by Southern Congressmen.

Senator Mead telephoned to ask you that you tell the Civil Service Commission to make this change by regulation. It will help Mead in New York.

The Commission has written a letter to Mead saying they plan to make this change anyway. They plan to do it after election. Mead thinks it would be wise if you called over the Commission, Ramspeck and Mead and directed them to do it.

If you do not want to hold a conference, do you want to do it by letter?

If not, do you want the Commission to go ahead as if it were its own idea?

Do you want it held until after election? Mead and Ramspeck both indicate the Southerners were not so much opposed to it as they are afraid to vote in favor of it. (Incidentally an interview appeared in the press in which Mead said he would ask you to do this; he denies having given the interview.)

This is probably McReynold's problem but he is away this week.

(2) At your request I talked to Dr. Dykstra and Judge Patterson about their taking on Advisors on Negro Affairs.

Patterson will probably take on Judge Hastie, at present Dean of Howard Law School.

Dykstra will take on a colored reserve officer.

Both of these things will be done in the next few days.

(3) What would be far more valuable, if it could be done in the next few days, is the promotion of Colonel Davis, a Negro West Point graduate to the rank of Brigadier General. Judge Patterson indicated this might be acceptable to the Army and that General Marshall would favor it. Of course

it could not be done without the promotion of a number of Colonels. Marshall has a number of Colonels in line for promotion but you told him to go a bit slower. I have hesitated to discuss this with Marshall without your O.K.

(4) Francis Biddle sent me the attached letter giving Walter White's estimate of the political situation as of October 9th, which may interest you.

*Letter
did not come to file*

JHR

James Rowe, Jr.

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**Department of Justice
Washington**

January 5, 1943

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Yes, we know this is the worst week of the year for the President of the United States. Tomorrow night is the worst day of that week. The hectic last minute drive to put the finishing touches on the annual message will go on until 3 o'clock in the morning. The President must address the Congress the next day. The day after the budget message is due. We assume the President, as usual, must have last minute conferences tomorrow to iron out the inevitable disagreement between the Budget and the Treasury. The President also has a little matter such as a global war, including the North Africa campaign to run.

We are fully aware of all the reasons why what we want should not be done.

Nonetheless, on the balance of interest, we are sure we should get what we want.

All we want is a half hour of the President's time tomorrow night, outside the White House.

Joe Martin recently said "no majority of 218 ever effectively controlled a minority of 208!" Joe Martin is right on one condition. That one condition is the attitude of the Southern Conservative bloc -- the "Muley" Doughntons, the Gene Coxs, the Hatton Summers.

There is only one man in the United States, at present friendly to the President, who can control that bloc. His close friend, Jack Garner, is telling him to get some steel in his spine. The easy way for him to become a great Speaker is to follow that Southern bloc into the huge Republican camp and have a huge majority -- against the President of the United States.

Tomorrow is Sam Rayburn's birthday. Tomorrow night Lyndon Johnson is giving Rayburn a birthday party at his house (off Connecticut) with only a few of the real leaders of the House present. Tomorrow night if the President would drop in and give Sam Rayburn his birthday present -- a Stetson hat -- and spend a few minutes talking with leaders of the House, it would be something that Sam Rayburn could never forget. All the efforts of his friends, including Jack Garner and Joe Martin, all the blandishments of the President's enemies, could never make headway against that precious half hour of time.

Anyone who knows Sam Rayburn would know that this would give him to the President -- signed, sealed and delivered in perpetuity.



FOR PUBLICATION BY THE PRESIDENT
"OFFICIAL MESSAGE" '76

The President has done this sort of thing before for many minor men on the basis of personal friendship. If he did it now, he would be doing it for his country which he loves so much and which he has led so successfully.

And, after all, the message does little good unless it has the votes to back it up.

Lyndon Johnson

James Rowe, Jr.

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Department of Justice
Washington

February 13, 1943

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

The Armory

While you were taking care of a few minor details at Casablanca, I regret to inform you that a problem of really major importance on the home front has become completely insoluble except in your hands.

