

*PSF: Political folder  
4-44*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 3, 1944.

*file  
personal*

M E M O R A N D U M

FOR: THE PRESIDENT

I had a very interesting and pleasant talk, by long distance telephone, with former Governor Jim Cox, in Miami. He said to be sure and give you his best regards.

We talked mainly about the Ohio situation. He believes we have a chance to beat Taft for Senator out there but not with Mr. Pickerell. In regard to the Governorship, his first choice would be for Federal Judge Bob Wilkin. He believes if you asked Wilkin, he would resign and run for Governor. I advised him that you could not do that unless all parties concerned in Ohio agreed to the same, as you could not participate in a red-hot primary fight. His second choice would be Mayor Lausche of Cleveland.

Governor Cox further said, "there's a great deal of talk over the country now about the second place on the ticket. He (meaning you) is too smart a politician to want to nominate Wallace".

JAMES M. BARNES

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JOSEPH B. KEENAN

*file  
personal*

February 3, 1944

Dear Grace:

Regardless of the fact that I have sent a memorandum or two to you in the last few weeks, the enclosed, I think, is of sufficient importance to justify it being forwarded.

I hope you will have time to go over it.

Sincerely yours,

*Joseph Keenan*

Miss Grace Tully,  
Secretary, The White House,  
Washington, D. C.

February 3, 1944

MEMORANDUM

Ohio is still a pivotal State. Since Senator Taft was the runner-up in 1940 at Philadelphia -- and since he has more lately assumed leadership in the Senate in fighting the Administration on International, as well as domestic, policies -- it would be worthwhile to defeat him for reelection to the Senate.

Vic Donahey could very likely do it. He has been the best individual "vote getter" in Ohio in our generation. While he doubtless would be reluctant, he might run if he were urged by one former governor to another, especially if the call came from Washington, to do his part in the National crisis.

His brother Hal, although a cartoonist, really has helped mold the Cleveland Plain Dealer's political policy. He was an immense help in this regard to Woodrow Wilson in 1916. This newspaper has been an outstanding advocate of the Administration's foreign policy.

While Donahey never was (and never will be) a bargain in the Senate -- if he announced that he would be willing to serve -- he undoubtedly would:

- 1) greatly aid the democratic morale of Ohio (commonly thought to be decidedly republican at the moment);
- 2) very possibly eliminate Mr. Taft both as an isolationist leader and from the Senate. He has ability enough to make plenty of trouble when the peace period arrives;
- 3) an announcement of Donahey's willingness to run would cause Senator Taft to become more circumspect in the Senate in the interim;
- 4) it would help deflate the Bricker boomlette.

Donahey's position in Ohio is very reminiscent of that of Senator Capper and the late Senator Borah in their respective states. While Donahey's health is probably none too good, he would not have to make an active campaign. His past success and strong newspaper support would make him a formidable opponent.

The opinion of Paul Bellamy, Managing Editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, on this would be worthwhile. He could really aid in working it out if it be desirable and attainable.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 8, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

I am sending Mike Kirwan's letter back. Of course, I cannot interfere in any way in Ohio politics before the Primaries but I do know Mayor Lausche and like him a lot. He has been a good Mayor and is a good vote-getter.

I do hope we can avoid Party bickerings in Ohio.

F. D. R.

Letter to Hon. John McCormack, 1-22-44, from Cong. Michael J. Kirwan, re the political situation in Ohio and recom-  
(Enclosure) mends, Mayor Frank Lausche, of Cleveland, as Governor candidate.

ALL  
THE

Please bring a little  
for the record —

PSF: Political folder

4-44

*File Personal*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 8, 1944

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: MR. HOPKINS

FROM: MR. LUBIN

Here is some interesting "homework"  
which you might read at your leisure.

*Mr. President:*

*I think you will  
be interested in this - particularly  
the reference to Dutchess County  
of N.Y. State.*

*Henry*

MEMORANDUM

February 4, 1944

TO: Mr. Isador Lubin and Mr. Harry Hopkins  
FROM: Louis H. Bean *LHB*  
SUBJECT: The 1942-1943 Political Trend

You may recall that some of us right after the 1942 Congressional election pointed to the fact that the very sharp reduction in the total vote cast was a major factor in the Republican gains. This conclusion is corroborated by an analysis of the subsequent elections held during 1943 and by the elections held in January of 1944 in Philadelphia.

It may interest you to know that the elections in Philadelphia last month reveal the same story as that contained in the 1942-1943 episodes, namely, Republican gains because of Democrats staying away from the polls relatively more than do Republicans.

In the 2nd District of Pennsylvania, the 1936-1944 turnout was as follows:

<u>2nd District, Pennsylvania</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	<u>Two-Party</u>	<u>Democratic</u>
	<u>Vote</u>	
1936	107,046	61.5
1940	102,333	61.4
1938	97,813	52.7
1942	71,803	50.5
1944 (Jan.)	44,000	44.0

Note how the Democratic percentage shrinks with the size of participation. It is fair to assume that if the turnout last month had been 70,000 or more the Democratic candidate would have been elected.

The attached report deals with a number of other cases like this in the 1942-1943 record of relatively greater apathy among Democratic voters than among Republican.

Participation, judging from this analysis, is of crucial importance for the Democratic party in 1944.

This analysis suggests also that there may be many Democrats who, not knowing these figures, may be overestimating the Republican tide.

I wonder if the President would be interested in part of this report--perhaps in the New York State figures on page 8 and in the

figures of his own Dutchess County on page 12. Would he accept the conclusion in the last sentence on page 15, that had the 1943 vote in New York been 5.5 million instead of only 3.3 million we would have had a Democratic victory?

The attached analysis I made for Mr. Walker and George Allen. Mr. Walker I believe has turned his copy over to Mr. Hannigan.

I gave a copy to Palmer Water for Hillman  
HHS.

## THE 1942-1943 POLITICAL TREND.

Much is being made in current political discussions of the 1942 and 1943 Congressional and gubernatorial elections. Republicans take their recent victories as evidence of a tide in their favor, but Democrats need to look at the facts more closely, for these recent results are likely to lead to erroneous conclusions if one central fact is not taken into account. The central fact is that general balloting apathy produced usually small participation in the local elections of 1942 and 1943. The shrinkage in voting was in most places greater among Democratic than among Republican voters. This small participation is so abnormal that allowance must be made for it if the true meaning of the 1942-1943 elections is to be correctly interpreted. When that fact is taken into account, it becomes clear that the 1942 Republican Congressional gains were almost entirely due to the greater shrinkage in Democratic than in Republican participation in districts that are normally quite evenly divided; and that the Republican gains in 1943 were largely due to the even greater shrinkage in participation. The facts dealt with in this report reveal clearly how the fact of smaller participation among Democratic than among Republican voters resulted in Republican gains (a) in the small rural communities of the Middle West, as well as in the Northeast (b) in the great metropolitan areas, as well as in the nearby small communities, and (c) in the normally Democratic, as well

as in the normally Republican communities. On the other hand, where the total participation has remained relatively stable, where the 1942-1943 turnout was about as great as in 1936 and 1940, the Democratic percentage of the total vote remained relatively unchanged.

From these records it is quite clear that the Republican victories in the much publicized political tests during 1943, such as the gubernatorial elections in New York, New Jersey, and Kentucky, would have been Democratic victories had voters in general and Democratic voters in particular shown as much interest as in Presidential elections; and the Republican 1943 gains in the usually Republican elections such as the Congressional election of the Second District of Kansas and the mayoralty election in Philadelphia would not have been noticeable.

Neither the general Congressional election of 1942 nor the general local elections during 1943 can, in view of this analysis, be taken as a continuation of a Republican tide. It is true that the Republican Party made substantial gains in the Congressional election of 1938. Compared with 62.5 percent of the total two-party vote the Democrats cast in 1940, they cast only 52 percent in 1938, but this was associated with the short but sharp industrial recession that year and with the small turnout. But with a record turnout in 1940, the Democrats cast 55 percent of the total two-party vote. In 1942, they cast something less than 50 percent of the total vote, but as the following records clearly suggest, they would cast substantially more

than 50 percent if a Presidential election were held today and if the participation of both parties again totaled around 50 million votes as in 1940 instead of the unusually small vote of 28 million in 1942. In other words, there is no basis in the political tests since 1940 for the assertion that the political balance is now on the Republican side, if something like a normal participation is taken into account.

#### 1. The Great Shrinkage in the 1942 Local Elections

The significance of the unusually small turnout in the 1942 Congressional elections may be grasped if we compare it with the participation in the 1936 and 1940 Presidential elections. The two major parties cast 44 million votes in 1936 and 50 million in 1940. In 1940 the Democrats cast about 27.5 million votes and the Republicans about 22.5 million. But in the local elections of 1942, when the country was engaged in war and in war production, when no local political issues engaged the voters' attention as much as did the war, only 28 million votes were cast. This was probably the greatest relative shrinkage of any in the 90 year record of the two parties. The vote cast by the two parties in 1942 was practically no greater than the 1940 vote cast by the Democrats alone. Furthermore, it is not much more than half of the total vote that would normally be cast in 1944, for on the basis of past trends in the total Presidential vote, the normal turnout for 1944 would be over 53 million.

#### 2. The Even Greater Shrinkage in Participation in the 1943 Local Elections

Each of the following local elections that took place during 1943 -

in the Second Congressional District in Kansas, in the Sixth District of Missouri, in the states of New York, New Jersey and Kentucky, and in Philadelphia and Chicago - show a continuation of general spathy with regard to merely local issues.

In each of these cases there were of course particular local political features that may be given as reasons for the results, but the factor of small turnout is so pronounced and so common to them all that no attempt need be made here to deal with those local issues or personalities.

Let us note first what happened in the Republican Second Congressional District of Kansas. The record of the Congressional vote cast for the Republican candidates of 1936 to 1943 is as follows:

Second District of Kansas Republican Vote

1936	72,038
1938	70,608
1940	73,659
1942	48,594
1943	19,798

The 1943 Republican vote was only about 40 percent of the Republican vote of 1942, and only 27 percent of the 1936 vote.

Second District of Kansas Democratic Vote

1936	60,049
1938	54,582
1940	62,787
1942	33,625
1943	8,859

Apparently apathy among Democrats here was even greater for their vote fell off to 26 percent of what it was in 1942 and to only 14 percent of what it was in 1940. Between 1940 and 1943 the Democratic vote shrank 86 percent compared with a Republican shrinkage of 73 percent!

This greater shrinkage in Democratic turnout shows up a sharp decline in the Democratic percentage of the combined two-party vote, thus,

Second District of Kansas Two-Party Vote

	<u>Total vote</u>	<u>Percent Democratic</u>
1936	132,087	45.5
1938	125,190	43.6
1940	136,446	46.0
1942	82,219	40.9
1943	28,657	31.0

It is clear from this record that a total turnout of 132,000 to 136,000 votes in 1936 and 1940 gave Democrats about 46 percent of the total, but when the total fell sharply down to less than 29,000, their share was only 31 percent.

Another mid-western election was that of the Sixth District in Missouri early in 1943. Here the two party vote has run as follows:

Sixth District of Missouri Two-Party Vote

	<u>Total vote</u>	<u>Percent Democratic</u>
1936	139,881	53
1938	104,933	51
1940	146,648	47
1942	83,681	47
1943	55,538	37

Normally the Democratic and the Republican votes in this District run close but in 1943 the Democratic vote fell off by about 18,000 while the Republican vote fell off by about 10,000, thus reducing the Democratic vote to only 37 percent.

The Kentucky gubernatorial election in 1943, which the Democrats lost by a very narrow margin, involved local issues quite different from those in the Kansas and Missouri Congressional elections earlier in the year. Yet the record reveals the same general fact of a greatly reduced turnout and a smaller Democratic percentage.

Kentucky Gubernatorial Election

	<u>Total Two-Party vote</u>	<u>Percent Democratic</u>
1927	767,000	48
1931	805,000	55
1935	1,017,000	55
1939	811,000	57
1943	550,000	49.5

In the years when the total vote ranged between 800,000 and 1,000,000 the Democrats carried by 55 to 57 percent. They lost by a very narrow margin in 1943 when the vote fell off to nearly half of what it was in 1940. It is significant that they also lost in 1927 when the total vote was small (less than 800,000).

The New Jersey gubernatorial election in 1943, in spite of different local factors from those that were involved in Kentucky, reveals the same fact, a Republican victory due to a small turnout.

New Jersey Gubernatorial Election

	<u>Total</u> <u>Two-Party</u> <u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Democratic</u>
1934	1,361,000	49
1937	1,447,000	52
1940	1,905,000	52
1943	1,150,000	44

The New Jersey gubernatorial election went to the Republicans, with a turnout of only 1,150,000, or a third less than in 1940. With larger turnouts the Democrats won in both the 1937 and 1940 elections; but, corroborating the 1943 experience, they lost in 1934 with another relatively small turnout.

The Philadelphia mayoralty election, usually Republican, also went to the Republicans in 1943. Although the Republicans obtained only a slightly larger share of the vote in 1943 than in 1939, it, too, is related to the general fact of smaller turnout, chiefly among the Democrats.

Philadelphia Mayoralty Election

	<u>Total Two-Party Vote</u>	<u>Percent Democratic</u>
1935	713,128	48
1939	751,036	48
1943	626,777	45

The recent elections in the single most important state of all, New York, are no exception to the general observation that they reflect basically general apathy in Congressional and gubernatorial elections when the stimulus of national Presidential election issues are not involved. Here is the record showing the votes in the Presidential elections of 1936 and 1940, in the gubernatorial elections of 1938 and 1940, and in the lieutenant-governor election of 1943.

New York State Election

	<u>Total Two-Party Vote</u>	<u>Percent Democratic</u>
1936	5,474,000	60
1938	4,694,000	51
1940	6,279,000	52
1942	4,051,000	47
1943	3,308,000	45

The Democrats lost the governorship in 1942, with a total vote falling off to about 4 million compared with 4.7 to 6.3 million in other years, and they lost again in 1943 by a greater margin when the total vote fell off to only 3.3 million. On the face of this record

alone, one concludes that a turnout of 5 million instead of 3.3 would have meant Democratic victories in both 1942 and 1943. This conclusion will appear more evident from the more detailed analysis of the New York vote that follows.

3. The Small Turnout in New York State Elections of 1942 and 1943

Because of the great importance of this single state, both in the total popular vote and in the electoral vote, it is desirable to examine the recent elections in some detail. There are different trends in different parts of the state; in a few up-state counties Democratic strength was, contrary to the general trend, greater in 1942 and 1943 than in 1940. In the other up-state counties the effect of small turnout is as unmistakable as in the records for the other states. In the New York City counties, however, in spite of a falling off in participation, Democratic strength has held stable since 1940, with no evidence of any noticeable Republican gains.

In one important county, namely, Albany, there was no great reduction in participation over the entire period from 1936 to 1943, and no material Republican percentage gain. The conclusion that emerges from this detailed analysis of New York state is that had the turnout in 1943 been about as large as, say, that of 1936, the election of the Lieutenant Governor would have gone to the Democrats who would have had at least 55 percent of the vote instead of only 45 percent.

Among the up-state, normally Republican counties, the effect of low turnout in 1942 and 1943 has been so universal that it may be seen in almost any county selected at random. For example, the Allegheny County vote, normally less than 30 percent democratic, has varied since 1936 as follows:

Allegheny County, New York

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Two-party Vote</u>	<u>Per Cent Democratic</u>
1936	19,117	27.6
1938	16,253	22.8
1940	20,698	24.5
1942	14,081	19.7
1943	11,665	17.1

The smaller vote of 1938 reduced the Democratic proportion to 22.8 percent compared with 27.6 percent in 1936, and the much smaller turnout in 1943 reduced it to 17.1 percent.

Another example is Cattaraugus County where normally the Democratic vote is less than 40 percent:

Cattaraugus County, New York

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Two-party Vote</u>	<u>Percent Democratic</u>
1936	32,385	36.7
1938	27,129	30.9
1940	34,911	34.1
1942	22,025	28.0
1943	19,516	25.8

Here a shrinkage of over 5,000 votes in 1938 reduced the Democratic percentage from 36.7 in 1936 to 30.9 in 1938. A shrinkage of over 15,000 between 1940 and 1943 reduced the Democratic percentage from 34.1 to 25.8 percent.

Another example is Dutchess County (President Roosevelt's home county) which in 1936 and 1940 voted 45.8 percent and 44.1 percent Democratic respectively:

Dutchess County, New York

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Two-party Vote</u>	<u>Percent Democratic</u>
1936	53,335	45.8
1938	47,462	40.0
1940	57,927	44.1
1942	40,374	34.7
1943	36,795	33.6

The smaller turnout of 1938 reduced the Democratic percentage, and the reduction of over 20,000 between 1940 and 1943 reduced the Democratic percentage to 33.6.

There are three up-state counties which are more Democratic than the others; they are Erie (containing the city of Buffalo), Monroe (containing the city of Rochester), and Albany (containing the city of Albany). Two of these urban centers (Erie and Monroe) show the identical relations between changes in turnout and the Democratic percentages as observed for the rural counties, and the third (Albany) shows a relatively stable turnout and a relatively stable Democratic percentage.

Erie County, New York

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Two-party Vote</u>	<u>Percent Democratic</u>
1936	336,000	54.6
1938	288,000	43.3
1940	373,000	50.8
1942	259,000	37.7
1943	216,000	36.5

With a total turnout of over 300,000 in 1936 and 1940, this county has gone Democratic; with less than 300,000 it went Republican in 1938, 1942 and 1943.

Monroe County, New York

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Two-party Votes</u>	<u>Percent Democratic</u>
1936	207,341	55.1
1938	191,954	43.2
1940	234,996	51.4
1942	171,167	34.0
1943	140,953	29.9

A total vote of over 200,000 brought Democratic victories in 1936 and 1940; a total less than 200,000 brought Republican victories in 1938, 1940, and 1943.

The record for Albany is of additional interest because, by showing that a stable Democratic proportion has resulted from a stable total participation, it serves to corroborate the general conclusion that in recent elections the Democrats have fared better with greater general participation.

Albany County, New York

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Two-party Votes</u>	<u>Percent Democratic</u>
1936	125,000	57.4
1938	128,000	57.7
1940	136,000	55.6
1942	122,000	60.2
1943	112,000	56.1

With greater stability in the total vote than in any other New York county, the Democrats ~~won~~ won every election from 1936 to 1943 with 56 to 60 percent of the vote.

For all up-state counties combined the record is as follows:

<u>New York Up-State Counties</u>		
<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Two-party Vote</u>	<u>Percent Democratic</u>
1936	2,767,000	45.2
1938	2,449,000	37.7
1940	3,066,000	41.9
1942	2,145,000	34.2
1943	1,833,000	31.9

It may be observed here that the 1940 turnout exceeded that of 1938 and there was a Democratic gain, but when contrasted with 1936 the 1940 turnout was greater but the Democratic percentage smaller. This reflects the fact that in 1940 the Democrats lost ground (in relation to 1936) in those counties where certain nationality groups voted against the Administration's attitude toward the European war. This reaction was even more pronounced in certain New York City counties.

