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Correspondence: Corcoran, Thomas G., 1935

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1935

Re. Mr. Corcoran.

Please send me
as promptly as possible
a complete statement
of all your dealings,
on governmental
matters, with Representative
Ralph O. Brewster of
Maine.

R A N

R E W S T E R

S T A T E M E N T

B Y

T H O M A S G . C O R C O R A N

I N R E P L Y T O

A C H A R G E B Y

C O N G R E S S M A N R . O . B R E W S T E R

STATEMENT OF THE RELATIONS
BETWEEN RALPH BREWSTER, M.C. AND THOMAS G. CORCORAN
ON THE HOLDING COMPANY BILL AND THE PASSAMAQUODDY PROJECT

On Tuesday, July 2nd, Mr. Brewster, addressing the House by unanimous consent, made the following charge:

"During the consideration of the death-sentence clause in the holding company bill, Thomas G. Corcoran, Esq., coauthor with Benjamin V. Cohen, Esq., of the bill, came to me in the lobby of this Capitol and stated to me, with what he himself termed 'brutal frankness', that if I should vote against the death sentence for public utility holding companies he would find it necessary to stop construction on the Passamaquoddy Dam in my district."

What follows is a summary of my entire relations with Mr. Brewster regarding both the Passamaquoddy Project and the Holding Company Bill.

(1) I was introduced to Mr. Brewster, before Mr. Brewster came to Congress by Dr. Ernest Gruening. Dr. Gruening is now Director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions of the Department of the Interior. At the time of the introduction Dr. Gruening was Editor of "The Nation", and the introduction took place in Dr. Gruening's apartment in New York City.

From 1927 to 1932, Dr. Gruening had been Editor-in-Chief of the Portland Evening News of Portland, Maine. During that period the Portland Evening News and Dr. Gruening had been Mr. Brewster's chief supporters in a political campaign Mr. Brewster made against the Insull interests in Maine.

At the time of the introduction and upon nearly every meeting I thereafter had with Dr. Gruening, Dr. Gruening assured me that Mr. Brewster could be relied upon more than anyone else to help the President in his power program. As I met Mr. Brewster from time to time after Mr. Brewster came to Congress, Mr. Brewster told me the same thing.

(2) The Wheeler-Rayburn Bill was introduced simultaneously in the House and the Senate about the beginning of February. I had collaborated in the drafting of the Bill with the National Power Policy Committee and I had attended conferences on the Bill between the President, Representative Rayburn and Senator Wheeler. I was requested by Representative Rayburn and Senator Wheeler to give them whatever assistance they might ask of me in connection with the progress of the Bill in Congress. Thereafter, acting under their instructions, I performed the usual services in aid of Congressional leaders on pending legislation.

(3) From time to time as I met Mr. Brewster after the introduction of the Bill, Mr. Brewster praised the Bill.

Hearings on the Bill began in the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate at the end of April. Senator Wheeler was Chairman of that Committee. Senator White of Maine was a member of the Committee. About the time hearings began Senator Wheeler informed me that, completely unsolicited, Mr. Brewster had come to Senator Wheeler to inform him that Mr. Brewster had great influence with Senator White of Maine and could persuade Senator White to support the President on the Bill. Senator Wheeler, therefore, requested me to keep in touch with Mr. Brewster for the purpose of furthering the Wheeler-Rayburn Bill.

At approximately the same time, Mr. Brewster came to me in my office and without my opening the subject, represented that Senator White was under political obligations to Mr. Brewster and was dependent upon Mr. Brewster's strength in Maine for Senator White's reelection next year, and advised me that if Senator White gave any trouble on the Interstate Commerce Committee from the Administration's point of view, Mr. Brewster would cause Senator White to cooperate with the Administration. Later, Mr. Brewster said he would solicit the support of Senator White to defeat the Dieterich amendment.

(4) Now I must turn to the Passamaquoddy affair. At the beginning of April, it was publicly announced that a tentative agreement had been reached to allot funds under the Work Relief Bill for the construction of the so-called "Passamaquoddy Bay Project." This project required the construction of a large hydro-electric power plant at Eastport, Maine, in Mr. Brewster's District, to be operated by the ebb and flow of the ocean tides. An engineer named Mr. Dexter P. Cooper had originally conceived the project, had drawn preliminary plans for its construction and had obtained a charter from the State of Maine for a corporation named Dexter P. Cooper, Inc., empowering that corporation to undertake the project.