It is really funny; or rather would be funny if it were not for the fact that the President of the United States in the most serious crisis of our history has a government which is impotent to act except on his personal O.K. I know that the problem of putting the FBI fingerprint classification work into the District of Columbia Armory has been brought up in Cabinet several times. Obviously it shouldn't be, but that is the only place where a decision could be reached. The FBI has now taken over the Armory with one exception.

That exception is the 10,000 square feet of space held by General Cox and Colonel Dravo. For the past six months we (the Department of Justice) have begged, cadgered, threatened and pled to get General Cox out of the Armory. We have even gone to the extent of finding space for him in the Municipal Center. Here are the simple facts:

General Cox, Colonel Dravo, and their National Guard headquarters staff of 3 occupy 9,093 square feet of space in the Armory. This means 1800 square feet per person. When they are removed the FBI will put 113 employees in the same space.

You know space is the worst "headache" in Washington. The FBI now occupies the rest of the Armory. If General Cox is allowed to stay, guards to protect the FBI files will be necessary. This cost will run into thousands of dollars a year. Partitions will be necessary. More expense. Cox and Dravo keep records of the D. C. National Guard which long ago was "federalized" and is in the field fighting. These records can be kept as well at the Municipal Center (in much smaller space).

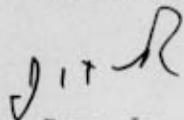
I assure you I have exhausted every administrative remedy over a period of months. The D. C. Commissioners, including our mutual friend Russ Young, have given us a legal opinion stating that General Cox is correct when he says the Commissioners have no control over him because the National Guard is federalized. But the War Department tell us they have no control over General Cox and Colonel Dravo because, although the Guard is federalized, these two officials are not. The War Department "unfederalized" Cox some months ago on grounds of incompetence. The Budget Bureau says it is powerless. The Public Buildings Administration says it is powerless. The Department of Justice is powerless. Everyone agrees that Cox should be removed. But he won't move.



Perhaps the President of the United States is powerless also. But it does seem that the entire work of the Fingerprint Section, which has 50 million prints, and 6,000 workers, who are checking on "subversives" not only in the entire Army and Navy but also in every defense factory, should not be held up by the whim of one "brass hat" doing inconsequential work which can be done just as well in a building a few blocks away.

For your information, General Cox is the "brass hat" who leads local parades on a white horse. He is also the man who "leaked" the story of the execution of the saboteurs to the Times-Herald 24 hours before the date, contrary to your express orders. His competence is attested to by the fact that the War Department removed him as Provost Marshal of the District. His mulishness can be attested to by me, by J. Edgar Hoover and the entire FBI.

I hope you can send the attached note to General Cox.


James Rowe, Jr.

(I suggest you send this memorandum to the Hyde Park Library so future generations may know what kind of problems a Wartime President has!)

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**Department of Justice
Washington**

February 20, 1943

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

".....where angels fear to tread".

"I only know what I read in the papers" and I have been reading these days about a super-duper War Cabinet. I will have serious difficulties in qualifying as an expert witness, hence the heading for this memorandum.

I admit I have been outside, looking at these reorganizations of the war effort. But I have had a 100% batting average in my prophecies concerning the length of life of each one, including the Advisory Council for National Defense, the OPM, SPAB and WPB. This is no place to go into the complexities of the problem, which I think are readily granted. Of course, the problem is not black or white, or simple; it never is.

But I do know that the group of men who really understand administrative management problems, and who also understand the complexities of good production organization have been right for more than two years. Yet their advice has never been taken. This includes the very good thinking of Harold Smith and Wayne Coy, and it also includes the best informed and best equipped group of Senators and Congressmen. They have finally convinced Nelson they are right. I hope they can convince you.

There are also the political overtones to be considered (I use the word "political" in its best sense). I do not think it is a trite oversimplification to talk about the clash between the civilians and the military. I have seen and could enumerate for page after page the absurd duplications by the military of civilian functions. I have seen, for example, the ambitions of the military in the civilian field not only in Hawaii but also in its desire to take over the internal security functions of the Department of Justice. So I have sympathy with the Wilson-Nelson group who oppose this extension of military power for political as well as organizational reasons.