<u>New York City Counties</u>		
<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Two-party Vote</u>	<u>Percent Democratic</u>
1936	2,707,000	75.4
1938	2,245,000	65.3
1940	3,214,000	61.1
1942	1,906,000	61.7
1943	1,476,000	60.8

The outstanding fact here is that there has been practically no Republican gain in New York City since 1940, in spite of the sharp reduction in participation. The Democrats received 61 percent of the 1940 vote, 62 percent of the 1942 vote, and 61 percent of the 1943 vote.

By combining the up-state and the New York City vote and arranging the record in the order of the size of the vote, we can see at a glance what the relation has been between size of turnout and the Democratic percentage.

<u>New York State, All Counties</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	
<u>Year</u>	<u>Two-party</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Democratic</u>
1940	6,279,000	51.7
1936	5,474,000	60.1
1938	4,694,000	50.9
1942	4,051,000	46.9
1943	3,308,000	44.8

The small turnout in the up-state counties reduced the New York State Democratic percentage from 51 in 1936 to 45 in 1943. A total vote of, say, 5.5 million in 1943 instead of only 3.3 million would, in all likelihood, have meant a Democratic victory with a percentage varying somewhere between 52 and 60, and most probably about 55.

4. Conclusion

The general conclusion from these records is obvious. It is that the dominant factor in the 1942 and 1943 elections was the matter of small participation and not a continuation of a Republican tide. This is borne out by public opinion polls as well as by the fact that in New York City there has been no Republican gain since 1940 and no material gains during the same period in Philadelphia or Chicago. The public opinion polls show that at the beginning of the year 1944 the country as a whole was 53 percent Democratic compared with 54 to 55 percent during 1940 to 1943 (with the exception of the Congressional election in November 1942, which as shown here was so clearly affected by small participation and by the lack of national meaning in the minds of most of the potential voters).

From the voting records of 1936 to 1943 it is possible to deduce the fact that of the bulk of the voters who stayed away from the elections in 1942 and 1943 more than 60 percent are Democratic. We have already inferred that had more of these participated in the local 1943 elections of New York, New Jersey and Kentucky, there could easily have been Democratic instead of Republican victories. Similarly, Democrats might have had a better showing in the other 1943 elections. Finally the records suggest that were a Presidential election held today, with around 50 million voters participating, including the bulk of the soldier vote as well as the bulk of those who have migrated, the Democrats would most likely cast a substantially larger total vote than the Republicans.

PSF: Politics

Rem. Cover "M" 3-44

PERSONAL

February 9, 1944.

Dear Blair:-

I like those articles of yours a lot. There is one note which I think needs more emphasis. It is not a political matter of the day but is a long-range menace to our kind of Government. Congress is undoubtedly losing a lot of the confidence the American people had in it. That is a real danger. It opens the door to the unscrupulous.

I hope you have a grand trip and with all good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Blair Moody, Esq.,  
The Detroit News,  
904 Colorado Building,  
Washington, D. C.

# The Low-Down on Washington

By BLAIR MOODY

From the Washington Bureau  
of THE DETROIT NEWS



WASHINGTON, Feb. 8.—If

Congress disenfranchises millions of soldiers fighting overseas, as it may well do within a few days, it will set

up an issue that can sweep President Roosevelt back into the White House, and perhaps enable him to crush, at last, the alliance of reactionary Southern Democrats and Republican politicians which has dominated Capitol Hill for many months.



Moody

The immediate stake is whether American fighting men shall have a simple, practical way to vote for their next president, or whether many of them will be jiggered out of it by technicalities—and by the flimsy excuse that it is just as important to vote for

since voting is the fundamental right which symbolizes the democracy for which our soldiers are fighting, this would seem to be pretty important. But what is going on in Congress today reaches even further.

It goes to the roots of our system of government—whether its legislative branch is so fashioned that it can function effectively in time of crisis, or whether our peculiar sectional and partisan divisions and prejudices are so constituted as to give a wrong-headed coterie free rein to violate or quibble over the obvious public interest flagrantly and repeatedly.

It raises the question of what can be done about it. It raises the question of whether the people will stand for it. It raises the question whether some way must not be found to decrease either Congress' power of obstruction or else its political irresponsibility.

It also raises the question whether the primary task facing the voters next November is rather than to get a new president, to get a new Congress, before the alliance of small-minded politicians which is running at least half of this one discredits the democratic process and precipitates us after the war into something worse.

## ACTIONS MAY BACKFIRE

CONGRESS ITSELF, whose dominant clique's chief aim in life seems to be to "get" the President, is by its own acts creating the most powerful sort of an argument for the President's re-election.

For how can any voter, even one who seriously disagrees with the President, cast a ballot to turn his country over to the kind of political leadership that is offered on Capitol Hill—not the "politics" which endeavors to do a job for the public and get credit for it from the voters, but the "politics" which does a job for the politicians and the pressure blocs first and the public, maybe, second?

Against such opposition, how can Mr. Roosevelt lose? Who among his opponents is handling the issues of 1944 on any but that "congressional" slant—straddling or keeping silent whenever possible? For example, on the issue whether soldiers should be given a real chance to vote, these opponents calculate less on whether the soldiers should have that chance than on how they will vote if they get it?

The answer is that just one Roosevelt opponent—Wendell L. Willkie—is standing up to the questions of the hour and giving honest, courageous answers. He said, for ex-

ample, that he does not want to be elected president unless the soldiers have not only the right—but the opportunity—to vote for or against him.

But where does that get Willkie? By his very outspoken courage, he has won the same cordial distaste of the dominant alliance in Congress that Mr. Roosevelt enjoys.

And since that dominant point of view in his party is the same about such things as the dominant view in Congress, it is a foregone conclusion that Willkie has no chance whatsoever for the Republican nomination unless he can generate a popular demand that forces himself down the throats of the politicians.

And if he doesn't get it—sizing up the GOP candidates on their performance to date—Mr. Roosevelt will go into the campaign favored, for the fourth successive time, by the GOP's genius for making him look good by mere contrast. (In 1940 Willkie was tarred in the minds of many voters with certain party liabilities he has since shed.)

No reporter who has traveled on Mr. Roosevelt's campaign trains has any doubt how neatly he will slice up the opposition if it succeeds in wrapping so much red tape around the soldier-voting procedure that 100 divisions or more of our soldiers lose their ballot.

## OTHER SIDE PLAYS TOO

ALL THE POLITICS in this has not been on one side. While basically right in trying to set up a voting system which the Army and Navy can handle, the Democratic leaders unquestionably fixed the "blank" ballot in such form as to carry as many Democratic congressmen as possible through by the supposedly pro-Roosevelt soldier majority.

An important objection to the "blank" ballot voiced by many congressmen in the cloakrooms was that their well-advertised names are often their greatest political assets—they all claim to be "stronger than their tickets"—and the right to write in merely "Democratic" or "Republican" would thus undermine their personal strength.

But the opposition's effort was not to perfect a system by which ballots could be handled effectively and soldiers given their ballots together, so they could hold a "company election day" and handle the mail expeditiously, which is the gist of the Federal plan.

It was to throw the entire matter back on a maze of differing state regulations, some of which make it all but impossible even to change laws in time and any of which involve a much more com-

plicated rigamarole of getting the ballots back and forth, thus decreasing the soldier's chance of getting a ballot, voting and having it counted.

It was to force a vast criss-crossing with ballots following soldiers and especially sailors all over the world as they change their locations.

## SAME OLD CROWD

IF WHAT THE DOMINANT clique in Congress had done on this issue were an isolated instance, it would not be so serious from the standpoint of what is happening to American representative government.

But this Republican-reactionary Democrat alliance is, almost to the man, the same crowd which only a few weeks ago voted in the House to kill hold-the-line subsidies and break down the dam holding back higher prices and inflation.

The same crowd refused in the summer of 1939 to repeal the Neutrality Act, when the President pleaded for it as a means of warning Hitler that, if he threw Europe into war he would have to face the resources of the United States.

It is the same crowd, in general, that refused to fortify Guam.

It is the same crowd that came within one single vote in the House of wrecking the American Army a few weeks before Pearl Harbor, by refusing to extend the initial Selective Service Act beyond a year.

It is the same crowd, in other words, which either casts its votes blindly out of sheer political greed and hate of Roosevelt, or else with complete lack of judgment as to what course the nation must follow in time of national danger.

If the first is true, they are not fit to serve the public. If the second is true they are not qualified to serve the public.

What better issue could Roosevelt ask?

# The Low-Down on Washington



By BLAIR MOODY

(From the Washington Bureau of THE DETROIT NEWS)

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29.—President Roosevelt has launched a political blitz by which he hopes, before election day, to cut down his bitterest detractors with their own weapons.

For many months the Republicans and southern Democrats whose alliance controls Congress have been using every war-born excuse they could find to pour poison on the President.

Without conscience or else without knowledge, they have made it appear that every inconvenience and irritation suffered on the home-front was Mr. Roosevelt's fault.

While padding their own political nests, or so they thought, by playing ball with the self-seeking " blocs," they have passed laws which made the inevitable dislocations of war much more difficult to control. Then they pointed an accusing finger at the White House. There are exceptions, of course. But that has been the dominant note of the dominant clique.

Up to now, this subtle campaign of defamation has promised to return a rich harvest at the polls in November.

The President's enemies apparently convinced many voters that home-front affairs have been hopelessly bungled when, taken on the whole, just the opposite is true.

They crippled OPA with bad laws and inadequate funds, and then mocked its effort, although the agency has almost single-handedly averted an inflationary disaster.

They spread the doctrine that FDR was an incorrigible and cowardly strike-coddler—the same fellows who themselves are now running like scared steers away from the one weapon which can really end wartime strikes, the National Service Law asked by the Army, Navy and the President.

And they've been getting away with it. After the by-elections in Kentucky, Pennsylvania and elsewhere, they became so confident that Republican Chairman Harrison E. Spangler gloated, perhaps with a nostalgic glance back to 1920, that the GOP could "win with anybody."

## BACK IN FORM

For months, Mr. Roosevelt was so obsessed with formulating military strategy and pushing plans for his get-together with Stalin and Churchill that he had no time for political strategy.

He let his antagonists think he

play at that game, and he is merely handing the boys back a throatful of their own medicine.

## BELITTLE EFFORTS

IF MR. ROOSEVELT can switch the "anti-Washington" resentment from himself to Congress, he will be re-elected. For the home-front is the only front on which his enemies dare attack him. Rep. Charley Halleck, chairman of the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee, admitted as much the other day.

Halleck left no doubt that the Republicans have concluded they would lose more than they would gain by attacking either the President's conduct of the war or his approach to an enduring peace.

So they say: The generals and admirals are running the war—the commander-in-chief deserves no credit for it. And they say: Anyone would have had the sense to do just about what FDR has done on the international front.

So let's just "neutralize" those really big issues—this from some of the old isolationists who fought bitterly every move to arm the country or to co-operate with Britain or Russia against the Nazis before Pearl Harbor—we all agree on those.

And they say, though perhaps not quite so bluntly:

Let's elect our next President on the issue of whether or not the poor, downtrodden civilians like the irritations of wartime. And let's make it just as tough and complicated as possible for the soldiers to vote.

Anyone who wants a simple and practical method for the soldiers to vote, spokesmen for the alliance tell the Senate, is merely plotting to elect Roosevelt to a fourth term.

## LAUNCHES ATTACK

FIRST THRUST in the President's counterattack was to set up his basic platform for 1944, which calls for his re-election as (1) the "experienced leader who can bring quickest victory with smallest casualties;" (2) the "veteran international negotiator with the background and finesse needed to handle the delicate issues of enduring peace;" (3) the President "whose New Deal saved the country when those who now scoff at it had failed;" and (4) the "bold postwar planner for full employment and prosperity, which would be impossible under stuffy, inflexible national leadership."

His second thrust was to establish himself as the champion of the soldiers and of a "tough" war policy — national service for use against strikers, high taxation to keep down war profits, hold-the-line subsidies to head off temporary



Moody

edly averted an inflationary disaster.

They spread the doctrine that FDR was an incorrigible and cowardly strike-coddler—the same fellows who themselves are now running like scared steers away from the one weapon which can really end wartime strikes, the National Service Law asked by the Army, Navy and the President.

And they've been getting away with it. After the by-elections in Kentucky, Pennsylvania and elsewhere, they became so confident that Republican Chairman Harrison E. Spangler gloated, perhaps with a nostalgic glance back to 1920, that the GOP could "win with anybody."

#### BACK IN FORM

For months, Mr. Roosevelt was so obsessed with formulating military strategy and pushing plans for his get-together with Stalin and Churchill that he had no time for political strategy.

He let his antagonists think he had lost his interest in home-front affairs and his popular touch; that his political knees were buckling and he was a set-up for the finishing blow.

Now it is becoming quite evident that he has lost neither his interest, nor his touch—nor his punch or sense of timing. He is suddenly back in the ring cuffing the boys around.

So they have purposely fertilized an "anti-Washington" psychology all right, rejoins the President (by act rather than by word), Washington has indeed been derelict in its leadership in this war. Washington has indeed been playing selfish, partisan politics, and has toadied to those who are out to line their pockets, while American soldiers die. But who in Washington?

Mr. Roosevelt will say: The dominant clique in Congress.

He will try to portray the "average congressional mind" to the average voter, and if he succeeds the average voter won't like it. He will try thus to turn the congressional stiletto, so long aimed for his back, into a boomerang.

And if in so doing he passes a few insulting references to the intent and ethics of some of his senatorial enemies—well, two can

plotting to elect Roosevelt to a fourth term.

#### LAUNCHES ATTACK

FIRST THRUST in the President's counterattack was to set up his basic platform for 1944, which calls for his re-election as (1) the "experienced leader who can bring quickest victory with smallest casualties;" (2) the "veteran international negotiator with the background and finesse needed to handle the delicate issues of enduring peace;" (3) the President "whose New Deal saved the country when those who now scoff at it had failed;" and (4) the "bold postwar planner for full employment and prosperity, which would be impossible under stuffy, inflexible national leadership."

His second thrust was to establish himself as the champion of the soldiers and of a "tough" war policy—national service for use against strikers, high taxation to keep down war profits, hold-the-line subsidies to head off temporary inflationary profits for the few and ultimate ruin for the many, any home-front sacrifice really necessary, and to blaze with the "blocs."

For a few hours after this one, veteran politicians thought he had gone plumb crazy. Then they remembered that he knows better than they what lies a head in Europe—and realized that he had stolen a march on them.

For, if the American people do not now want a leader who will be as tough as necessary on civilians, but no tougher, before November they will have respect for no other sort of a leader.

*file  
Memorandum* PSF: Politics ~~Mem covers~~ "H"

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 15, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

If Bill Douglas calls me to tell  
me that ~~Sol~~ *Saul* Haas of the State of  
Washington is in town, would you be  
interested in seeing him to talk over  
the situation in the Northwest?

GGT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*file  
personal*

February 16, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: GRACE TULLY

For your information.

D.K.N.

C  
O  
P  
Y

*Political folder 4-44*  
*PSF*

JAMES A. FARLEY  
New York

January 29, 1944

Personal and Confidential

Hon. George Foulkes  
Hartford, Michigan

Dear George:

Just a line to inquire as to what you really think of the political picture at the present time. Is the trend so definite, in your judgment, that a Democratic victory is impossible by the President or any other nominee of the Party? In other words, what I am trying to find out is the exact picture as you see it, presented from your knowledge of politics in your state and from your outside contacts.

I have some pretty definite ideas and I am curious to know whether they are in accord with views of others throughout the country, and this prompts me to write you. You may be assured that anything you say to me will be treated in strict confidence.

I am leaving on a business trip across the country and shall not return until early in March. In the meantime, if you can get this information together and have it in my possession when I return I would appreciate it very much.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Jim

JAF-w

(2616)

*hms*

*Political folder*

*4-44*

*PSF*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 2, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. JAMES BARNES:

Will you get hold of Gene Casey right away and talk this matter out with him? Will you let me have a report and also prepare a line to Ewing for my signature?

F.D.R.

Memorandum for Miss Tully from Oscar R. Ewing, "Wednesday", attached to which is memorandum from the Democratic National Committee from Mr. Ewing for the President, 2/29/44, in re Minnesota political situation.

*Political folder - 2-44*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 4, 1944.

*File  
personal*

M E M O R A N D U M

FOR: MISS GRACE TULLY

Pursuant to our conversation, I talked with Gene Casey on this matter. I do not know how far I got, but I did my best.

JAMES M. BARNES

Wednesday.

Dear Miss Fully:

Would you be good enough to pass on to the President the attached memorandum? I fear that, unless something is done, my buddy, Gene Casey, may do something that will destroy all our efforts to bring about a merger of the Democratic and Farm-Labor parties in Minnesota.

Cordially,

Oscar V. Ewing

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: The President

February 29, 1944

FROM: Oscar R. Ewing  
Vice Chairman

IN RE: Minnesota situation

Mayor McDonough of St. Paul called on me yesterday to say that the proposed merger of the Democratic and Farmer-Labor parties in Minnesota is about to collapse. The critical time is this coming week-end when there are to be meetings of the state committees of both parties. Mayor McDonough said Democratic Chairman Kelm is raising obstacles which the Mayor thinks are captious. He urged me to be in Minneapolis over the week-end and try to prevent a break-up. He said he thought Kelm's objections sprang from a desire to be assured that he would continue as Chairman. The Mayor said that if it is necessary to continue Kelm as Chairman in order to put through the merger, he is all for it.

Elmer Benson had a lieutenant come all the way from Minnesota to discuss the situation with me yesterday. Benson and he both agree with McDonough.

I talked with Frank Walker and he thinks I should be in Minneapolis for the meetings Saturday and Sunday. I telephoned Bob Hannegan and he believes - and I fully agree with him - that McDonough is our best bet in Minnesota and that we should follow his advice. Accordingly, I am arranging to leave for Minneapolis Thursday afternoon.

Ed Flynn, Frank Walker and I have always seen eye-to-eye on this Minnesota problem and I believe Bob Hannegan will also agree, although none of us have yet had an opportunity to talk it out with him. We have all heard many charges of disloyalty against Kelm, how he is just a stooge of Elmer Ryan, etc., etc., but none of us have so far had any reason to criticize him. While we have always had our fingers crossed, so far Kelm's conduct has been 100%. But even if we are wrong, the fact remains that Kelm is the Chairman and without his cooperation the merger cannot go through.

This afternoon, Gene Casey telephoned me. He said that Kelm was a double-crossing so-and-so, that unless I threw him out as State Chairman he, Casey, would hold me personally responsible for the results in Minnesota, that in any event he was declaring war on me, that he proposed to drive me out of the Committee, that my being counsel for the Aluminum Company was embarrassing to you and to Bob Hannegan, etc., etc.

I am at a complete loss to know the cause of this explosion against me. In any event, you know I would gladly resign or anything else rather than cause you or Bob Hannegan the slightest embarrassment. I just do not want Gene's animosity towards me to break up the merger. Gene's contacts in

TO: The President

Page 2.

Minnesota are with the group that has not been interested in winning elections but rather in controlling the organization so as to have the disposal of patronage.

The situation is so delicate that any false move can destroy everything. I am so afraid Gene will barge in and upset everything. Can you do something to make him keep out of the whole Minnesota situation? Don't mind about his attack on me. When Drew Pearson, Ralph Brewster, et als shoot at me, they are not shooting at you.

Memorandum

Jim Barnes

Dear Miss Tulley

Gene "has gone  
and done it again"!

Would you be good  
enough to pass this on  
to the President at the  
first opportunity?