The plan for the use of Work Relief Funds called for the direct building of the project by the Federal Government through the Army Engineers and the ownership of the project by the Federal Government. Very complicated legal problems were raised, including negotiations for the purchase of Mr. Cooper's preliminary plans and the relationship of the Federal Government to Dexter P. Cooper, Inc. About May 15th I was directed by the President to supervise the disposition of legal problems prior to the commencement of work by the Army Engineers on the project. As an interested Congressman, Mr. Brewster was very active in the discussion of those legal problems. Mr. Moran, another Representative from Maine, was also very active. The negotiations on the Cooper matter proceeded from about May 15th until just before the vote on the Holding Company Bill and I talked to Mr. Brewster and Mr. Moran about the Passamaquoddy Project nearly every day.

(5) My duty, in a word, was to assure the necessary legal safeguards to protect the Government in the proposed expenditure of thirty-six millions of dollars. The legal problems which I had to consider in the Passamaquoddy situation concerned fundamentally:

- (a) The prevention of the interruption of construction of the power plant by injunction proceedings arising out of attempts to condemn property, proceedings by alleged creditors of Dexter P. Cooper, Inc., and otherwise.
- (b) Assurance, after construction, that the power plant could be operated, if necessary, by some municipal authority so that antagonistic private power interests could not compel the Federal Government to accede to their terms as to the operation of the plant or have it on the Government's hands as an idle white elephant as was the Muscle Shoals dam for many years.

To meet these problems the legal division of the Public Works Administration, which had considered the situation for a long period had consistently recommended that any allotment made for the project should be made under the condition that before the commencement of construction, the Maine Legislature should create a municipal corporation called a "Power Authority", the governing body of which would be chosen with the approval of the President. To supplement the powers of the Federal Government, this Power Authority would be given by act of the Maine Legislature independent powers under the Maine Law to build the project and to condemn property, and would be given independent authority to lease the project from the Federal Government upon completion for operation free from the control of the Maine Public Service Commission until the Federal Government was paid in full for the costs of construction.

During the Spring of this year a proposed bill to create this Power Authority had been suggested to the Governor of Maine by the legal division of the Public Works Administration and had been referred to a committee of the Maine Legislature. Shortly before the close of the Maine Legislature, however, the Governor of Maine and Mr. Brewster had approached those in charge of consideration of the project in the Public Works Administration and suggested that it would be difficult to put the legislation through the Maine Legislature at the session then being held and suggested that it be deferred for consideration at some indefinite time in the future. In the present Maine Legislature, Republicans outnumber Democrats nearly two-to-one. Mr. Brewster, however, represented that he would use his influence with the Republican members of the Maine Legislature to make sure that whenever in the future the legislation was brought up for approval, the majority of the Republican members would vote in favor of the legislation.

On the basis of these representations of cooperation by Mr. Brewster, those considering the matter for P.W.A. recommended the Passamaquoddy Project to the Allotment Board set up under the Work Relief Act, without further requirement of this protection of the Federal Government by the Maine Legislature. The Maine Legislature adjourned without passing the legislation and the allotment for Passamaquoddy was made on May 28th without requiring Maine legislation.

(6) The Cooper negotiations, involving consideration of the possible tactics of private power interests which might allege themselves to be creditors of Dexter P. Cooper, Inc., reemphasized the need for taking the utmost legal precautions both to avoid suits which might interrupt construction and to assure the protection which would be afforded by the legislation which had been asked of the Maine Legislature. I therefore had these legal problems thoroughly canvassed by a group of lawyers representing P.W.A., the Army Engineers, T.V.A., two lawyers brought down from Maine by Mr. Brewster at his own expense as authorities on local Maine Law, and Mr. Brewster himself. This group rendered a report on May 27th which found that it was "highly desirable to obtain the legislation as quickly as possible."

Mr. Brewster objected, however, that immediate action on this subject would entail a special session of the Maine Legislature. Mr. Brewster suggested that the matter could wait for a special session of the Legislature which would undoubtedly be called in the Fall for relief and unemployment insurance legislation. Mr. Brewster pointed out that at that time the excitement of the power companies over the Holding Company Bill would have subsided and that Mr. Brewster and Mr. Moran would both be able to give their time and attention to putting the statute through the Maine Legislature.

As an inducement to avoid reconsideration of the decision not to require immediate legislation which had already been made by those in charge of the project at the Public Works Administration, Mr. Brewster offered his own personal guaranties that (a) through his influence and the influence of Senator White, Mr. Brewster would prevent suits being brought either by Republican forces or by the power interests pending the passage of the required legislation by the Maine Legislature, and (b) he would cooperate to the limit to ensure favorable action by the Republican majority of the Maine Legislature at the special session in the Fall.