I am disturbed that Senator Kilgore (whom you don't know) has been unable to see you after 8 months of trying. Having been in the White House for 3 years, I would be the last person to minimize the burdens on your time. I have, however, listened to Kilgore and his staff. These men are not "crackpots"; they are not uninformed Roosevelt haters. They are top-notch technicians. They are Roosevelt men. (The vote on transferring the Kilgore bill to the Military Affairs Committee should amaze the Man from Mars -- at the Army's request, the President's enemies defeated the President's friends. I do not mean this in any narrow New Deal sense. This country has gone far beyond those rather ancient struggles.)



I am also disturbed by newspaper gossip, which I believe has validity, that Bernard Baruch will head the War Cabinet. He made brilliant contributions in the last war and has, I understand, made considerable contributions in this one. He is intelligent enough and well informed enough to dread this War Cabinet job because he knows it will ruin him. And yet his strong vanity may outweigh his intelligence. If you give him this job, and he takes it because of vanity, the time will come when he, Baruch, will fail. He can no longer be the "Grand Old Man". He will become "fair game" to shoot at in all the feuds. To protect his reputation that same vanity will urge him into a break with you, the President, as the only way he can save his reputation.

I hope two things can be done:

(1) The decision about a War Cabinet should be put off for one month's time. In that time, the thinking can be clarified and both points of view can be presented to you. The Kilgore group on the Hill and the administrative management group in the executive branch can do an A-1 job of presenting their point of view against the military.

(2) Senator Kilgore has been an officer in the Regular Army in three different branches of the service. He knows the Army as few men do. The fact he feels so strongly about this matter is, therefore, an impressive fact. He is articulate, intelligent and moved by no political or partisan considerations. He is a man who deserves a hearing. For 8 months he has battled unceasingly for an audience with you. He just can't get by the "front office". He claims he can't even get any material to you. I hope you can see him. I hope when you see him you will give him adequate time. If you do, you will meet an outstanding intelligent American who is just as single-minded about winning this war as are you.

JHR

James Rowe, Jr.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 23, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM ROWE:

I have your memorandum of
January 27th in regard to Gardner
Jackson. Has he been taken care of?

F.D.R.

Department of Justice
Washington

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JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

January 27, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Despite the problems of global war, the news has undoubtedly reached you that Gardner "Pat" Jackson has been "given the sack" by the Secretary of Agriculture. I will not bore you with the reasons leading up to the Honorable Pat's purge except to say that it had to do with the continuing struggle in the Department between the Farm Bureau crowd and the friends of the small farmer. As our nice but not particularly able friend, Claude Wickard, sits indecisive and shivering between the two contending groups Parisius resigns, Jackson is fired and Paul Appleby, the Under Secretary, and "Beannie" Baldwin, the very able administrator of Farm Security, will leave shortly.

The simple fact is that Pat is out of a job. As you undoubtedly know, he has been and can be quite useful with the labor unions and the representatives of the new farm groups. He is adept at getting things done and creating pressures when pressures are necessary. He is, of course, whole-heartedly a Roosevelt man. I watched him go through his personal crisis when he was working for John Lewis and quit him to support you in 1940. Someone once described Pat as the "golden-hearted fixer". Nothing could be more apt.

The point of all this is that I should like to help Pat stay in the government somewhere to help you at odd jobs; this is particularly true because the time is fast approaching when Pat's peculiar talents will be again useful. On your orders, I arranged Pat's job in 1940 with the Department of Agriculture and should like to do it again if you want it done.

I will not bother you with the details.

JHR
James Rowe, Jr.



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Department of Justice
Washington

JAMES ROWE, JR.

THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

March 1, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Jimmy Allred

I think it is about time the Administration won a fight in the Senate!