APWing



DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

MEMORANDUM

*file personal*

TO: THE PRESIDENT

March 22, 1944

FROM: OSCAR R. EWING  
VICE-CHAIRMAN

I have just received a memorandum from a confidential source regarding Minnesota, reading in part as follows:

"Frank Haas has always worked closely with Gene Casey. Haas and his friends planned to have a newspaper story released in Washington to the effect that Kelm (the Democratic State Chairman) was obstructing and throwing a monkey wrench into the merger program. The story was supposed to identify you as the sponsor and associate of Kelm. The story was intended to permit the drawing of the inference that you are working with Kelm to prevent the merger. The story included also a statement to the effect that the President wanted the merger put over, that the Minnesota Democrats were anxious for it and that any failure would be due to Kelm's opposition. You were supposed to be on the spot as a result and be dropped by Hannegan from the National Committee. The latter aspect of the situation was "touched up" by a statement that you were not sitting too nicely anyway, that Hannegan was cleaning house and that you would go just as Allen was fired by Hannegan.

The story was written and handed to the reporters covering Minnesota papers, and was in fact released to them by Casey to be run in last Monday morning's paper. Some people with good sense and decency heard about it and raised so much hell out in Minnesota that the 'phone was keyy busy over the weekend until Casey was reached and induced to pull the story. Casey had to force the reporters to return the story to him un-used."

Is there anything you can possibly do to compel Gene to keep completely out of this Minnesota situation? It is touch and go anyway and stupid things like this may upset everything. Once the merger is accomplished I do not care what Gene says. It is simply that I do not want his animosity towards me to wreck a situation that is most delicate at the best.

I have just talked with Bob Hannegan on the telephone and he approves my sending you this memorandum. Because of the time limit I think Gene should be squelched as soon as possible.

*O R Ewing*

PSF: Political folder  
4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 21, 1944

*file  
Barnes*

M E M O R A N D U M

FOR: MISS GRACE TULLY

RE: JOSEPH P. KEENAN LETTER OF APRIL 4.

Pursuant to your memorandum of April 7th,  
concerning the attached correspondence,  
I talked to Joe Keenan about this today  
and no reply is necessary.

James M. Barnes

**JOSEPH B. KEENAN**

April 4, 1944

Dear Grace:

Of all the isolationists who really mean to cause trouble and destroy the effort of our President and our good soldiers and sailors, in my opinion Gerald Nye stands at the top of the list. He has far more cunning and ability than he is being accredited with. But he can definitely be beaten in the primary in North Dakota on the 27th of June. To bring this about some collaboration will be needed with the Democrats.

However, the Secretary of the Interior has a remarkably strong position due to the fact that he is the head of the Government Utilities Expansion Project. These are now reaching definitely into North Dakota and not alone will involve the Government expenditure of hundreds of millions but a good deal of prestige for anyone sponsoring the same.

Nye is now getting under the wing of Mr. Ickes and is already in print as claiming that he is the founder of these projects. It is most important, I believe, that this hypocrisy be unmasked and not alone that the Secretary of the Interior let the world know that Nye is not responsible therefor but leave no doubt at all on the subject. For some time it has been my firm conviction that Secretary Ickes and Senator Nye were firm fast friends. Whether the scales have fallen from the eyes of the Secretary on this point I have no means of knowing. If Secretary Ickes in this particular would cooperate to the extent only of denying this prestige to Nye and if possible, and it should be, to build up his opponent, Nye would not have the chance for the success that now appears to be his.

## JOSEPH B. KEENAN

Nye will have perhaps as much as half a million dollars to use to come back to the Senate, and with which to win this Republican primary on June 27th. I would like to do all I could to prevent such a catastrophe, but if prompt action is not taken Mr. Nye, the isolationist, will sail back into office for six years more.

I do not know Secretary Ickes well enough to talk to him on this unsponsored but if I could get some real help I would want to take the laboring oar.

Sincerely,

*Joseph B. Keenan*

Miss Grace Tully  
Secretary, The White House  
Washington, D. C.

UNDER SEC

UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

WASHINGTON

April 12, 1944.

Confidential

MEMORANDUM for Mr. James M. Barnes,  
Administrative Assistant to the President.

In response to your telephone inquiry, I have had a careful check made within the Department with respect to the origination of the Upper Missouri Basin development plans. To the best of my knowledge and belief, Senator Nye had nothing to do with the inauguration of the plans for this project, so far as this Department is concerned. I am advised, however, that Sena Nye is now supporting the Department's program.

END. ADD FORNAS

Under Secretary.

*Miss*

*300-N. Dakota  
" N "*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 7, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

*5276*

HON. JAMES M. BARNES: *X#*

Will you be good enough to read the enclosed letter and either answer it directly to Joe Keenan or let me know how you think I should handle it?

Grace G. Tully  
Private Secretary

Letter from Hon. Joseph B. Keenan, *4/4/44*, to Miss Tully, in re Gerald Nye's campaign for election to the Senate from the State of North Dakota.

*X*  
*X*

PSF: Political folder 4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*File  
Confidential*

May 9, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Mayor Hague called in regard to the two special congressional elections in New York -- one in Brooklyn and one on Staten Island. He is very much worried that unless somebody gets in there and pitches soon we will lose both of them and our Republican friends will claim a great victory.

He wonders if you would get word to Bob Hannegan suggesting that Bob appoint a committee representing the National Committee -- say from New York, New Jersey and Conn. to advise with him and the leaders of these two counties. This would include Hague as National Committeeman from New Jersey and he is very anxious to do everything he can to help. He says he does not care how much work it involves and if you think well of this idea, may I talk with Jim Barnes about it and have Jim Barnes take it up with Hannegan and say you would like to see it done? This group, the Mayor explains, would work under cover and without any publicity. They would meet in New York and lunch and discuss the situation and then all go to work.

He also said that O'Leary only had a majority of 3395 when he was elected and that the American Labor Party had a candidate in 1940 who polled 5193 votes. He hopes very much we will get word to Hillman asking them not to put a candidate in the race this time.

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

**WASHINGTON**

-2-

Of course the Republicans would like to see one go in because it would take the votes away from the Democratic candidate. If you approve of this suggestion, should I ask Dave Niles to take it up with the powers that be in the American Labor Party and see if we can keep them from running a candidate?

G.G.T.

file

PSF Political folder 4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
BOB HANNEGAN

This is worth thinking  
about. Please return so we can  
send it back to him.

F. D. R.

Copy of a letter addressed to  
Bob Hannegan by Mr. C. H. Hicks,  
containing some suggestions re  
politics.

Returned  
June 14

BUCKLE UP  
FOR SAFETY

TO: JERRY  
WASHINGTON  
THE WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Return  
letter*

May 20, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

BOB HANNEGAN

This is worth thinking  
about. Please return so we can  
send it back to him.

F. D. R.

*Read  
FR*

JAMES W. GERARD  
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW  
41 EAST FIFTY-SEVENTH STREET  
NEW YORK CITY 22  
TELEPHONE PLAZA 8-3200

PSF: Political folder  
4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE  
MAY 30 11 32 AM '44  
RECEIVED

May 29, 1944.

Dear Franklin:

Of course my suggestion in my letter of May 27th that corporations engaged in interstate commerce should have one director appointed by SEC and one by Labor (neither having vote) should be confined to corporations having very large capital: say, twenty million or over.

I still think Farley as candidate for Vice President is best choice.

Yours ever,

*James W. Gerard*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.

PSF: Political folder  
4-44

**OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION**

WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 1, 1944

*File  
personal*

James F. Byrnes  
Director

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

RE: Mr. Gerard's Letter, May 27.

1. The criticism of Hannegan's speeches is not justified. Hannegan made no speech about a fifth term in '48. What Mr. Gerard has in mind is a statement made by Hannegan at a press conference, a pastime which is dangerous for a veteran, much less a freshman like Hannegan. In response to a question Hannegan stated that in the midst of a war the people would favor a fourth term, and he certainly favored it. A reporter then said, "Suppose the war is still on in '48, -- would you favor a fifth term?"

Hannegan, with more logic than politics, answered, "Yes." Having time to consider, we might say that Hannegan might have answered that it would depend on the condition of your health then, and other factors, or that he would answer that question in '48, but he was all out on '44, and logically would have to say that if conditions were the same in '48 he would think the same way about the candidate.

2. As to his views of New York politics, I am not qualified to speak. But the Democratic ticket certainly has no chance if he is correct in his statement that opposed to the ticket will be Irish Catholics across the river in Brooklyn and Queens, Isolationists, Germans, Sincere Isolationists, 1/2 Negroes, Poles, Italians, and Mothers.

3. He says, "You will carry California." In the recent primary in California, the registration of Democrats was 2,400,000, Republicans 1,550,000. In every state it has been demonstrated that a certain percentage of voters registered as Republican favor your election. If you did not get a Republican vote in California, you could still lose a lot of Democratic votes and carry the state.

As to his statement about Texas, it is not necessary to increase the price of oil to carry Texas. The administrative agencies have passed upon that question. At present prices the oil companies are making lots of money. The plan of which you were advised recently with reference to stripper wells has met general approval.



The trouble in Texas is the Negro question just as it is in South Carolina. The report of the Negro convention in South Carolina hereto attached will give you an idea as to the cause of the feeling between the races at this time. Texas and South Carolina critics believed their action would prevent the national convention from adopting a platform on the subject of poll taxes and the right of Negroes to vote and segregation in schools.

If the platform does not contain pledges on these subjects, Texas and South Carolina will be overwhelmingly for the ticket. If the platform does contain commitments on these subjects antagonistic to the views of southern Democrats, there will of course be serious trouble in those states and in other southern states.

The last two paragraphs of Mr. Gerard's letter caused me to believe that he must have been hurt by some corrupt management. However, I would be slow to agree to his proposals. The current definitions of Interstate Commerce embrace most of the large corporations. If a man serving as a director for General Motors should be negligent in some instance and, by reason of it pays the penalty provided by law in a suit brought by stockholders, he is then punished for his mistake or neglect. The question is whether Government should say that because of such a settlement he can not thereafter serve on the Board of Directors of a corporation even though he may own more than 50 percent of the stock of the corporation. It is one thing to say that he is liable financially for neglect. It is another thing to say that because of his neglect in one instance he shall be precluded for the rest of his life from serving as a director in any corporation.

If Whitney and Morgan in the case referred to paid \$4,500,000 for their neglect on mistake, it seems to me that is a pretty stiff penalty without, at the same time, giving them a life sentence.

  
J.F.B.

P.S. It is interesting that in California with 80 percent of the votes counted for Presidential preference the count is:

Roosevelt	527,250
Warren	397,490

A large portion of the votes not counted are from Los Angeles County where you ran strong.

JAMES W. GERARD  
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW  
41 X EAST FIFTY-SEVENTH STREET  
NEW YORK CITY 22  
TELEPHONE PLAZA 8-3200

THE WHITE HOUSE  
MAY 29 8 36 AM '44  
RECEIVED

May 27, 1944.

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Franklin:

I. Hannegan should submit his proposed speeches. That one about a fifth term in '48, not so good.

II. I have sent you proposed letter which I am willing to sign alone or with others.

III. As to Vice-President, if Farley is named it would mean much strength added to ticket especially in New York.

IV. I put candidates for Vice-President as follows:

1. Farley
2. Wallace
3. Rayburn
4. Berkley

As for Winant you might as well nominate George VI.

V. A very clever New York politician (not Farley) whom you would concede is an authority told me yesterday that the Republicans will come to the Bronx with a great majority and that our ticket in trying to offset this will meet following conditions in New York City.

All the Jews and Archbishop Spellman will be for the Democratic ticket.

The President,  
Washington, D. C.

May 27, 1944.  
Page, 2.

Opposed will be:

Irish Catholics across the river in  
Brooklyn and Queens  
Isolationists

and

- a. Germans
- b. Sincere Isolationists
- 1/2 Negroes
- Poles
- Italians
- Mothers.

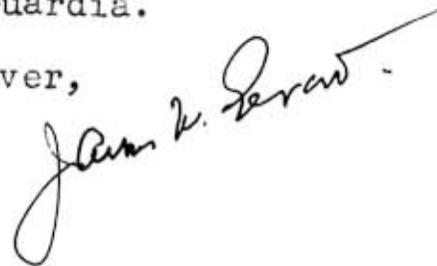
If your diplomats are skilled they ought to arrange the Polish and Italian questions before election day. But after all, much will depend on the invasion. You will carry California. Rayburn would help in Texas as would a lift in the price of oil.

A bill introduced providing that every corporation engaged in interstate commerce should have one director appointed by the Government and one by labor, both without voting power in the organization, would give a chance to show up the corruption and settlements by directors.

A bill to provide that no corporation engaged in interstate commerce should permit the election of any person as director who as a director of any corporation had paid up on charge of negligence or corruption in any suit brought by stockholders would be used with similar effect. For instance, George Whitney and young Morgan directors of U. S. Steel were directors of General Motors who with others paid \$4,500,000.00 in settlement.

There may be a combination of Republicans and Democrats to elect Curran as successor to La Guardia.

Yours ever,



JWG:EF

T-287

*Political folder*  
4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 31, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. JAMES F. BYRNES:

TO READ AND RETURN TO ME.

F.D.R.

Letter to the President, 5-27-44, from Hon. James W. Gerard, 41 E. 57th St., NYC 22, in re politics.



PSF: Political folder  
4-44

File

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

S.I.R.

Will you ask Lyndon Johnson whether he thinks I should call Jones and Clayton in and ask them frankly what they are going to do about it and tell them it is their immediate responsibility and ask them what are their plans?

F.D.R.

BEN H. POWELL  
A. J. WIRTZ  
J. A. RAUHUT  
W. S. GIDEON  
BEN H. POWELL, JR.  
HERMAN JONES  
GEORGE W. LEONARD, JR.

LAW OFFICES  
**POWELL, WIRTZ, RAUHUT & GIDEON**  
BROWN BUILDING  
P. O. BOX 63  
AUSTIN (1), TEXAS

May 25, 1944

Honorable Harold L. Ickes  
Secretary of the Interior  
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

You may be interested in what occurred at the Democratic State Convention here Tuesday, May 23. There are many implications which may not be readily apparent on the surface. I think they have a serious import to the success of the Democratic Party in November, and, incidentally, to the safety of the country. What happened here was the manifestation of a movement of great strength to select Democratic electors in certain southern states pledged to refuse to cast their votes for President Roosevelt, and perhaps any other nominee of the Chicago Convention, and thus throw the selection of a President into the Lower House of Congress.

The Convention was controlled by delegates pledged to this program. They were selected from the four big cities of Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth and San Antonio, and some of the other counties where the O'Daniel-Germany element is predominant. As a leader of the Roosevelt forces at the Convention, I attempted to have the Convention force the delegates to take a pledge to support the nominees of the National Convention to be held at Chicago. We lost on a test vote by some 166 votes out of an approximate 1600. I then tried to force a vote on a motion to pledge the electors nominated by the Convention to cast their votes

Hon. Harold L. Ickes  
Page Two  
May 25, 1944

for the nominees of the Democratic National Convention and was refused a vote on this by the Chairman; and on an appeal from the ruling of the Chair, his ruling was sustained by approximately the same vote. At this juncture some of the Roosevelt delegates started a stampede from the Convention and a good deal of confusion ensued. Lyndon Johnson and I followed them to another hall and persuaded them to defer organizing a separate convention, but remain in caucus, until we could determine whether a direct vote could be obtained on a resolution which would instruct the Presidential electors in accordance with the motion I had made. We failed to obtain such a vote.

The Committee on Resolutions of the Convention voted to report out two resolutions, one of them relating to the restoration of the two-thirds rule and the other relating to the prevention of "Federal encroachment" on state affairs, and both of the resolutions carried a provision that if the action of the National Convention on those issues is not satisfactory, the electors would not be bound to vote for the nominees of the National Convention, but should cast their vote for any Democrat. We failed to obtain sufficient votes against these resolutions to get a minority report before the Convention, and both resolutions were declared adopted by a voice vote. One of the resolutions reported out of the Committee on Resolutions expressed appreciation to the men in our armed forces. A member of the Committee moved to include the Commander-in-Chief, and this amendment was voted down, insufficient votes being obtained for it to support a minority report. The name of the President was not mentioned in any

Hon. Harold L. Ickes  
Page Three  
May 25, 1944

of the resolutions of the Convention.

After the proceedings of the Convention had been concluded and the results noted, the caucus of Roosevelt delegates organized itself into a convention and proceeded to select delegates to the Chicago Convention and to nominate electors. I am enclosing you a copy of the principal resolution adopted by that convention.

From the foregoing, you will conclude that the real Democrats were asleep, and this is probably a correct conclusion. Some of us became suspicious of what was going on very shortly before the Precinct Conventions were held and tried to arouse sufficient interest in them to get out the real Democrats, but we were too late. All of us had been busy with our own affairs and had assumed that the Party Leaders, whose business it was to keep up with the matter, would call on us if and when necessary. Bob Hannegan had been in Dallas and conferred with the National Committeeman from Texas and other leading Democrats. I was prevented from attending the meeting because I was engaged in the trial of a lawsuit at the time. However, there was apparently nothing occurring there to indicate that we were in any danger. After interest had died down and it seemed that everybody was for Roosevelt, the National Committeeman from Texas, who is a very sick man, was drawn into some sort of an agreement with the Chairman of the State Executive Committee, Mr. George Butler, nephew of Honorable Jesse H. Jones, and consented to a program of sending an uninstructed delegation to the Chicago Convention. They claim that

Hon. Harold Ickes  
Page Four  
May 25, 1944

such program was approved in Washington, and particularly name Mr. Jones and Senator Connally. At any rate, about a week before the Precinct Conventions were to be held, the Chairman of the State Executive Committee had letters sent out, over his official signature and on stationery of the Committee, to each Precinct Chairman, enclosing a so-called "Four-Point Resolution," stating that it was a part of the "Party Program", and asked each Precinct Chairman to see that it was adopted. This resolution declared in favor of the restoration of the two-thirds rule, for the Party to be in sole charge of the participants in its primaries, against the abolition of the poll tax, and for an uninstructed delegation to the Chicago Convention. As a matter of fact, the letter had never been authorized by the State Executive Committee, which had met in Austin the latter part of March. Although a majority of the State Executive Committee no doubt favored the plan, to have brought it before the Committee would have given it publicity and exposed the scheme. In a large number of counties the Precinct Chairman simply calls a few of his friends into a meeting and they pass what he hands out. In the four large cities, the proponents of this scheme had perfected a far-reaching organization, all without publicity and in utmost secrecy. In those counties they controlled the County Conventions and hand-picked the delegates to the State Convention. They were careful to see that no Roosevelt man and no friend of the Administration and no one of liberal views was put on any of these delegations. In Houston the delegation was

Hon. Harold Ickes  
Page Five  
May 25, 1944

headed by a lawyer named John Crocker, the attorney for the Will Clayton interests, whose law partner was Chairman of the County Republican Convention. I think every other lawyer on the delegation, some twenty-four of them, had signed a political advertisement asking the people to vote against the President in 1940. The other delegates were well-known oil men who had been fighting the Democratic Party since 1936, and particularly J. C. Cullen, who is reported to have contributed \$25,000 to Willkie's campaign fund. The other delegations were similarly constituted. For instance, the second name on the San Antonio delegation was that of Al Buchanan, who was Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms at the Republican Convention in Philadelphia in 1940 and contributed heavily to the Willkie campaign. The moving spirit on the Fort Worth delegation had sponsored the Woodring movement in Texas. It was a motley crew.

It is my opinion that this heads back via O'Daniel into the Pews, the Sinclairs, the Gannetts and the Aldrichs. We had word of O'Daniel's having secret meetings with the big oil operators (and by that I am not limiting it to the big companies, but include so-called independents) in the various big cities. It was rumored that at these meetings large sums of money were contributed. O'Daniel has announced that he has raised \$50,000 and is seeking to raise \$500,000. It is reported that contributions to him are marked for "Education in American Government" and that the Treasury Department has cleared this as a contribution to a charitable purpose and deductible for income tax purposes.

Hon. Harold Ickes  
Page Six  
May 25, 1944

The underlying purpose is to seize the reins of Government from the people and set up a Fascist state. It is reliably reported that in one of the conference rooms there were gathered the representatives of billions of dollars of wealth. I saw and identified representatives of Pew, Sinclair, the Standard of New Jersey, the Standard of New York, Ford, the Electric Bond & Share and other big concerns. After their triumph at the Convention here, and when their tongues were loosened by a few drinks, they boasted that they had similar plans and were sufficiently well organized to carry them out in Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina, and that Roosevelt would not get a majority of the votes in the electoral college unless he had sufficient without those states. I do not know the exact number of electoral votes from Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina, but I think the situation is a dangerous one.

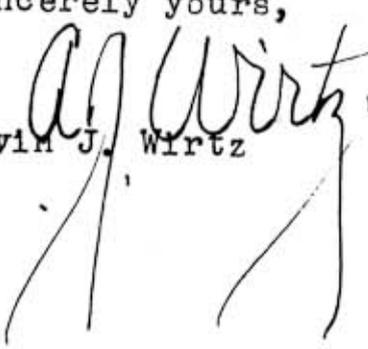
You well know that I do not seek any favors from the Administration. As far as my personal fortunes are concerned, it would have been much better for me to have stayed out of the fight. It is going to require much time and money to carry it on. I have had a conference with Lyndon Johnson and some others of our friends, and we are having a meeting this afternoon. It is his and my opinion, and I think it will be the consensus of opinion at the meeting that the determination of whether we carry on should depend on the attitude of the National Party Leaders to a very great degree. For this reason I have burdened you with a rather lengthy account of the situation, so that you may be apprised of it and pass the information on to those to whom you

Hon. Harold Ickes  
Page Seven  
May 25, 1944

think it should be of interest. I would very much like to have your own personal reaction to the situation.

With best personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

  
Alvin J. Wirtz

AJW:ob

May 29, 1944

TEXAS CONVENTION REVIEW:

JJR  
To read to  
a talk to  
be about -

A political reporter, so close to Jesse Jones that he signed a story in the Dallas News boosting Jones for Vice President in 1944, is authority for the statement that an oil man, Heir of Houston, and an oil man, E.B. Germany of Dallas, as floor managers controlled the Austin-held Democratic Convention.

Germany was the state and national leader for Garner in 1940. Heir is closely associated in Houston with Jones-Clayton elements.

Ex-Governor Dan Moody, who was elected temporary chairman over ex-Governor James Allred, derives practically all his revenue from large Houston oil concerns and is a close friend of Jones.

Butler, of the State Democratic Committee, sent out, before the Convention, under his title, a suggested resolution for uninstructed delegates to be used in County conventions. In as much as Butler is a nephew by marriage of Jesse Jones and is the Jones liason with Governor Coke Stevenson, it is obvious that Jesse Jones (and probably Will Clayton) was intimately concerned and regularly informed of everything the anti-Roosevelt group planned and accomplished.

The reported fact that Jones "rumped" is a part of his general pattern of playing both sides to the point of victory. He has repeatedly done this - such as using the Houston Post in 1940 for Wilkie while using his Houston Chronicle for Roosevelt. This time he leaves his nephew with the anti-Roosevelts and walks out with the Roosevelts. This man is even capable of putting himself in position of being the only man who "can save the Electors for Roosevelt". Lyndon Johnson's first report is that Jones and Clayton controlled and planned the anti-Roosevelt operation. Johnson was at a point of vantage in as much as Allred, the defeated Rooseveltian for temporary chairman, comes from Houston where he watched the anti-Roosevelt manoeuvres. Should one want a more detailed account and were not satisfied with the simple statement that the Houston and Dallas delegations were militantly anti-Roosevelt, it might be wise to bring Allred, Wirtz, and Lyndon Johnson

quickly to Washington for a more accurate digest.

The resolution introduced following the first anti-Roosevelt victory on the temporary chairman issue, was designed to vote the Democratic Electors for Dewey either directly or casting for some "other Democrat." That is in other words, simply to rob Texas democracy by folling the common voter into voting for men whom he thought were planning to vote for Roosevelt but who were definitely being picked to vote Republican.

While Dan Moody as a political lawyer, had a hand in this and while ex-Garner operator Germany was closely advised by Garner, for one who knows the mentalities in Texas, no credit should be given either to Germany or Moody for concocting this plan. It is too daring and ruthless for Moody and it is too complicated for Germany.

The bare-faced effort to sabotage the Democratic Process in Texas and to steal the Democractic Electoral vote for Dewey, was concocted at Houston and put into resolution form by the multimillionaire legal firm of Baker & Botts. This firm represents in parlor bribery the oil interests which stem out of Standard Oil of New Jersey. This firm has made millions in fees by handling the political aspects of oil companies at Austin legislative sessions. When Dan Moody first ran for Attorney General during the KuKluxKlan agitation, this firm paid the bill for circularizing his campaign. Through this firm has poured tremendous annual sums to political campaigns running all the way from Governor to Commissioners in charge of oil and railroads and even down to State Senators. Heads of this firm have been Directors for over twenty years in the larger banks and oil businesses. Jesse Jones and Will Clayton have been intimate cronies with these men. Governor Coke Stevenson has been repeatedly bribed through the buying of unproductive oil leases.

Perhaps the only reason that this conspiracy was even attempted, is that Rayburn and Coke Stevenson were so busy in their own political races that they refused either to give leadership to the Roosevelt picture or were afraid of defeat if they undertook the Roosevelt and Democratic Party defense.

Lyndon Johnson attempted to compromise the Roosevelt rumpers after the Roosevelt forces were defeated about 900 to 750 on the temporary chairmanship, and after the resolution to rob Texas of democracy was carried by about the same vote. He had been working previously as liason between Coke Stevenson and Rayburn hoping to bring through the Rayburn instruction for Vice Presidency. At the last minute, Coke washed his hands of the Convention. An early forecast of this Convention indicated that Coke might sell another oil lease. Up to the present moment there has been no record filed of such a transaction. It simply looks as if Rayburn and Johnson were little boys who could not carry the water from the well and that Jones-Clayton expected to wake up in control of the Texas Electoral vote which might be extremely valuable in a close election to both Roosevelt and Dewey.

The actual facts of the Arkansas Convention should now be examined. The plan there was to be uninstructed on the Presidency and to be instructed for Rayburn for Vice President, but the final outcome was uninstructed for both places. But the resolutions of the Arkansas State Convention should be examined. The same should be done in South Carolina where a resolution was passed that the state committee should meet in August following the Democratic Convention. There may be a sleeper in this resolution.

Apparently there are forces being carefully directed from some major center such as a good New York law firm which may have a pattern designed legally to rob Roosevelt of some of the southern states' Electoral votes. Were one a legal political adviser such as Rosenman, he might collect the resolutions passed by every southern state from Texas to Florida and including Tennessee and Virginia. The actual pattern of thievery may be different in each state and would be if the matter has been well planned. Texas is the only state where a **clear** pattern is on the surface.

One should remember that in Florida an attempt was made to slip over Byrd Delegates without making Byrd the issue; that the South Carolina and Arkansas situations are puzzling; that Garner, Farley, Hull and Jones are emotionally

friendly as they were in 1940.

The nomination of Roosevelt being a foregone conclusion, regardless of southern states, it is possible some daring mind has concocted a scheme of bolting or not attending the National Democratic Convention, or a meeting following the Democratic Convention of state Rump Conventions, for instructions to the Electors to cast anti-Roosevelt ballots at the Electoral College either by:

- 1 - Instructions not to vote, or
- 2 - To throw votes to Byrd or Favorite Sons, or,
- 3 - to cast them for Dewey as individuals or state blocks.

This situation sounds very fantastic, but the Texas, Arkansas, South Carolina, and Florida operations all show phases of a pattern of manipulation and intent to steal a close election at the Electoral College itself.

The first intimation of a possible, but many sided and unified plan, was the Florida episode behind Byrd which was to have been followed by Virginia uninstructed but for Byrd. But the clearest early operation was the passage of identical resolutions in Precinct Conventions in Texas to the effect that the Texas State Convention should name Delegates to the Democratic Convention who would not attend the Chicago Convention - a straight sit-down strike. The resolution further provided that the Delegates to the Chicago Convention would meet somewhere in Texas and if not satisfied with the Chicago proceedings, should call upon southern Delegates from other states to join the Texas Delegation in the creation of a real or regular Democratic Party.

In a private letter issued in Florida before the Pepper-Roosevelt victory, an anti-Roosevelt publisher writing to all other sympathetic Florida publishers, declared that Roosevelt was not a Democrat and that it was the right and duty of Florida Democrats to declare themselves regular Democrats, in effect reading Roosevelt out of the Party by declaring the state democracies superior to the National Convention decision.

Since the Constitution does not recognize Parties at the Electoral College, the writer can not be sure that this pattern of conspiracy could not be legally carried

out at the terminus - the Electoral College. That is for some man like Roseman, after all the evidence of resolutions passed and possible actions of anti-Roosevelt operators using States Rights at the Electoral College, have been reviewed.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 29, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

I was at lunch with Secretary Ickes today, who gave me the attached letter from Alvin Wirtz giving him the details of what happened at the Convention in Texas.

I think it is quite startling and well worth your reading. I think you might want to send for Jesse Jones and Will Clayton and have a talk with them about it.

I should think that the Houston papers ought to blast the resolutions adopted.



S. I. R.

P. S. I have also obtained some newspaper clippings from Austin about the Convention which give a fuller report than the New York Times gave.

# Bitter Court Fight Slated Over Choice of Electors

By United Press

A bitter court battle was expected to result from Tuesday's split of democrats and the holding of rival conventions.

Each convention named a set of electors to cast the vote for president and vice president.

The court battle is expected to be precipitated when Secy. of State Sidney Latham prepares the ballot for the November general election. Whichever list of electors he decides

to place on the ballot as the "democratic" electors was expected to be challenged by the other side.

## 'Doubleheader' Convention Leaves Texas Democrats Divided on FDR Support

By RAYMOND BROOKS

Texas democrats Tuesday held two state conventions, saw the walk-out of Roosevelt-regular-backers from the meeting dominated by uninstructed and strongly-tinged with bitter anti-Roosevelt sentiment and a contest pitched between two rival delegations for seats in the Chicago national convention.

Brought out was a deep and complete break between two elements of the party, the effect of which may last beyond the November election. The main convention de-

More convention news, including texts of the "uninstructed" and "Roosevelt" groups' principal resolutions, will be found on Pages 2 and 13.

clared a policy that presidential electors may, on their own terms, refuse to cast the Texas vote for the party nominee and it was on this policy that the Roosevelt forces marched out of an overcrowded senate chamber at noon to hold its own lengthy meeting in the house. (Continued on Page 13, Col. 5.)

Procedure would be application to the state supreme court for a mandamus. If the state supreme court decided it was without jurisdiction, the application could be made to the U.S. supreme court.

An act of the Texas legislature in 1931 permitted the placing of the names of the candidates themselves on the ballot instead of the names of the electors. This was for the purpose of permitting a shorter ballot.

In 1940, however, the full list of electors was placed on the ballot, and inquiry here showed neither a court decision nor attorney general's ruling on this phase of the election law.

If names of candidates were used, the decision of which electors to certify would be put up to Gov. Coke R. Stevenson, who is designated as the person to make the certification in the election law.

Joe Steadham of Fort Worth warned the pro-Roosevelt convention last night that it better designate itself as the "Roosevelt democratic state convention" and assure a place for its electors that way. He withdrew the suggestion after conference with lawyer members of the pro-Roosevelt faction.

# Pro-Roosevelt Demos Issue 'Bolt' Reasons

By the Associated Press:

Following is the text of the resolution passed by the pro-Roosevelt democratic convention here Tuesday, setting forth its reasons for holding a separate convention:

When the time arrives for the democratic delegates to a Texas state convention to perfect an organization and act apart from other delegates, candor requires that the reasons for such action be given the people of Texas for their verdict, therefore, we, democratic delegates to the state democratic convention called to meet in Austin, Texas, on May 23, 1944, in convention hereby adopt the following statement and declaration of purposes:

Certain officials of the state democratic executive committee, arbitrarily usurping their authority and functions, sent out prepared resolutions as a "party program" which resolutions were designed to be a part of a scheme and purpose of enemies of the democratic party to defeat the will of Texas Democrats:

First, securing the selection of delegates to the national convention in Chicago who will not support the nominees of that convention unless they are suitable to this faction;

And second, to select candidates for presidential electors from Texas who will refuse to vote for the nominees of the national convention unless this faction can force the convention to adopt its program.

As a result of the unauthorized usurpation and manipulation of party machinery, these enemies of the democratic party procured the selection of delegates from the four largest counties of Texas, a large majority of whom supported the republican candidate for the presidency in 1940; with the aid of the votes of some smaller counties whose delegates were selected in like manner and alike constituted, these enemies of the democratic party, aided and abetted by those in control of the party machinery, unfairly and unlawfully proceeded with a meeting undemocratic in form and principle and contrary to the sentiments of the democracy of Texas.

They refused to require the delegates participating in the convention to pledge themselves to support the nominees of the democratic national convention.

They refused to instruct their nominees as presidential electors to cast their votes in the electoral college for the nominees of the democratic national convention, but they have adopted resolutions which have the effect of authorizing, if not in fact directing them, to vote against such nominees if the program of their own making is not adopted by the national convention.

The true Democrats were thus confronted with a situation of such vital import to the safety of the nation as to require action on our part. We took this action reluctantly and with exceeding regret.

But we could not trifle with the safety of our country by permitting a meeting of our democracy—republicans masquerading as democrats—to make it possible to throw the election of a president into a contest before the lower house of congress, and thus cause confusion and disunity in the midst of this cruel and desperate war.

The safety of the nation, the freedom of democracy, the very lives of our sons fighting on all continents, on and under all the seas, and in the air, depends on the democrats of the great state of Texas sending delegates to the democratic national convention pledged to support the nominees of that convention, selecting candidates for presidential electors who will cast their votes in the electoral college for the nominees of the convention and thus execute the will of the people and act as their servants and not their masters.

Their will should not be thwarted by a convention of republicans masquerading as democrats.

We pledge ourselves to support and work for the election of the nominee of the democratic national convention.

We pledge our nominees for presidential electors to cast their votes in the electoral college for the nominees of that convention.

We pledge our delegates to the national convention in Chicago to work for the renomination of Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt for president of the United States, and we here pledge our complete allegiance to our commander-in-chief in his conduct of the war, and we commend him to the nation as a statesman and leader without a peer in all the history and traditions of this republic.

To the men and women of the armed forces of this nation who are fighting and dying for human liberty around the world, we pledge our best efforts to keep the supply line moving and, in support of freedom's cause for which they fight, with our trust in God, we pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our all.

# Split Between Texas Demo Factions 'Deep, Complete'

(Continued From Page 1)

of representatives. Four hours of efforts to gain a common ground on which the Roosevelt supporters felt they could stay within the main convention, made before they organized formally into a separate and competing convention, were turned down by the "uninstructed" forces.

The Roosevelt group, working on through the night hours, finally completed the procedure of district caucuses, election of delegates and presidential electors in a slate to be proposed at Chicago as a substitute for the "uninstructed" ticket. However, while it named electors pledged to support Roosevelt, it appeared that the Roosevelt forces will have no way of getting their electors on the November ballot, short of the extreme of creating a separate party to support the national party nominee.

Former Gov. Dan Moody of Austin, candidate of the "uninstructed," won by a rather slim margin over Former Gov. James V. Allred for temporary chairman, on a show-down roll-call provided as a partial compromise on procedure. The Roosevelt democrats, led by A. J. Wirtz, demanded then that delegates and electors be instructed to support the party nominee—the issue on which finally the two conventions took opposing sides. Chmn. George A. Butler of the state committee—presiding until a chairman should be elected—ruled this out of order. The Roosevelt forces appealed and secured a roll-call, and when the roll-call sustained Butler, the break started.

Mrs. Alfred Taylor of Austin, from the 10th district delegation, shouted out the call to leave the convention hall. During a tumultuous quarter-hour, proceedings were stopped while three to four hundred of the delegates marched out of the senate and went into the house of representatives.

There Cong. Lyndon Johnson urged against "too hasty action," and suggested that a committee meet with the resolutions committee, and ask that a pledge be written that electors would stand by the party nominees. Mayor Miller, Herman Jones, A. J. Wirtz and others served on that committee.

The resolutions group of the "uninstructed" forces told them to wait their turn, and spent more than two hours listening to a series of anti-Roosevelt resolutions sponsored by C. C. Renfro of Dallas. Two of these offered to free Texas electors of any obligation to vote for the party nominee, unless the two-thirds nominating rule were restored, another unless the right of parties to control their own affairs were assured, and "federal encroachment" stopped.

Sen. Penrose Metcalfe of San Angelo and Rep. Paul Donald of Bowie fought these, and mustered a five-vote minority against 11 votes for the Renfro resolution.

One of Renfro's resolutions commended the armed forces of the United States. Rep. Donald's amendment to including commending the "commander-in-chief of the armed forces," was tabled by the committee, 11-7.

Renfro, speaking for the right to free electors from the duty of voting for Roosevelt, said he wanted Texas delegates to go to Chicago "with a gun in their pocket," to force action on the two-thirds rule.

Mayor Miller and Cong. Johnson addressed this committee briefly, asking that at least a minority report give the Roosevelt people a chance for a direct vote in the main convention. Metcalfe and Donald tried to secure this, but got only five votes, while seven was required to bring in the "instructed" resolution.

On the Roosevelt forces, pro-

port party nominees, unless the two-thirds rule is given back to the South. He also supported a resolution declaring delegates to Chicago to be free to vote as they see fit, subject to the "fundamental tenets" of "Jeffersonian democracy."

The Roosevelt meeting elected Mrs. Driscoll chairman of its delegation to Chicago, and Herman Jones, vice chairman. From the Austin district, it named Mayor Tom Miller of Austin and W. M. Hilliard, Caldwell, delegates. Included on the list of delegates-at-large were Herman Jones, E. H. Perry, Mrs. Jane Y. McCallum, Mrs. Claude Hill, A. J. Wirtz and Everett L. Looney of Austin.

A. J. Wirtz was made chairman of the Roosevelt group while it held the status of a caucus, but when it was organized into a formal convention, Mayor Miller was made chairman. Mrs. Alfred Taylor, who was secretary of the caucus, was made vice-chairman of the convention, and Former Sen. Woodville Rogers, secretary.