The press and opposition Senators are trying to build the Allred nomination to the 5th Circuit into another Ed Flynn case. All the anti-Roosevelt Senators are on the bandwagon. There are loud cries of "political deal".

At present, there are 14 Democratic Senators against the nomination, which added to the Republicans means a sure defeat. The public hearings start tomorrow.

If the Administration puts some weight behind this one, it will not be too difficult to win.

The Attorney General will testify Friday. Besides giving various statistics showing that Louisiana has no claim on the vacancy, and emphasizing that Allred is the best qualified of all the candidates, he will say two things:

(1) He will say politely that at no time did he make any commitment to the Louisiana Senators to recommend their candidate.

(2) He will say that at no time did you ever speak to him about Allred until the day he went to the White House to recommend Allred to you. He will point out that Judge Foster's death did not occur until some time after the Texas election.

The key to this fight is Tom Connally. Confidentially, Connally was privately lukewarm in favor of Allred. He does not want to say so because some people claim he wants Allred on the bench so he won't be a candidate against him in 1944. It all depends on how hard Connally fights. If he will go after anti-Administration Senators like McKellar, we can win.

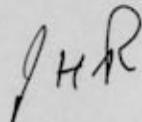
About a year ago on a vastly different matter you sent word to Tom Connally through Grace Tully that you wanted something done. He was violently opposed until he got your message. After that he was violently in favor of it and through sheer weight of influence put it over. I think the same message through Grace would do the trick.



It might also be advisable if you would send word to the Louisiana Senators flatly that there was no "political deal", that you have not seen nor talked to Allred since 1938 when he attended the Governors Conference here. (That is Allred's own statement).

If we do not win this one with a man who is eminently qualified, you might as well turn the appointing power over to the Senate.

I hope you can send this word to Connally and also to the Louisiana Senators.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, consisting of the initials 'JHR' in a stylized, cursive script.

James Rowe, Jr.

Department of Justice
Washington

March 29, 1943

JAMES ROWE, JR.
THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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Justice

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Tax Bill

Lyndon Johnson told me a few days ago you had called him about the Tax Bill, saying it was important the Administration's bill went through. Since then he has been working as hard as the devil against the Ruml Plan and thinks he is achieving some success.

You probably have not noticed that Martin Dies is fighting tooth and nail for the Administration. Gene Cox is defending the Administration's bill by arguing the Administration is "giving undercover" support to the Robertson bill. In brief, our enemies are fighting our battle, while our friends as usual sit around in complete confusion.

A few weeks ago I was distressed to read in the papers that you had canceled the Monday morning meetings with the legislative leaders. I was even more distressed when I learned that their first knowledge of the cancellation of the Monday conferences was also from the papers. This caused considerable bitterness which I hear, but which I doubt very much that you hear.

Parenthetically, the Monday morning conferences have become an even more necessary device than ever before. Their great weakness has been that there was never a staff man present to follow through on what was decided. The leaders have told me that and I think you will agree.

This is just preliminary, however, to Lyndon's suggestion that you see the House leaders tomorrow morning. Sam Rayburn arrives tomorrow morning from Texas. If you will see Rayburn, John McCormack and Ramspeck, the Party Whip, and tell them "for God's sake stop talking compromise", Lyndon thinks we can win -- or if we don't win, at least get the Robertson bill which is fair tax legislation. Lyndon thinks your line should be that this is no time for the American people to ask to be forgiven something; if they have to pay two years' taxes in one year that is little enough that they can do in comparison with the men in Tunisia.

The leaders should also be told to keep every Democrat on the floor all the time. The important votes will take place in the Committee of the Whole so there will be no record vote. If the Democrats are not there, the Ruml plan wins.

If you take this action and the Administration wins, it will do so on a strict Party basis. This vote will have the great effect of unifying the Democratic Party.

But the House leaders must know that you mean it. Lyndon thinks this same message will be sent to you from the Treasury but he is not sure it will get to you; if it does, he merely wants to tell you he too thinks it is important.



JWR
James Rowe, Jr.