The "uninstructed" convention named as presidential electors: Otto Atchley, Texarkana; J. E. Wheat, Woodville; Edward Lee Tyler, Qlan, McWhorter, Greenville; Mrs. F. R. Carlton, Dallas; F. Afton Burke, Corsicana; T. G. Tilford, Nacogdoches; John H. Crooker, Houston; Ernest A. Bosl, Schulenberg; Tom Nelson, Round Rock; John Mann, McGregor; Arch H. Roman, Fort Worth; Fred H. Minor, Denton; H. J. Mosser, Alice; Thomas J. Pitts, Odessa; Fred Brown, Eastland; T. J. Jones, Canadian; Homer L. Pharr, Lubbock; John Wheeler, San Antonio; W. H. Rampe, Winters.

Chosen as electors-at-large were E. B. Germany of Dallas and T. J. Holbrook of Austin, anti-Roosevelt leaders.

The convention also named these delegates and alternates to the Chicago national convention (the first two names in each district are delegates and the second two are alternates) by districts:

1. W. N. Forey of Paris, Otto Atchley of Texarkana, C. C. Braden, John Ford, Jr. of Bogota.
2. John S. Redditt of Lufkin, Charles D. Smith of Beaumont, Rushing Manning of Center, E. J. McElroy of Center, Merritt H. Gibson of Longview, H. V. Pickett of Quitman, Carroll Florence of Gilmer, Mrs. J. S. Neal of Carthage.
3. Mrs. E. M. Carter of Sherman, W. M. Rodes of Emory, Mrs. Olga Juniger of Commerce, J. A. Alexander of Sherman.
4. Maury Hughes of Dallas, Neth Leachman of Dallas, Howard L. Dailey of Dallas, J. Hart Willis of Dallas.
5. Frank O. Martin of Waxahatchee, Bolin Bond of Fairfield, Mrs. Lee V. Rountree of Bryan, A. M. Blackman of Groesbeck.
6. W. C. Richards of Athens, G. C. Chasall of Groveton, Mrs. Ross Woodhall of Huntsville, Mrs. W. C. Richards of Athens.
7. Mrs. Irene Davis of Houston, George Butler of Houston, W. L. Pendergrass of Goose Creek, W. M. Nichols of Houston.
8. Frank Haines of Wharton, Morris Roberts of Victoria, H. C. Hughes of Galveston, Guy C. Jackson of Amador.
9. Dan Moody of Austin, Charles E. Simons of Austin, Fred S. Smith of El Marquis, Edward Clark of Austin.
10. M. R. Glenn of Waco, Roy Sanderson of Belton, Leo Lockwood of Waco, Robert D. Petterson of Marlin.
11. Karl Crowley of Arlington, A. B. Culbertson of Fort Worth, C. E. Davidson of Fort Worth, M. C. Castard of Cleburne.
12. Graham P. Stewart of Graham, R. J. Edwards of Denton, Tom O. Bryan of Henrietta, R. L. George of Seymour.
13. Harry Mosser of Alice, D. G. Moffett, J. R. Dougherty of Beeville, Tom Miller of Austin (Miller declined to accept election).
14. E. James Kazen of Laredo, W. D. Woodroof of Edinburg, Mrs. Volney W. Taylor of Brownsville, Perry Bowles of Big Wells.
15. J. E. Quaid of El Paso, Fred A. Wemple, Jr. of Midland, M. B. Murray of Grandfalls, A. H. Dennis of Odessa.
16. R. A. Luker of Proctor, Bates Cox of Thurber, R. W. Whitley of Mineral Wells, Joe Clark of Albany.
17. Charlie C. Gibson of Amarillo, James E. King of Memphis, Mrs. Clifford Braly of Pampa, H. G. Hamrick of Austin.
18. J. W. Elliott of Tahoka, John L. McGee of Morton, R. M. Kendrick of Brownfield, Horace Hawkins of Plainview.

# Resolution Text By 'Regulars' Is Recorded

Text of the "regular" Texas democratic convention's resolution conditionally freeing electors from supporting the national convention's nominees follows:

1. The democrats of Texas deplore the vigorous efforts now being made to nullify state laws and regulations for the segregation of white and negro children in our public schools; we disapprove and criticize the decision of the supreme court of the United States holding that Texans are powerless to exclude negroes from participating in the activities of the democratic party; and we deny the power of congress to encroach upon the right of our state to prescribe the qualifications of those who participate in elections held by either our state or our democratic party.

To prevent these encroachments upon state's rights we direct our delegates to the national convention to propose appropriate planks in the national platform. In event the national convention refuses to adopt these platform demands, then in this event our electors nominated by this convention are absolved from any obligation to vote for the nominees of the Chicago convention and may vote for any democrat holding views in harmony with this resolution.

2. The abolition of the two-thirds rule in the procedure for the nomination of candidates for president and vice president by the national democratic party has destroyed the power and the influence of the Southern states in national democratic affairs and is calculated to bring about the nomination of candidates who are not supported by a majority of the democrats of the nation. Therefore, Texas democratic party hereby instructs its delegates to the democratic national convention to be held in Chicago, to take all necessary steps to restore the two-thirds rule and to require an affirmative vote of two-thirds of all assembled delegates to the national convention for the nomination of president and vice president, and be it further resolved that if the national convention fails to restore the two-thirds rule, then if the electors nominated by this convention are elected, they shall not be morally obligated to vote for the nominee of the national convention, but shall be morally obligated to vote for democrats holding views in accord with those here expressed.

3. Whereas the democratic party has long been organized in Texas and has a duly constituted state executive committee which was charged with the duty of calling and preparing for the organization of this convention; and

Whereas, pursuant to the call of that committee, this convention was duly assembled, composed of delegates accredited from the several county conventions; and

Whereas, before this convention assembled, the threat was made that unless those representing certain political interests could dominate this convention and bend it to their will they would bolt this convention, name their own list of delegates to the next ensuing national democratic convention, to be held in Chicago, and there cause those to be seated in lieu of such delegates as may be sent by this convention to the said national convention; and

Whereas, those who had made such threats, being decisively defeated upon the first two roll calls of this convention, have in fact bolted this convention, and have undertaken to hold a rump convention of their own, notwithstanding the fact that up to the time of such bolt the business of this convention had been conducted in accordance with law and the rules of the democratic party, and with the utmost fairness and impartiality; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that in the event that the next ensuing national democratic convention shall seat any delegates from Texas other than those selected and accredited by this convention, then and in that event the presidential electors selected by this convention shall not be bound by any pledge whatsoever to support the nominees

to free electors from the duty of voting for Roosevelt, said he wanted Texas delegates to go to Chicago "with a gun in their pocket," to force action on the two-thirds rule.

Mayor Miller and Cong. Johnson addressed this committee briefly, asking that at least a minority report give the Roosevelt people a chance for a direct vote in the main convention. Metcalfe and Donald tried to secure this, but got only five votes, while seven was required to bring in the "instruction" resolution.

Then the Roosevelt forces proceeded to their formal organization.

The "uninstructed" convention elected Mrs. H. H. Weinert of Seguin, vice chairman of the state committee, as national committeewoman, in place of Mrs. Clara Driscoll. A telegram from Mrs. Driscoll to Mayor Miller, resigning her post, and expressing hope the convention would adopt a resolution to instruct delegates for Pres. Roosevelt was read. The "uninstructed" convention gave her a standing vote of thanks for her 12 years' service as national committeewoman.

The convention re-elected Myron Blalock as committeeman. This was the only thing on which the Roosevelt group joined the main convention. The Roosevelt group re-elected Mrs. Driscoll, in an action which apparently will be effective if its delegation is seated at Chicago, and its convention recognized as the official party procedure.

Former Sen. Roy Sanderford of Belton was elected permanent chairman of the main convention.

Symbolic of the trend of the main convention, Eugene B. Germany of Dallas, former state chairman, and T. J. Holbrook of Austin, were named the two presidential-electors-at-large by the "uninstructed" forces, recognition being given to their long and aggressive anti-Roosevelt stand in Texas affairs.

Former Gov. Allred remained in the main convention after the vote was taken electing Moody over him as the presiding officer.

While the 10th Central Texas district delegations, with eight of the 10 counties instructed for Roosevelt, were in the Roosevelt caucus, those remaining, principally the Washington county group, held the district caucus, with Tom Whitehead of Brenham as chairman. This group named Tom Nelson of Round Rock, state committeeman, as presidential elector from this district. It included Edward Clark, one of the Roosevelt leaders, as an alternate national delegate from this list. It named Dan Moody and Charles E. Simons of Austin as delegates; Fred Kaderli of San Marcos and Clark as alternates.

Former Sen. Albert Stone of Brenham served as the resolutions committee representative for this pro-Roosevelt district, and cast its vote in favor of freeing the electors from any obligation to sup-

port towards of Denton, Tom O. Bryan of Henrietta, R. L. George of Seymour.

14. Harry Mosser of Alice, D. G. Moffett, J. R. Dougherty of Beeville, Tom Miller of Austin (Miller declined to accept election).

15. E. James Kazen of Laredo, W. D. Woodroof of Edinburg, Mrs. Volney W. Taylor of Brownsville, Perry Bowles of Big Wells.

16. J. E. Quaid of El Paso, Fred A. Wemple, Jr., of Midland, M. B. Murray of Grandfalls, A. H. Dennis of Odessa.

17. R. A. Luker of Proctor, Bates Cox of Thurber, R. W. Whatley of Mineral Wells, Joe Clark of Albany.

18. Charlie C. Gibson of Amarillo, James E. King of Memphis, Mrs. Clifford Braly of Pampa, H. G. Hamrick of Austin.

19. J. W. Elliott of Tahoka, John L. McGee of Morton, R. M. Kendrick of Brownfield, Horace Hawkins of Plainview.

20. Gus Mauermann of San Antonio, Al Buchanan of San Antonio, Mrs. Frances Frasher of San Antonio, Tanner Freeman of San Antonio.

21. J. L. Lewis of Lampasas, F. S. Abney of Brownwood, N. H. Pierce of Menard, George Grupe of San Angelo.

The pro-Roosevelt convention elected:

Dist. 1—Delegates Douglas Wright and C. C. Braden, alternates J. K. Brim and C. R. Newland.

Dist. 2—Delegates J. Elro Brown and Ray Andrus, alternates J. D. Ford and Pta Kent.

Dist. 3—Delegates D. Moore and W. I. Blalock, alternates A. S. McKneely and Mrs. P. T. Abat.

Dist. 4—Delegates Pete Rhodes and E. Jones, alternates Mrs. Olga Juniger and Ney Wade.

Dist. 5—Delegates W. A. Brooks Jr. and Mrs. Currie McCutcheon, alternates D. P. Holt and Mrs. G. G. Pierson.

Dist. 6—Delegates M. W. Glosky and Carl Cannon, alternates W. V. Harrison and A. S. Butler.

Dist. 7—Delegates Bonner Frizzell and Emerson Stone, alternates Mrs. Fred Woodall and Mrs. Cora Strong.

Dist. 8—Delegates Roland Bradley and W. A. Combs, alternates John Crossland and Mrs. Robert I. Stansbury.

Dist. 9—Delegates Edwin Hawes Jr. and Joe V. Fynka, alternates H. J. Jack Deuchare and F. H. Hobbins.

Dist. 10—Delegates Tom Miller and W. M. Hilliard, alternates D. F. Richards and Paul Page.

Dist. 11—Delegates Lee Lockwood and Sam Roddy, alternates Cecil Glass and B. C. Rogstad.

Dist. 12—Delegates L. J. Wardlaw and Joe Steadham, alternates Mrs. James F. Farmer and Mrs. J. W. Douglas.

Dist. 13—Delegates W. T. Knight and Henry Fulcher, alternates W. J. Stone and R. H. Coffee.

Dist. 14—Delegates Robert R. Mullins Jr. and Warren B. Phillips, alternates John Dawson and Sam Fore Jr.

Dist. 15—Delegates N. B. Cofer and Robert Runyon, alternate Mrs. H. L. Yates.

Dist. 16—Delegates Robert Holliday and W. Hooten, El Paso, alternates Damon Hughes and Arthur Horn.

Dist. 17—Delegates Ralph Pitman and Cecil Lotief, alternates H. S. Fitzgerald, Stamford, and Frank Fallis, Hico.

Dist. 18—Delegates Jowell W. Puckett and Mrs. Lee Hutson, Borger; alternates Clifford Williams, Pampa, and Mrs. C. V. Hunter, Claude.

Dist. 19—Delegates George Mims, Howard county, and James E. Ferguson, Haskell county; alternates E. W. Ridgeway and Ben Foster.

Dist. 21—Delegates Mrs. Paul Paigorodsky and Joe B. Dibbell; alternate B. W. Smith.

Delegates at Large: Mrs. Clara Driscoll, Corpus Christi, chairman; Herman Jones, Austin, vice chairman; E. H. Perry, Austin; Mrs. Jane Y. McCallum, Austin; Sen. Tom Connally, Marlin; W. A. Kleka, Temple; Mrs. Claude Hill, Austin; Joe C. Leather, Dallas; A. J. Wirtz, Austin; Sam Rayburn, Bonham; George Mowman, Myron Blalock, Marshall.

National committeewoman: Clara Driscoll. Secretary to delegation: Woodville Rogers, San Antonio; assistant secretary: Mrs. Alfred Taylor.

Alternates at Large: Mrs. Howard Gardner, Beaumont; C. C. Shumway, Houston; Mrs. Ouida Ferguson Nalle, Austin; Sam Rosenthal, Dallas; John M. Parker, Houston; W. S. Taylor,

Port Arthur; Miss Elizabeth McLeary, Columbus; W. M. Aiken, Port Arthur; Raymond Buck, Fort Worth; Frederick Isley, Austin; Amon Carter, Fort Worth; Everett Looney, Austin.

Electors: W. T. Stanford, Cass; Gaston Wilder, Jefferson; Gus Taylor, Smith; E. Jones, Grayson; Harry L. Sea, Dallas; Mrs. Jud Collier, Robinson; James A. McKay, Madison; E. F. Broussard, Harris; G. Jenkins, Colorado; Dave Reed, Travis; Dave Cross-thwaite, McLellan; Jack Carter, Tarrant; W. J. Stone, Montague; R. G. McDaniel, Nueces; John Fields, Frio; Fred W. Clark, Culberson; C. R. Pennington, Taylor; L. O. Robertson, Hutchinson; Mrs. J. R. Minion, Howard; Woodville Rogers, Bexar; Bill Childers, Brown; at large—N. A. Watts and Everett Looney, Austin.

PSF: Political folder 4-44

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
**WASHINGTON**

file  
personal

June 7, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Frank Walker called me to say that Jim Farley, he learned very confidentially, will resign as Chairman of the State Committee within the next couple of days. The State Committee will hold a meeting on July 10th to appoint a successor.

GGT

*File*

June 11, 1944

Dear Paul Porter:

Since my first letter to you I have been running into increasing ANTI-FD sentiment, everywhere excepting in Missouri, which is definitely Roosevelt.

South Indiana, south Illinois, all of Kansas (save Kansas City, Kan) all of Nebraska (save Omaha) are definitely not for us. If we want them a lot of work has got to be done there; but even at that I think we might just as well count them out.

Western Kansas and western Nebraska are very anti.

Now all of these places mentioned are anti-world-cooperation after the war and they blame FDR personally for the death of their sons. Oddly enough I hav'n't heard a peep out of these people out here against helping China or Russia; but they are all violently anti-British Empire.

In Nebraska yesterday I began running into a lot of sentiment against JIM FARLEY. The feeling was -- as you will see by my column -- that the POPE, now that we have freed him from Nazi domination is trying to get his hand back into American politics; and these people out here tell you that Jim is his stalking horse! They point to Al Smith as previously having led the Pope's parade; and say to you that the Catholics never give up.

So far except in a few scattered places I have run into NO ANTI-SEMITISM.

Housewives in all of the above mentioned states -- including Missouri are bitter toward Mrs FDR because of her Negro stand. And they don't like the President's Labor Stand either. They tell you however that "you can't lick the FD machine, yet."

Paul if you have any weight with the Defense Transportation people you ought to tell them that TRAVEL OUGHT TO BE RATIONED. Its something fierce to get around at all any more. And as for food while travelling well, sandwiches and coffee in the Thermos is all thats left unless you are in uniform.

I'll finish up WES eastern Neb this afternoon and move into Iowa tomorrow. Can be reached care of the Ambassador East Hotel in Chicago.

Yours hurriedly,

*(Cornelius Vanderbilt?)*

C.V.

*[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the envelope]*

*[Handwritten note on the right side of the envelope]*

Personal & Confidential

KANSAS CITY  
JUN 11  
3 30 PM  
1944  
MO.



Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Wash DC

JAMES W. GERARD  
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW  
41 EAST FIFTY-SEVENTH STREET  
NEW YORK CITY 22  
TELEPHONE PLAZA 8-3200

PSF: Political friends  
U. S. V.

*File*  
*Will you speak to me about this at fund-raising dinner?*

June 22, 1944.

Dear Franklin:

I shall send you a letter about one week before the opening of the Democratic Convention. You can, of course, use all, part or none.

The Midwest is a little shaky. The Gallop Poll puts Dewey ahead in Indiana, but a strong stand against the bad end of Wall Street will more than even matters.

I am presiding over the Farley farewell dinner - no politics - July 10th, and am now going to the Irish Newport (Spring Lake) for the swimming.

If I have no part in the Convention and all is pre-arranged, I shall not go to Chicago.

Yours ever,

*James W. Gerard*

The President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.

P.S. If you have a photograph of Frank Walker in a bathing suit, please send it to the Waves - they need a pin-up.

*H. E. R.*  
*Do not*

The White House  
Washington

JUN 24 12 44 PM 1944

PSF: Political folder  
4-44

*file  
personal*

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CG ATLANTA GA JUN 1944 24 1129A

HON FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF OKLAHOMA  
CALLED ME IN MORNING AND INFORMED ME THAT THE OKLAHOMA  
DELEGATION WOULD GO ALONG WITH THE GEORGIA DELEGATION  
FOR ROOSEVELT AND WALLACE. THOUGHT YOU WOULD BE INTERESTED  
IN THIS INFORMATION. BEST REGARDS

ELLIS ARNALL GOVERNOR.

*Gov. of Georgia*

PSF: Political folder

4-44

June 29, 1944.

Dear Neil:

The President asks me to thank you very much for sending him copies of your interesting letters to Paul Porter, making a report on what you have seen and heard on your trip. Also, we have been following your column and we gather you have covered some territory. Do continue to keep the Boss in touch.

The President sends you his best wishes, in which I join.

As ever,

Grace G. Tully  
Private Secretary

Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt,  
650 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, N. Y.



ORION  
JUN 24  
15 PM  
ILL.

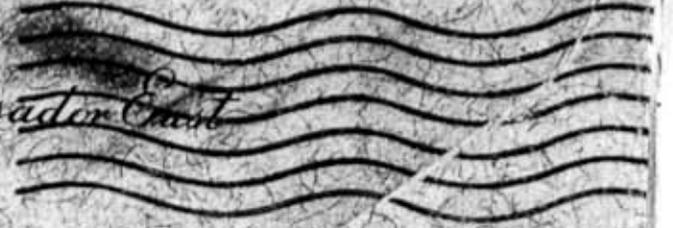
1844

JUN 24  
15 PM  
ILL.

1844

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington DC

1301 NORTH STATE PARKWAY · CHICAGO



Thank you  
for  
making  
it so  
easy  
to  
order  
the

has in touch.

The President sends you his best  
wishes, in which I join.

As ever,

Grace G. Tully  
Private Secretary

Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt,  
250 Fifth Avenue,  
New York, N. Y.

640 Fifth Ave  
Ambassador East Hotel  
Chicago, Ill  
June 24, 1944

Dear Paul Porter,

My last 10 ~~week~~ <sup>days</sup> survey -- through Iowa, Michigan, northern Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, convince me its a CINCH for the President in the mid-west. From the states I have visited I would say the GOP will definitely carry Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa. They have a 50/50 chance in Indiana. All the rest of this territory is ours, providing we work to register and to get the vote out.

The other day I went through the Willow Run plant; and then stood outside the gates and asked the men as they came out "Who will be the next President?" The first 50 51 men who came out said: FDR. The next three said: Bricker. The next 7: FDR. This is the HIGHEST rating I've gotten on the trip so far; though all of the industrial areas, big and small are pro-FDR. Most of the farming areas are anti, or close. Most of the small towns are anti -- chiefly because of 'too many interferences in business'.

My midwest survey, though brief has also brought out that this part of the country is NOT very interested in postwar European collaboration. They don't seem to give a damn about HELPING other nations so that we may eventually help ourselves. They hate Wilkie for that; and they rather distrust Dewey for the same reason. They don't like FDR for his globaloney ideas either; but they do like FDR's labor-policies, and his win-the-war philosophy.

I have NO SYMPATHY whatever for Wallace out through here, except insofar as he is: FDR's man. Mrs Roosevelt is admired and respected almost everywhere I've been.

This territory out here is still strongly Isolationist. They like Bricker better than anyone else on their horizon. They'll be dissappointed if: "NY world-capital nominates Dewey"; and they MIGHT therefore go for a Third Party, if it had anyone they could hang their hat on.

If FDR was to make a statement to the effect that he did'n't want the nomination again, but would take it if tendered; but would also wish to retire 'shortly after' the cessation of world hostilities, I don't think the GOP would carry a single midwestern state!

Virginia Bacon made a funny bet yesterday. She bet 2-1 that the election on Nov 7th would not be between Dewey or Roosevelt! Ten minutes later an Iowa farm leader bet 5-2 that no Republican could beat FDR this year.

Incidentally, so far, this Convention is like a WAKE!

Yours as always,

Red Vandenberg

OREGON OFFICE  
KLAMATH FALLS  
PORTLAND

PSF: Politics

Gen. Correa "M"  
3-44  
REPUBLIC 2740

WILLIS MAHONEY  
520 WOODWARD BUILDING  
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

July 3, 1944

Miss Grace Tully,  
Private Secretary to the President,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Tully:

At the suggestion of our mutual friend Joe Keenan, I am making the following comment for consideration.

I became a candidate for the United States Senate from my home in Oregon for the purpose of carrying out my persistent endeavor to support President Roosevelt at Washington. I was nominated without opposition.

In 1936 I was defeated by Senator McNary but the election was a very close one and the margin was approximately 5,000 votes. From the beginning of President Roosevelt's campaign in 1932 I have always identified myself closely with his leadership and that fact is well known in Oregon. In 1940 I believe that the Democratic group in Oregon under my leadership made the first public call for him to become a candidate for the third term.

I would have been the logical man to oppose Senator McNary in 1942 but after discussing the matter with Marvin McIntyre and some of the other Presidential aides, it seemed wise under the war conditions to offer no opposition to him. Following this policy, I issued a public statement urging that he be returned to office without opposition. This action has brought some criticism in our own ranks from those who emphasize purely partisan politics.

Because of the foregoing, I think that it is extremely important that it be fully realized that my candidacy this year meets with the President's approval. I am deeply conscious of the tremendous demand upon his time and were it not for the importance of having as many Senators as possible to support him in the peace efforts to come I would not want to infringe in any manner upon his time. Nevertheless, I feel that under the circumstances he might permit me to have an interview with him for a few minutes, for the great practical effect it would have among his followers in Oregon.

Miss Grace Tully - page 2

I am going to be in Washington until a few days before the Convention in Chicago, after which I will leave for Oregon and spend the rest of my time there for the campaign.

I would greatly appreciate it if you could ascertain from the President if such brief interview would be in order and if so when.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

*Willis Mahoney*

Willis Mahoney

PSF: Politics

~~Gen. Coner "S"~~  
4-44

PERSONAL

July 10, 1944.

Dear Leighton:-

Ever so many thanks for that delightful letter telling me about the Fortieth Anniversary celebration. What a strange mixture of celebration accompanied by both pathos and bathos! You know that I am pessimistic that the Class of 1904 will ever live to mature. Many of us have died in adolescence, and some of them will still be in adolescence when they reach the century mark!

However, it is a grand old gang and we will still be fighting between McKinley and William Jennings Bryan in 1954. I hope that you and I will both be there.

I hope to see you soon.

With my warm regards,

Always sincerely,

PSF: Politics

1572 Massachusetts Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts  
July 6th, 1944

THE WHITE HOUSE

JUL 7 8 56 AM '44

RECEIVED

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Boss:

I must tell you of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of our Class highlighted in the Class Dinner on the third floor of the Harvard Club of Boston, in a very hot room. I had sung in the choir at the Commencement exercises which were very impressive with 5300 Army and Navy graduates, and I really enjoyed the sun beating I took in my red gown and shirt sleeves when I looked at the Marshals dressed in their winter clothes and silk hats.

In the afternoon we had a memorial service at Emmanuel Chapel on Newbury Street for our Class dead, which was very simple.

The Class of 1919 was having its 25th in the room next to us at the Harvard Club and old '04 was sort of pushed to the wall. However, it would have been a depressing ceremony at best even without the heat and small quarters because the program was filled with typical Republican frustration. Joe Hamlin was the toastmaster and did very well, but the speakers were thoroughly depressing.

While they did not feel conscious that they were talking politics it was the political economically sad tale which Republicans usually emphasize that was the theme of all the speeches except Sam Welden's. Arthur Ballantyne was the principal speaker. He gave credit to you for making the class of 1904 immortal and admitted that you had done a great service toward the preparation for this war in your planning of co-efficients for the global war. That is, your vision for the necessity of readiness was grand but he looks with sorrow toward the future. The great strain on the Treasury is horrifying to him. The Democratic economy with which we are to meet the reconstruction is terrifying and the prospect of keeping our returned service men employed seems impossible.

Hamlin was careful to follow this up with a speech by Thaxter, who was on the bench in Maine, and one from Sam Welden who was in a very happy mood and quoted from letters criticizing you and others regarding you with neutrality and some giving you great praise. Larue Brown, back from advising the Embassy in London, spoke about the fortitude of the British and the great strength of the Russians, and as a climax hazarded that the man who had selected General Marshall, General Arnold and Admiral King certainly was entitled to great praise for his fine judgment in these selections.

The Irish lads, like Eddie Counihan, Francis Ford and perhaps myself, were carefully avoided. I left the meeting feeling as if I had been listening to dear old Copey read to us Poe's Raven. What a shame that the spirit of the occasion could not have been more intimately jolly and less depressing!

I was prompted to have them resolute a message to you of their friendly approval of the great work that you have been doing, but the meeting was very curtly adjourned without much ado.

And that was the celebration of the 40th anniversary of classmates who seemed to me to be divided into the same little groups that I recognized forty-four years ago.

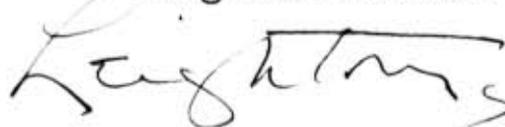
I have many comforting conferences with Joseph Henry Goguen who is about the finest United States Marshal (working variety) that I have ever been acquainted with in my experience in the courts of America. He is very active politically and has a strong following among the French. He tells me that you are going to carry the state of Massachusetts with ease and on account of this strength and the native strength of Mayor Tobin, he feels the whole Democratic ticket has a chance in Massachusetts for the coming election, and that you and Tobin are certainties. I am giving a copy of this letter to William M. Boyle, Bob Hannegan's assistant, so that he can pass the information on to Bob.

Hoping that you are improving every hour,  
as ever

Your admirer

LS:K

Leighton Shields



PSF: Political power  
4-44

JW

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
**WASHINGTON**

July 11, 1944.

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:**

Mayor Hague called me this morning and said everything looks very well for you but things are developing in this respect. There are strenuous objections to Wallace on the ground that he is not sound, etc.

Mayor Hague says he finds a great many people, who do not agree with you and would not go along with you as a peace President, are determined that you shall be reelected to see the war through. He says these people feel you have surrounded yourself with real mechanics and they say Dewey is just a clerk.

Mayor Hague feels you do not have to have a man as "liberal" as Wallace and while he has no particular candidate for the Vice Presidency in mind he mentioned Jimmy Byrnes as being very loyal and felt he would have a real appeal.

PSF: Political folder  
4-44

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
**WASHINGTON**

July 13, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Secretary Ickes called me this morning to say that he had seen Sidney Hillman this morning and had a good talk with him. Hillman says his organization is committed to Wallace unless the President indicates a different choice.

This, of course, would not mean that your choice would be made public. Secretary Ickes says he thinks Hillman will go along on anyone you suggest other than Wallace. They are, however, committed to Wallace and would have to have a very good reason to pull out before the Convention.

GGT

PSF: Political folder  
4-44

**THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON**

July 13, 1944

MEMO FOR AUDREY TURNER:

At the President's direction,  
the attached is to be sunk in our  
files and NO ONE IS TO SEE IT with  
the exception of Major Boettiger.

GGT

Solid Democrat S.D		Sure GOP S R		Probable Dem P D		Probable Rep P R	
Montana	4	Maine	5	Massachusetts	16	New York +	47
New Mexico	4	Vermont	3	Pennsylvania	35	New Jersey	16
Arizona	4	North Dakota	4	Missouri	15	Ohio	25
Kentucky	11	South Dakota	4	Minnesota +	11	Indiana +	13
West Virginia	8	Nebraska	6	Michigan +	19	Illinois +	28
Utah	4	Kansas	8	Wisconsin +	12		129
California	25	Colorado	6	Iowa +	10		
Idaho	4		30	Maryland	8		
Wyoming	3			Oregon	6		
Rhode Island	4			Washington	8		
Delaware	3			Connecticut	8		
Oklahoma	10			New Hampshire	4		
South	127				152		
Texas	23			Nevada	3		
Ala.	11				155		
Georgia	12						
Louisiana	10						
Miss.	9						
S. Carolina	8						
Virginia	11						
Tenn.	12						
ARK.	9						
Florida	8						
N. Carolina	14						

July 11  
44

Democrat-GOP

Sure	211	36
	155	129
D	366	R 165

Based on Roosevelt-Wallace vs Demg Break

This is a composite survey the date of newspaper managing editors plus political ad labor sources. The plus marks denote possible adverse changes against Democrats if Wallace is dropped.

127

It appears that the convention will name me. I trust the name with me will be Henry A Wallace. He is equipped for the future. We have made a team which pulls together, thinks alike and plans alike.

July 11, 1944

HAW:

You asked that a check be kept in your absence, of any general political values. The same has been done in an impersonal way, largely as state units.

Last night you asked a specific question: "What candidate for Vice President should be picked on the basis of the most support for Roosevelt?"

I have attached herewith memo A which is on the Vice Presidency, and memo B which has to do with present prospects of candidates Roosevelt and Dewey. The sources, particularly in the south, are based upon personal acquaintances, but largely particular and positive opinions of newspaper publishers who have many reporters and correspondents available. The work has been going on for about six weeks, but has been brought up to date by long distance telephone.

July 11, 1944

THE VICE PRESIDENCY: WHICH NAME WOULD MOST HELP THE PRESIDENT?

NEW ENGLAND:

Eliminating Maine and Vermont, the candidate with Roosevelt should be a man acceptable to the controlled Catholic vote who would also be acceptable to the so-called intellectual and slightly liberal groups which we call the college votes. Seymour of Yale rather than Conant of Harvard is expressive of this. Check ups indicate that Justice Douglas carries a liberal reputation and has been well sold as safe for Catholics. Wallace has very great liberal strength, but not in the controlled vote zones. It is true that in any popular poll conducted by such organizations as Gallup or Fortune, Wallace would get more votes than all other candidates combined--that he might get more actual votes even in Vermont than Winant--that Wallace would run ten to one over Douglas in Massachusetts and that in Rhode Island, where there has been some Barkeley work in the anti-Roosevelt forces, Wallace would beat Barkeley six to seven to one. But it is also true that a popular appeal is not the delivery of a controlled vote November seventh. There is such a thing as an anti-vote as between two Parties such as a vote AGAINST Roosevelt and not FOR Dewey and AGAINST Wallace and NOT FOR Douglas.

Conclusion: In New England the Democratic Party could most safely play Douglas for Vice President because:

- (a) He taught at Yale, is not considered financially unsafe, and has not learned Russian, and
- (b) Approval could be obtained from the controlling leaders of the Catholic Democratic state blocs.

Once the ticket became Roosevelt and Wallace, however, the chances are that this ticket would actually poll more votes on November seventh than Roosevelt and Douglas, as the contrast between Wallace and Bricker became clear and the people began to speculate on the Vice Presidency as the insurance policy of the country post war. Comparing Bricker and Douglas, the contrast would not be advantageous because Douglas is unknown, untried, and in some places is considered to have deteriorated since going to the bench.

Personalities:

Kennedy and Tom Corcoran have local set-ups in New England which support Douglas as a "liberal acceptable to Roosevelt." For instance, Secretary Higgins of Rhode Island's Senator Green, says: "Tommy Corcoran is the best political operator who ever came out of New England. There almost was an instruction against Wallace in Rhode Island similar to the Virginia pattern of Senator Byrd. Senator Green stopped this one."

Sources very close to Senator Walsh and the highest of the Boston Catholic control, report Joseph Kennedy as endorsing Douglas as safe and friendly. Whatever New England influence remains with Farley has been available to the Kennedy-Corcoran-Douglas picture.

NEW YORK:

Greater New York Democratic organization reported weak. Political Action Committee meeting today, was polled unanimous for Roosevelt-Wallace with no second choice. About two hundred delegates re-organizing the old CIO Political Action Committee. This group largely similar to American Labor Party. Second highest official said over phone today: "The failure to name Wallace would cost about three or four million votes due to general national apathy among labor groups. The effect would be greatest in New York state. It is nip and tuck already between Dewey and Roosevelt because of strong Republican organization work and poor Democratic efforts. If the ALP and the PAC are slapped on Wallace, I don't see where we are going to get the enthusiasm as the Tammany line up is all shot and our men will have the heart taken out of them if the Democratic Convention goes conservative and Roosevelt ditches Wallace. I even see the loss of Michigan, and Ohio, if Wallace is bumped. Hannegan says 'Money will be tight with Wallace.' I would like to tell him that votes will be slow without Wallace and that there will be more money than Hannegan knows about with Roosevelt-Wallace though most of it will go to be spent in local and district set-ups which won't pass through Hannegan's hands. There is a million dollars more on Roosevelt-Wallace than we could ever get for Roosevelt-~~-----~~. We have no second choice for either Roosevelt or Wallace."

NEW JERSEY:

So definitely a Hague set-up that judgment believes Vice President should await Hague's statement. Senator Guffey says Hague will follow the President's preference absolutely. On the question of the best Democratic ticket in New Jersey to reach the independent vote, there is no question that Wallace would be outstandingly the best candidate to pull the independent vote. The Pew Republican machine in South Jersey offsets somewhat the Hague set-up. But the big center of New Jersey around Princeton and Trenton and the independent anti-Hague factions around the Oranges and in Bergen County (Hackensack) which opposes both Hague and Pew methods and might be represented roughly by ex-Governor Edison, will turn out November seventh for Roosevelt and Wallace more generously than for Roosevelt and any other. Dr. Gallup of Princeton has privately informed Dewey that he might carry New Jersey if both tickets lack color and the New Jersey campaign lacks life. There is plenty of Republican money in New Jersey for getting out the vote on the Republican side. But New Jersey is considered Democratic. If the issue is wrong the contrast between Bricker and Wallace should be helpful as a factor because it would not lose any of the Democratic controlled votes and would reach strongly into the independent uncontrolled vote.

PENNSYLVANIA:

As with New Jersey, the one man opinion of Senator Guffey is available. Guffey says: "You asked the question what Democrat with Roosevelt would mean most in Pennsylvania? I am certain that Wallace is the strongest tail for Pennsylvania. There is some Berkeley support. I have found no Douglas strength. In fact the only two important Democrats I have ever found for Douglas are Tommy Corcoran and Secretary Iokes. Truman has a scattering but light strength. I believe my sister and Dave Lawrence and I have sixty of the seventy-six votes for Wallace first ballot. Of course the President must say something, and I am sure he will at the proper time and in his own way. Whatever name he names is the name and that goes for Frank Hague, for Ed Kelly, for Crump, and I am sure ultimately for Flynn."

MARYLAND:

In spite of Tydings, who has ~~him~~ climbed on Roosevelt's tail recently, there

is very little chance that the Democratic organization will lose Maryland no matter who is on the tail of the ticket. The higher ups in the Baltimore Catholic clergy probably are anti-Wallace and have been whipped up a bit because of his recent trip to Russia. But the Baltimore Catholic tops do not operate as efficiently as do those of Boston as they are older and lazier and have not the Irish flare for politics. The back country out of Baltimore is more liberal and independent than the factory centers of Rhode Island and Massachusetts and are more distinctly Protestant. Baltimore rarely swings Maryland in the sense that Boston and Chicago and New York swing their states.

VIRGINIA:

Purely a Byrd set-up, though Rixey Smith, secretary to Carter Glass, says: "Byrd does not dare to openly fight Roosevelt at Chicago and must content himself with leading the "stop Wallace" effort. He probably will drop his Vice Presidential force behind Barkeley in exchange for general conservative support for himself for what he wants at Chicago or in the Electoral College or for 1948."

WEST VIRGINIA: Democratic with Governor Neeley and the PAC (Hillman) both believing Wallace is best.

Miner note: Lewis influence waning in Virginia and western Pennsylvania and eastern Kentucky. Uniontown, Pennsylvania, publisher, Stanley Calkins, in a county containing one hundred thousand miners, says: "Lewis politically of little strength. Miners for Roosevelt and Wallace!" This publisher, also in Aliquippa, says the Jones McLaughlin steel town, says CIO controls and solid for Wallace.

KENTUCKY:

Barkeley having more trouble in controlling Kentucky on the Vice Presidency than appears on surface. His fight against the President has caused the Louisville Courier Journal to disown him. Its recent editorial for Wallace for Vice President probably the most able newspaper statement thus far made for Wallace. Privately the editor says that the negro vote in the border states would resent any southern tail to the ticket and hopes that a clear, short, statement of the Democratic race position be in the platform. He says that Wallace undoubtedly would strengthen Roosevelt immeasurably in the negro votes in southern Indiana, northern Kentucky, and elsewhere.

TENNESSEE:

Crump is the answer. He said in December, "Anything Roosevelt wants" and Tennessee is safe." He showed irritation at McKellar's anti-Wallace statement of last week. He awaits Roosevelt and will stop McKellar on his Berkeley campaign. McKellar says that they will use Berkeley to block Wallace. Crump said that the strength of McKellar is that he runs for himself beginning all the time the day after he is elected, but "the trouble with McKellar is that he takes in too much territory." Silliman Evans, the Nashville editor, has carried on an intense campaign against McKellar on the TVA issue which of course has weakened any McKellar recommendation such as his "stopp Wallace" blast.

NORTH CAROLINA:

The Broughton Vice Presidential selection is mostly important because it represents an honest conviction of Josephus Daniels. Probably Daniels has enough friends among old school liberals to give Broughton some consideration outside of North Carolina as a probable southern compromise after Berkeley and Rayburn and Truman fade, and because Pepper and Hill are unacceptable. Apparently Broughton is a middle of the road southerner who has not made any enemies and is of course unknown and therefore can not be disliked nationally. Of course North Carolina is safely Democratic and will accept the President's selection for Vice President. The attack of Bob Reynolds this week on Wallace has helped Wallace somewhat. If a North Carolina poll were taken, Wallace would lead outstandingly as against any of the named candidates with the possible exception of Broughton.

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Senator Byrnes and Maybank and the Governor will do what Roosevelt wants. The Governor is really in control. Men close to the Governor say that their fight really was against Cotton Ed Smith and that they ran their Convention on the basis of not letting Cotton Ed get away with the race question. Apparently it was the same technique which caused Senator Pepper and Senator Hill in their campaigns, to go lily-white to save their state positions. But of course, South Carolina will go Democratic for any ticket November seventh. State pride hopes for Byrnes.

GEORGIA:

Arnall, phoned last night, said: "We are for Roosevelt and Wallace ~~unless~~ clear

through from first ballot on unless Roosevelt names someone other than Wallace. There is a lot of talk about how much Wallace would cost the ticket in Georgia. The state will normally poll over seventy per cent Democratic. If the influence around Georgia Power and the big banks and the Atlanta Republican industrialists and Coca Cola, all get together for Dewey, the Democratic vote may slide a little under seventy per cent. Wallace's selection against a southerner may cost two or three per cent. As Party leader I am certain that Georgia behind Roosevelt and Wallace is as safe as money in the bank and I am sure that from general observation this is the strongest ticket for national victory!"

FLORIDA:

Senator Pepper and his friends will control this delegation. Pepper hopes to be a candidate with Roosevelt should Wallace fade at Chicago. After seeing the President, he said: "Wallace can count on everything we have got unless Roosevelt names someone else. It would be silly for me not to support Wallace because he will have the biggest block of votes and if he fades, he would appreciate any early efforts in his behalf. I hate Barkeley for his sabotage of the President. Wallace is the best equipped man and should be named if for no other reason than that our basic campaign is that there should be no disturbance in the administration in war time. Failure to name Wallace would be embarrassing. But if a southerner is named, he must be a liberal and I may have some chance." This is approximately what he told Joe Guffey Monday morning. Both Pepper and Arnall will be working close to Guffey at Chicago. The three will constitute a block of one hundred votes for Wallace unless the President names another. Florida safely Democratic regardless of the Vice Presidential spot.

ALABAMA:

Safely Democratic. Lister Hills Senatorial race designed for a compromise with Bankhead and with the big business interests of Birmingham and Montgomery. Hill won his Senatorial race but anti-administration forces took the delegates to Chicago. Hill is not even on the delegation and apparently was not interested in it. This week he is getting back on the delegation. His closest friend, liberal, who was active in the Hill campaign, apologized, saying: "A live Senator is

better than a dead Senator." "Lister is an opportunist, but he votes right and he is the most liberal thing we have in Alabama. He hopes the Vice Presidential lightning will strike him. We all know that Roosevelt will pick his Vice President and it won't be Lister or any southerner because we know the great northern negro vote is too important to throw it to Dewey."

MISSISSIPPI:

There has been no break as yet in this state which is organized both in its Chicago delegation and in its Electoral College vote to go straight through against Roosevelt. The plan is to vote for Roosevelt, block Wallace (probably with Berkeley) and to stand with the anti-Roosevelt electoral votes of Texas for Byrd. The leaders of the Mississippi revolt state that the Governor, Bilbo, and Eastland, are completely out of control--that they themselves are not in politics and are going to use the Constitution to stop a dictator. The farm leader O'Neil, Mississippi Power, Banking, and CocaCola, took over the Convention. If Bilbo or anyone says he can control the venom and present power of these people, he is lying.

LOUISIANA:

Ex-Governor Jones and powerful financial and business interests of New Orleans centered early around <sup>Byrd</sup> The Chicago delegation will take Roosevelt and probably deposit the Vice Presidential vote to Berkeley awaiting developments.

TEXAS:

Roosevelt politicians who claim to be very close to the President, are exaggerating their Texas position. The actual ownership of both the delegation and the Electoral College is not in the hands of any person or group except the intensely bitter anti-Roosevelt set-up. Blalock's present trade, which certainly Hannegan will accept, is that the regular anti-Roosevelt delegation be seated with the agreement that they do not boo the President and do not pull a walk-out. Blalock and Wirtz and Jones are all of the compromiser variety. Lyndon Johnson seems disturbed because he won't be a delegate. E.B. Germany and Heir, the big oil company political front man from Houston, coupled with the Dallas-Fort Worth ex-Wilkieites, are absolutely in the saddle. There has been no break in the electoral college set-up to vote Byrd. While O'Daniel's influence is waning in Texas, he has thrown all of

it behind Germany, Garner, Farley, and Starnes the Pew political operator who sold the Bryan Texas, bill of goods to Governor Stevenson, Chairman Butler and Myron Blalock. Blalock is sick and ineffective. Stevenson has always played for money, private and political, from Houston oil sources. Butler is a stupid amateur who was given a false face job by Governor Stevenson to placate Jones. He has no real influence or control over the electoral college group which was picked by professionals which included a board strategy of Roy Miller and E.B. Germany. About August first a new Roosevelt leadership will start out after the Byrd electoral group. Tom Miller, Austin Mayor, said: "The test at Chicago should be that delegates be seated after they pledge that they will support the nominees of the Party. This will break into the solid electoral bloc because some of the delegates are also on the electoral ballot. And then about August first we will poll the electoral college. I personally have been mad at the administration on the OPA. But the tactics of the Roosevelt haters have got me back on the job. I am for Roosevelt and Wallace because of the enemies they have in Texas. I don't believe when we are through with this gang that they will get out of Austin with any Byrd-for-President racket. I also believe that a group of electors headed "Roosevelt Democrats" will get sixty per cent of the vote November seventh as against the other two columns labelled Democratic and Republican. Blalock does not believe this, Jones does not believe this, and Wirtz does not believe this, and probably Lyndon Johnson does not believe this, and I am sure they have told Hannegan so, but they don't know Texas from the bottom. The love of Roosevelt in this state is very deep. The hatred of Farley as a carpet-bag Catholic playing with Garner, is definite. Our people know Roy Miller. They know all about the Bryan, Texas, deal. And they know that Roosevelt was counted out down there. Texas does not take such things lying down and all the appeasers are simply delaying and wasting our time."

OKLAHOMA:

Chairman of the Democratic delegation phoned Governor Arnall of Georgia the day following Arnall's statement at the White House. He said: "Governor, if what you say is solid, Oklahoma is for Roosevelt and Wallace." Probably the

influence of Governor Kerr has been increased by his Convention spot and probably Kerr will be influenced by Chairman Hannegan's advice on the Vice Presidency. Among the people of Oklahoma there is no Vice Presidential candidate but a poll of the state would show Wallace leading all other candidates for the job. Oklahoma probably safely Democratic regardless of the Vice Presidential spot.

MISSOURI:

Completely controlled by the Truman-Clark-Hannegan set-up. But will of course vote for the Vice President selected by Roosevelt. The St Louis Post Dispatch is irritated because of its long fight against corruption under Prendergrast and the Dieckman-Hannegan St Louis machine. Next editorial effort of the Post Dispatch will be "The Texas Plot." They are sending their experts down there this week. They hopt to obtain a Pulitzer prize.

ILLINOIS:

Kelly said on day state Convention instructed: "The instruction speaks for itself and we mean it. We are for anyone Roosevelt wants. The instruction says that we will be for Scott Lucas unless the President prefers Wallace. That's that. But naturally if the President names anyone else, we will hear and do." Illinois getting in better Democratic shape all the time. Scott Lucas is smiling these days. Two months ago he was very depressed and thought he would be beaten for the Senate.

INDIANA:

Democrats improving position because of popularity of the new Democrats in the set-up who ousted McNutt and the old gang. Jackson should make a good speech. Roosevelt is personally popular. Roosevelt's preference on the Vice Presidency will carry against any bloc against the Wallace set-up. McNutt has twelve or fourteen travelling men throughout the country and has said in the last weeks, "The President can't lead me in to Wallace." When this was told to Guffey, the Senator said, "When McNutt is through he will have no state delegation, not even Indiana."

MICHIGAN:

A bitter fight between the CIO groups and the regular democratic politicians

in the back country which corresponds to up-state New York, leaves this state in a very unsatisfactory Democratic position. Dewey's Owasso Michigan, birth place does not help as they are selling him in Michigan as the Horatio Alger boy from the country who went to the city and made good. But any poll in Michigan would find Wallace getting more than fifty per cent as against all other candidates. The failure to name Wallace probably definitely would lose Michigan, because of resentment of some one hundred thousand liberal Democrats who are fanatical for Roosevelt and also fanatical for Wallace. They would consider the ditching of Wallace as turning the Democratic Convention into conservative control.

OHIO:

Best sources from northern Ohio say that the popularity of the Democratic Gubernatorial candidate will greatly strengthen the ticket. He is for Roosevelt and Wallace and has said so. He is a fine liberal who contrasts beautifully with Bricker and Taft and believes the combination of Roosevelt and Wallace and Lausche means victory in Ohio. He entertained Wallace on a Wallace speaking date there and has consistently since that time, stated that Wallace was his favorite Vice Presidential candidate. He will, of course, follow the recommendation of Roosevelt. Democratic prospects in Ohio if the contrast is liberal versus conservative, are good. No second place name except Wallace can give contrast color as against Bricker who has become increasingly vulnerable in Ohio since they know he is an isolationist and endorsed by America Firsters and was a first choice of Bertie McCormick and Pew. The boys at home always know the boy from home.

COLORADO: Instructed for Roosevelt-Wallace.

WYOMING: O'Mahoney instructed, otherwise Wallace. Will follow the President.

MONTANA: Will follow President. Wallace outstanding on a poll with Wheeler slipping. Senator Murray temporarily closely associated with Byrnes because of the Baruch Reconversion activity, but is friendly to Wallace and obedient to the President.

MINNESOTA-WISCONSIN: Realignment of the Democratic and Farm Labor groups has enough vitality to make things look well. Wallace has some conservative Democratic opposition in both Wisconsin and Minnesota but this over-all liberal following makes

him outstanding as a Vice Presidential candidate as against anyone else. A survey made last week among Milwaukee and Madison newspaper men and Ward Workers, mentions Wallace more than other candidates as acceptable. There has been some tendency to follow Leo Crowley as an organization leader, but the strong first level of newspaper and political thought is strongly for Wallace.

NORTH AND SOUTH DAKOTA AND NEBRASKA: Democratic situation not good. Wallace outstanding Vice Presidential spot.

IOWA: Instructed for Roosevelt-Wallace

KANSAS: Wallace best Vice Presidential Democrat but the state probably Republican.

Washington State:

Instructed for Roosevelt-Wallace.

OREGON: Write in for Vice President on the Democratic Primary, gave over ten thousand votes to Wallace, less than three hundred for Rayburn, and almost nothing for Douglas the home state boy. *a few hundred for Barkley*

CALIFORNIA:

Wallace got fifty percent and over of the total Democratic Gallup Poll but the west coast figures were left out by Gallup with the mere statement that Wallace was stronger in the west coast than in any other section of the country.

*How about Truman?*

August 29, 1944

TEXAS ELECTORS:

*file personal PSF: Political folder 4-44*

1--The President should phone Governor Coke Stevenson to come up. The Governor is the real boss of the September twelfth Convention (commonly called The Governor's Convention).

2--Justice Black should be called in because he is a Protestant southerner, a good legal mind, a liberal who could answer any Constitutional question puzzling the President or the Governor.

3--The President should say that the question is essentially a Texas matter and that the Governor, as the state Democratic leader, is the only person capable of seeing that the Democratic million votes are counted through the Electoral College. Either Black or the President should suggest to Governor Stevenson that a third column of electors headed "Roosevelt Democrats" might be the answer. The President should ask Stevenson whether this third column would win November seventh and whether the Governor was capable of handling this issue both in the Convention and with the people through vigorous leadership.

COMMENT: Roosevelt Democrats are waiting and anxious to make this campaign. Their leader, Mayor Tom Miller of Austin, is friendly to the Governor. Miller said: "A third column of electors labelled 'Roosevelt Democrats' would carry over 60% with any sort of a decent campaign and with the Governor for it."

Dan Moody, ex-Governor and oil attorney lobbyist, has agreed that the third column is legal and that he favors it.

E.B. Germany, former Garner 1940 manager, will oppose, but the Governor's Convention already has a bare majority of Roosevelt Democrats as delegates and if Stevenson operates as above, there is no question but that the Convention would: (a) Endorse Roosevelt-Truman, (b) Provide for a third column if legal, (c) throw the Democratic organization into the fight, and (d) Swamp the utility, railroad, banking, and Garner forces which are being directed from Houston by "Big Oil" attorneys.

\* \* \* \* \*

Stevenson is still ambitious; wants to do Roosevelt a favor, and believes by so doing he may come to the Senate or into a Vice Presidency. He is now sufficiently rich to be independent of oil favors and probably wants to fight his former

benefactors in order to re-establish his political vitrue now under a cloud since he was one of the four Texans who secretly planned the non-instruction program with the representatives of Joe Pew, Jesse Jones, and "Big Oil". The Governor now privately says he was misinformed and had no idea the plan was to steal the Electoral College vote from the national nominee. But he wants to do it himself and get the credit for it and therefore neither Rayburn nor Jones nor Connally should be used as middle men. The latter three have no real political power at the Governor's Convention. It will be a fight between Germany and possibly Moody representing the big oil Houston crowd, and Governor Stevenson backed by the Roosevelt majority. At least 90% of the voting Democrats on November seventh are already Roosevelt as against Byrd. The delegates on the "regular" Electoral list are now reported fifteen for Byrd and eight for Roosevelt. The real facts are at least seventeen for Byrd.

PSF: Politics

~~San Carlos "W"~~  
4-44

A.J. Wirtz  
Austin, Texas

September 9, 1944

*files*  
PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

General Edwin M. Watson  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

My dear "Pa":

Thanks for your wire of September 8, in reply to my telegram in reference to the inclusion of two sets of Democratic Electors on the General Election ballot in Texas. Perhaps I should apologize to you for troubling you with this matter, but since I did I am going to impose on you further with this statement of the situation.

The State Party organization in Texas is controlled by the Governor, through George Butler, a nephew of Jesse Jones. By agreement with the National Committeeman in Texas, Butler used his organization to carry out what he announced as a "Party program," which, on its face, was designed only to select uninstructed delegates to the National Convention at Chicago and to try to secure planks in the platform to restore the two-thirds rule and in opposition to the abolition of the poll tax. About a week prior to the Precinct Conventions, some of us learned that the real purposes of this program were, first, to select delegates to the National Convention who would bitterly oppose the renomination of President Roosevelt and to do everything in their power to embarrass the Party in the coming election, and, second, to throw the electoral vote of Texas to some party other than President Roosevelt, even though the voters of Texas are for the Democratic nominees - as they are, in the proportion of about three to one. We did all we could to defeat this movement. We tried to enlist the aid of the Governor and the National Committeeman, as well as ex-Governor Dan Moody and others, but these gentlemen all gave aid and comfort, as well as active assistance, to the enemy.

You are familiar with what happened at the May Convention. The Governor's organization was

General Edwin M. Watson  
Page Two  
September 9, 1944

successful in putting over its program. The Convention selected twenty-three men as nominees for Presidential Electors pledged to vote against the Party nominees. At that juncture, we went before the State Executive Committee and proposed that those twenty-three names and the names of twenty-three loyal Democrats be placed on the Democratic Primary Election ballot in July, so that the Democrats might decide as between twenty-three Electors pledged to vote against the nominees of the Party and twenty-three Electors pledged to support the nominees. Mr. Butler, as Chairman of the Executive Committee, ruled this proposal out of order and was sustained by an overwhelming vote of the Governor's Committee. We then went to the Supreme Court, in an endeavor to compel the certification of the names of our Electors for inclusion on the Democratic Primary ballot, and were opposed by Mr. Butler, ex-Governor Moody and an imposing array of counsel. They were successful before the Supreme Court. They said it was preposterous to propose that opposing candidates for the nomination of Democratic Electors be chosen by vote of the Democrats, in a Democratic Primary.

Now, these same gentlemen have proposed that two sets of Electors be placed on the ballot in the General Election. They seek to have a Democratic preferential primary held at the General Election. They are now very anxious that the people pass on the matter. Perhaps you wonder why there has been such a change on the part of these worthy gentlemen. I think I can tell you. One reason is that they are now convinced that we have the power at the September Convention to "throw the rascals out" and place our own Electors on the ballot. The second is that they want to maintain control of the Party machinery. But, beyond this, there is a more sinister motive. They realize that what they propose is clearly illegal. They have been advised by the Republican National Committeeman that the Republicans will contest this plan in the courts. They are quite prepared to let the contest go to the Republicans by default. This will mean that there will be no Electors on the Democratic ticket, or just one set of Electors -

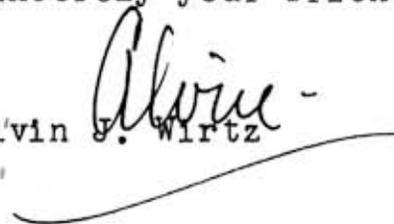
General Edwin M. Watson  
Page Three  
September 9, 1944

and they will be the twenty-three Electors chosen by the Governor and his friends at the May Convention, pledged to vote against the nominees of the Party.

It was for this reason that I sent you the telegram. Since then the Governor has announced that Bob Hannegan favors his plan for two sets of Electors, and that if the President is asked for his opinion he will also agree to such plan. That being the case, I can only say that it is a closed political chapter so far as I am concerned. I am simply writing this so that you may understand the situation, and will understand why I have been so concerned about the matter. As it now stands, the responsibility is not mine.

With very best regards and good wishes,  
I am

Sincerely your friend,

  
Alvin S. Wirtz

P. S. Bob Hannegan has not communicated with me.



*San Antonio 3-44*  
*PSF: Politics*

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

FRANK HAGUE  
JERSEY CITY, N. J.  
MEMBER FOR  
NEW JERSEY

October 7, 1944.

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Miss Tully:

Bob Hannegan talked with me and informed me that former Governor Edison is endeavoring to secure an appointment with the President. I told Bob that there was no objection to that and that no matter who was willing to come in and help that was agreeable to me, but I also told him to be careful and to warn the President to watch this man, that he was very unreliable, that he would say one thing and mean another.

I am enclosing a clipping from the New York Sun today which shows that Edison's mother has come out publicly for Dewey. That's the way he works. He did the same thing in our gubernatorial election last year. He supported the Republican candidate for Governor secretly but had his mother come out openly. Now you can see he is doing the same thing with the President.

If the President sees Governor Edison, the smart thing to do is to accept his support but say, "Now, there is only one way that you can convince anyone that you're going to support me, and that is for you to come out publicly and declare your support of me. My advice would be that you engage radio time for 15 minutes in New Jersey and there publicly declare yourself for me for President."

From what I can learn, he has agreed to remain quiet and oppose the President secretly. He thinks he can get away with that. His advisers informed him that if he came out publicly against the President it would put him in a very bad light with the Democrats of New Jersey and of the country.

Everything looks lovely. The President is getting stronger every day. It is surprising to hear of men who have stated that they are going to support the President this year, who never supported him before. The war is the cause of it all. New Jersey is safe.

With sincere regards,

Sincerely yours,  
*Frank Hague*

## Mrs. Thomas Edison To Vote for Dewey

Mrs. Thomas A. Edison, widow of the inventor and mother of the former Democratic Governor of New Jersey, Charles Edison, announced today her intentions of voting for Govs. Dewey and Bricker.

"I am well aware," she said, "of the many dangers that we face today, both at home and abroad. I have tried to weigh them carefully in relation to our national and individual welfare over the years ahead." As a result Mrs. Edison declared that she believed "a change in national leadership is essential if we are to preserve the cause for which our men and women are being sacrificed in war."

PSF: Political folder

San Carlos "18" - 5-44

637E

File Under Brandt Personal

October 10th, 1944

In the last few weeks I have been working closely with Mr. Harry Brandt. Under his leadership a film short was produced -- urging people to register and vote. It was shown just before registration week and <sup>is</sup> being shown now in 3000 theaters all through New York City, New York State ( even Westchester) selected places in Connecticut and Northern New Jersey.

We decided on the states where we needed to do a great deal of work before registration and among them were the Dakotas, Nebraska, Iowa, Washington State and Maryland. Unfortunately not enough films, due to raw material, could be manufactured to cover all these states thoroughly. Mr. Brandt worked out an ingenious scheme whereby each print would be shipped immediately after it had been shown in New York to one of the worst spots in other states. He also arranged to have it shipped from there to some other place where registration closed late. By this device we shall have covered most of our trouble spots by the time registration closes all over the country.

We have been working with H. Kaiser Committee but found that the time schedule was so tight that it was impossible to get in touch with members of the Kaiser Committee in other states and have them place the films in time. Harry Brandt therefore organized all of this by telephone- single handedly.

He has done a tremendous job and I just wanted to let you know about it.

PSF Political folder  
4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

file  
personal.

October 16, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Congressman McCormack called me from Boston today and asked me to tell you that he thinks Massachusetts is pretty close. He thinks we have a slight edge and he recalls that three weeks before the last election Willkie was supposed to carry Massachusetts. The Congressman says he does not believe in being too optimistic. He says at the present time the Democratic defection to Dewey is about the same as the Republican defection to you.

Cong. McCormack recommends and urges very strongly that you come in to New England as you did four years ago. He thinks it would be very helpful if you could go to Conn., Rhode Island, Mass. and New Hampshire.

GGT

file 10/20/44

file personal  
PSF; political forum  
4-44

1. Clearance from you for Truman notification and acceptance speech about August 30th. (Free radio time)
2. Conference with Truman, Hannegan, Paul Porter, etc. to decide on Truman's campaign activities.
3. Discuss with Hannegan, Paul Porter, Frank Walker, etc. who should fill positions: a. Head of non-partisan registration committee. b. Head of Republican for Roosevelt Clubs. c. Finance Chairman of Democratic National Committee.

Note: Henry Kaiser was approached for registration committee job by Bill Douglas, Senator Kilgore and Mrs. McCauley, and turned them all down. Other names suggested were Owen Young (who is actively helping Bob Wagner),

Ned Brown, president of the First National Bank of Chicago, and delegate to the Bretton Woods Conference, J.D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Chas. E. Hughes, Jr.

Also discuss, with the same people, whether there should be a Norris-LaGuardia type of committee during this campaign. Harry Hopkins thought this very important, but perhaps the registration committee could take care of the activities of these non-party people.

file

Call M. Field.  
To see T. R. Ken.  
J. T. Hutter for name.

I have a plan whereby I believe I can finance the entire Democratic Campaign in Kentucky this November.

Also this plan will enable us to finance publicity in approximately 10,000 county weekly newspapers, and radio time in every state.

In order to do this the initial cost would be the problem. I know of an individual whom I believe would help to start this plan and this person can be repaid in a short time and make money out of it. In other words, it would be no gift on the part of anyone.

I am convinced that neither you nor any member of your staff should have any knowledge of the details. My reason for this is that it places no responsibility on you.

What I want you to do is to call this individual over the telephone and tell him that I and two or three associates would like to have an audience with him, that you know nothing about what we want to talk about, but telling him what, if any, confidence you have in me and whatever you think of me, and that you would like for him to set the time and place as soon as possible.

I know you are well aware that if this can be done every bit of help in the coming campaign would be utilized in your behalf. I want you to run and believe you are the only one to run. However, in doing this you are not committed in any way.

**THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON**

November 8, 1944.

HONORABLE HENRY A. WALLACE  
HONORABLE HENRY A. WALLACE  
Honorably Henry A. Wallace,  
Vice President of the United States,  
Wardman Park Hotel,  
Washington, D. C.

My affectionate thanks to you  
for your magnificent contribution  
to the campaign. I will see you  
soon in Washington.

ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 8, 1944.

HON. HARRY S. TRUMAN

HOTEL MEUHLBACH

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

I am very happy that things  
have gone so well. My thanks and  
congratulations for your splendid  
campaign. I will see you very soon  
in Washington.

ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 8, 1944

His Excellency  
Thomas E. Dewey,  
Governor of New York,  
Roosevelt Hotel,  
New York, N. Y.

I thank you for your statement  
which I have heard over the air a  
few minutes ago.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

**THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON**

November 8, 1944.

Honorable Robert E. Hannegan,  
Democratic National Headquarters,  
Hotel Biltmore,  
New York, N. Y.

My affectionate regards and  
thanks for your splendid work. It  
will live in history.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

PSF: Politics

ND

File

personal

PSF: Politics

For the President

From letter from Thomas F. Moloney, 11 West 42d Street, NYC, to Mrs. Roosevelt

...the race will be very, very close and it is absolutely essential that the President be reelected. Unfortunately for him "the Six Blocks of Granite" on the National Defense Commission are Republicans. To their own and favored concerns they are placing huge orders and thereby underwriting from potential profits the campaign against the President. Why not have the President emphasize the fact that he appointed Republicans to 80 per cent of the National Defense Commission --then examine critically what real cooperation he got from them.

.....

Next year consideration will be given to a new Mayor and in 1942 a new Governor. From all signs in the Democratic Party -- Jim Farley will sweep the state for Governor. This affords the President a great opportunity to once again form an association that never should have been broken. The time is not too late -- prompt action will bring a tidal wave of votes to the President - witness the experience of your uncle and my wonderful friend, Theodore Roosevelt, and the effect his reconciliation with Taft had in the election of Harding. The Public always wants to see old friends make up. In closing there is a prayer that God in His Infinite Wisdom bless the President and Jim with the vision to see alike for our Country's good..

WASHINGTON  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Truman -

I am very happy that they  
have you so well. My thanks  
and my congratulations for your  
splendid campaign. I will see  
you very soon in Washington

Truman

Walter -

My affectionate thanks to you  
for your magnificent contribution  
to the campaign - I will see you  
soon in Washington

Truman

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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WASHINGTON

Hampton

My affectionate regards and  
thanks ~~for your~~ for your  
essential work. It will be  
in history.

Truly  
yours  
Franklin D. Roosevelt

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PSF: Political Folder

Nov 8

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H. E. I.

Joe D.

WASHINGTON  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Putnam Hotel,

I thank you for your statement  
which I have heard since the night of  
the 4th of November

Yours truly,  
Franklin D. Roosevelt

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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# STAMP OUT MURDEROUS WAGES

## THE STORY OF TWO BATTLES FOR HUMANITY

### WE WON ONE!

The battle to save the strawberry farmers has been won! As you read this, hundreds of strawberry farmers are registering at special sub-stations of the Department of Public Welfare for cash relief, obtained for them by their State and Federal administrations through the efforts of Governor Leche and the United States Senators and Congressmen from Louisiana.

This means that from now until they actually pick their berries, the good farmers of the strawberry belt will receive cash benefits sufficient to maintain their families and to allow them to put in a crop. And it means that when they do sell their berries in the spring, they will receive cash in their pockets for the first time in years. Everyone at all familiar with the conditions in the strawberry belt knows that the farmers have been deliberately and viciously misled, that they have been ground to financial bits between an ambitious and selfish political candidate and the auctions.

Mr. Strawberry Farmer, you remember that you were promised \$3.00 a crate for your berries this year—and you also know that for the first time in history not one single crate sold for as much as \$3.00 during the entire season.

#### More Promises Broken

You used to have your own brands and labels, which over a period of years had become known throughout the country. You were forced to give up these time-honored labels, with the result that many sales were lost when retail purchasers were not able to find their favorite brands in the stores.

You were promised that the auction charges would be reduced from 8 cents a crate to 2 cents a crate. Yet you know that the auctions got the usual eight cents on every crate that was sold.

Many of your boys and girls used to put themselves through school by selling berries on the roadside—in many instances your only source of cash revenue during an entire season. And yet this roadside selling was stopped by force. Why? Why were you ordered to sell every crate of your berries through the auctions if it wasn't just to give the auctions their usual eight cent commissions? You were forced to pay a membership fee and build a jack-pot for a jack-leg politician, before you could even take your berries to market, and when you got them there you made less money than ever before.

Mr. Strawberry Farmer, you have been misled. You have been



Governor Leche personally thanks President Roosevelt for the Wage and Hour law and for bringing assistance to the southern farmers.

## If He Says "Yes" He's No American

By RICHARD W. LECHÉ  
Governor of Louisiana

The actual photographs on the reverse side of this circular must be repulsive to any individual with even a spark of humanity in his breast.

### LET'S WIN AGAIN!

In Hammond, in the richest state in the South, American workmen are being deliberately and viciously starved.

In the state which taught the world the humanitarian principle of sharing the wealth, and which is so blessed with natural resources and inspired leadership that it has more wealth to share than any other state south of the Mason and Dixon line, workmen's children and wives are being forced to live in a condition of squalor and poverty that would shame the residents of Tobacco Road.

At Hammond and Roseland hundreds of box factory workers have been working from ten to twelve hours a day at wages of from 9 to 15 cents per hour—whole families living on from \$5.40 to \$9.00 per week. In the clutches of a corporation that has reaped its profits from the misery of its employees, these poor families have been forced into a living death, underpaid, underfed, housed in miserable, leaking, unhealthful shacks, and by all American standards underprivileged in every possible way. Few knew of their plight until, despairing of pity on the part of their bosses and stirred by the same American spirit that caused their forefathers to rise up against tyranny of another kind, box factory workers called a strike in an effort to better their condition.

#### Peaceful Pickets Slugged

What was the result? Did the bosses confer with the representative of the strikers in an effort to work out a reasonable solution? Did they offer any peaceful settlement? No! Instead they hired guards to attack peaceful strikers. Several were injured. They were fired upon by a representative of the corporation.

And then the most amazing thing of all occurred—charges were filed, not against the thugs who attacked the peaceful strikers, but against more than 40 of the workmen, none of whom were armed and all of whom were making a sincere effort to preserve law and order. These vicious charges were prepared by Mr. Columbus Reid, the confidential advisor and attorney for one Jim Morrison, who calls himself "Senator" despite the fact that the people have steadfastly refused to elect him to any office of public trust and who has so often hit the strawberry farmers below the belt and who is now making a political campaign at their expense, actually tried to have peaceful American citizens thrown behind bars for an offense no worse than merely attempting to earn a decent livelihood for their wives and children.

...pot for a jack-leg politician, before you could even take  
...berries to market, and when you got them there you made  
...less money than ever before.

Mr. Strawberry Farmer, you have been misled. You have been  
lied to, coerced, brow-beaten, and bamboozled by a peanut politician  
who pretended to be your friend while using your money and your  
influence to further his own cheap political ambitions.

The net result has been simple—the auctions made more  
money than ever before, and you made less.

And then what happened? The activities of the self-appointed  
“senator” finally cut off even your source of money supply so  
that you could not borrow a single penny to put in a crop for next  
year. Most of you were broke and many were hungry. If the State  
and Federal administrations had not come to your aid, there would  
have been no strawberry crop to argue about next year. For the  
past year you have gotten nothing but promises.

#### Roosevelt Gives Help

But while this “promising” young man was spending his  
time beating his own drum, your governor and your congress-  
man, together with others sincerely interested in your welfare,  
were quietly working to bring you real help. During the past  
eight months Governor Leche has made several trips to Wash-  
ington where he conferred with Dr. John K. Griffith, your able  
congressman, Honorable Harry L. Hopkins, administrator of the  
Works Progress Administration, that great humanitarian, Presi-  
dent Franklin D. Roosevelt, and other officials regarding a plan  
to bring you cash on which to live and with which to plant your  
next year's crop.

With the help of these great leaders he was able to bring to  
you not a loan, which would merely postpone your trouble and  
leave you in the hands of the auctions, but cash that you would  
not have to pay back. This was done so that when you sell your  
crop in the spring it will belong to you, lock, stock, and barrel.  
You can sell it where you please and to whom you please, getting  
higher prices through competitive selling. When you pick your  
berries in the spring you can sell them under your own label, and  
won't have to pay a dollar to anybody for the privilege of selling  
crop that you raised by the sweat of your brow.

The relief which your State and Federal administrations have  
secured for you is being given out through the Works Progress Ad-  
ministration under the leadership of Colonel James H. Crutcher,  
state administrator, and the State Department of Public Welfare,  
of which Mr. A. R. Johnson is the able commissioner. All you have  
to do to secure this relief is to go to your parish Department of  
Public Welfare office and register. It is as simple as that. And to  
make it even simpler, sub-stations have been set up in most towns  
of the strawberry belt so that you can register and obtain this  
relief without having to travel miles to do so.

Every farmer who is thus registered with the parish Depart-  
ment of Public Welfare will receive not less than \$29.92 each  
month IN CASH.

Mr. Farmer, you can thank a great National Administration, a  
great State Administration, and a great liberal president for that  
cash relief. It was made possible because men like Doctor John K.  
Griffith fought your battle in Congress, and because they were sup-  
ported by Governor Leche and other leaders at home.

For the past year you have been living on promises.

From now on you can live on cash.

Last year all the profit from the strawberry crop went to the  
auctions and into the pockets of those who came around regularly  
to collect.

From now on every cent of that profit is going TO YOU!

The actual photographs on the reverse side of this circular must be  
repulsive to any individual with even a spark of humanity in his breast.  
These are pictures of honest America—pieces in which they  
live—I cannot conscientiously call them homes, because they contain  
none of the comforts, conveniences or even the necessities which we  
usually associate with the term “Home.” The pictures show clearly that  
these free, white Americans are ill housed, ill fed, and barely existing.  
It is incredible that such conditions exist today not only in Louisiana,  
but throughout the South. It is still more incredible that there are ele-  
ments in this country, thank God not in a majority, who would close their  
eyes to such conditions or actively attempt to prevent their correction.

Many years ago a great humanitarian wrote a document guaranteeing  
to every American citizen the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of hap-  
piness. With such conditions existing today, have we not defaulted on a  
solemn obligation? Does our government not owe these people some-  
thing on both principal and interest? It does. And fortunately, our present  
national administration recognizes the debt.

You will find some who cry that government goes too far. But has  
it gone far enough, when so many American citizens barely exist under  
such horrible conditions?

To Abraham Lincoln goes the credit for the emancipation proclama-  
tion freeing the Southern negro, and to Franklin D. Roosevelt must go  
the credit for the emancipation proclamation freeing the Southern white  
man, for when put into effect and properly administered, that is what  
the wage and hour law will be. It was said in Lincoln's time that no coun-  
try can exist half slave and half free; and that holds good today. No slave  
in 1860 lived under worse conditions than the underpaid, underfed, ill-  
housed and abandoned Southern working man.

The solution is a national problem and has been recognized as such.  
No state alone can do much. The federal government can do plenty, and  
when the state government cooperates with the national government,  
a great deal can be accomplished. When you meet a man who criticizes  
the New Deal, show him the pictures on the reverse side of this circular,  
and ask him if he approves of human beings existing under such condi-  
tions. If he says no, then he is a New Dealer, and if he says yes, he is  
not a true American.

actually tried to have peaceful American citizens thrown behind  
bars for an offense no worse than merely attempting to earn a  
decent livelihood for their wives and children.

That wasn't in Europe! That wasn't in some foreign state  
where petty dictators and politically ambitious bosses rule. It was  
in Louisiana, the state that has given the great bulk of the people  
such governmental benefits as the homestead exemption, free  
school books for the children, free poll taxes, a fine road and free  
bridge system, all based upon the great humanitarian principles  
taught by the late Senator Huey Long. It was in a nation which  
under the able leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt has  
done more for the uplift of the masses and for the betterment of  
the human race than any other in the history of the world.

#### Cite Great Benefits

It's unbelievable that such an outrage could occur in Louisi-  
ana where the state administration has thoroughly endorsed all  
of these great humanitarian reforms and has given the people the  
old age pension and social security, aid to the dependent children  
and needy blind, and aid to the unemployables—which has es-  
tablished a hospital system bringing expert and free hospitaliza-  
tion almost to the doorsteps of the people... which has installed  
a free dental trailer system—which has given free pens, paper,  
pencils, and school supplies in addition to the free school books  
given by Senator Long.

And they might have gotten away with it if this same state ad-  
ministration which has sponsored all these great humanitairan  
reforms had not heard of the plight of the workers in the Ham-  
mond and Roseland box factories, and thrown its weight into the  
courageous battle being fought by the strikers. Informed of the  
desperate plight of these good people, Governor Richard W. Leche  
went immediately to their aid. He established kitchens to feed  
the men and their families during the battle for better wages and  
living conditions and had Mr. Reid's charges against the peaceful  
pickets dismissed forever. The governor placed state police at  
both Hammond and Roseland to prevent a recurrence of the vicious  
attack on the pickets.

#### Victory Is Assured

The battle to improve the condition of these hundreds of  
fine American citizens is still on and victory is assured. With the  
support of the governor and the state administration, the work-  
men know that the battle will be won. This company which has  
played both ends against the middle while working its men and  
women employees for little or nothing and then selling its crates  
to strawberry farmers at a high price, has seen the handwriting  
on the wall.

They know that they can't break this strike by throwing inno-  
cent workmen into jail or intimidating them with guns and clubs.  
The thousands of letters and telegrams which have poured in since  
the governor took up the cudgel for the workers have proven  
beyond a doubt that the people are 100 per cent behind this great  
humanitarian battle.

Just as the war for the strawberry farmers was won in spite  
of the propaganda, promises, and camouflage put out by those who  
attempted to exploit the farmer, so will this battle be won. These  
men and women have a right to live. They have a right to throw  
off the yoke of the bosses and demand a living wage for their labor.  
It is hoped sincerely that the operators of these factories will be  
willing to meet these men half way in an effort to find a solution  
to the problem. The strike can end no other way. There is no place  
in Louisiana for an economic system that starves American work-  
men and dooms their families to a living death.