Naturally I did not feel easy at seeing a commitment of the Federal Government which would eventually involve \$36,000,000 undertaken on any such basis. But the Army Engineers had pointed out that because of the early Winter at Eastport, it was absolutely essential to begin construction as soon as possible and that the works relief problem in Maine was immediately pressing.

I therefore called Dr. Gruening, who knew Maine politics as well as Mr. Brewster intimately, and asked him whether Mr. Brewster's assurances of protection of the project from suit and of the creation of the Power Authority by the Maine Legislature could be made good. He replied that Mr. Brewster could be relied upon 100% on his assurances regarding the Maine Legislature and the other legal safeguards.

I then called Mr. Brewster and Mr. Moran together to my office and asked Mr. Moran for his judgment whether the risks involved were balanced by the desirability of beginning the works relief at Passamaquoddy immediately. Mr. Moran replied that Mr. Brewster's assurances being what they were, the risk could safely be taken.

Relying upon Mr. Brewster's assurances and with his personal undertaking to me that he would keep vigilant watch for possible trouble and advise and help me meet it, I therefore did not approach the Public Works Administration or the Allotment Board to urge them to change their decision about not requiring immediate legislation from the State of Maine.

At no time was Mr. Brewster acting as counsel for the Government or under employment by the Government. Of course, as a matter of law, he could not have been so employed. He was acting only as a Member of Congress especially concerned with this Passamaquoddy project. All these arrangements as to the legal protection of Passamaquoddy occurred before I had any conversations with Mr. Brewster about the Holding Company Bill other than the conversation about Senator White earlier referred to.

The negotiations with Mr. Cooper continued and were not terminated until June 27th. In connection with these negotiations, I was in almost daily contact with Mr. Brewster.

(7) The Wheeler-Rayburn Bill passed the Senate on June 11th. On June 14th, at the invitation of Senator LaFollette, I attended a dinner meeting of Wisconsin Congressmen at which Senator LaFollette was present. At that meeting these Congressmen planned to make a fight to substitute Sections 11 and 13 of the Senate Bill for the House Bill and asked that I assist them with material for arguments.

Through these Wisconsin connections, I was requested by Representative Maverick to provide similar help for a group with which Mr. Maverick was acquainted which wanted to make the same kind of a fight. At the initiative of Mr. Maverick, a joint meeting of representatives of both Mr. Maverick's and the Wisconsin groups was called for the night of June 17th and at Mr. Maverick's request was held in my office because of its convenient uptown location. I attended this meeting. Both before attending this meeting and the meeting of the Wisconsin representatives, I asked the advice of Mr. Rayburn, in charge of the Wheeler-Rayburn Bill, whether it was proper for me to meet with these members of Congress on the Bill. I was told by Mr. Rayburn to go ahead.

(8) At the meeting held in my office, those present were invited by Mr. Maverick without any knowledge on my part as to who was going to be invited. Mr. Brewster attended. Mr. Moran and Mr. Maverick can tell you how and why Mr. Brewster was invited, and who else was present at the meeting.

Mr. Brewster reviewed material with the others and enthusiastically discussed plans of joint action for a fight on the floor of the House to amend the House Bill by substituting Sections 11 and 13 of the Senate Bill. A discussion arose as to methods of rallying support among Congressmen not members of the group. Mr. Brewster suggested a series of personal letters from members of the group to other Congressmen who might be persuaded to agree with the group. This suggestion was enthusiastically adopted by the meeting.

A discussion arose as to a division between particular members of the group of preparation to meet on the floor of the House particular arguments that would be made by opponents of the proposed amendments. I suggested that inasmuch as Mr. Brewster was among the ablest lawyers in the group, Mr. Brewster might explain on the floor the Constitutionality of the Bill and the workability of the legal machinery of corporate reorganization through which rearrangements of holding company structures might be attained. Mr. Brewster readily agreed to this suggestion and pointed out that as a Republican he would undoubtedly be able to obtain much more speaking time from the Republican leaders for a speech on Constitutionality and corporate reorganization than any of the Democratic members of the group could expect to receive on the Democratic side, because of the first call on Democratic time which Mr. Rayburn would give to members of his Committee.

The group as a whole seemed very anxious to have Mr. Brewster make this speech because of his prestige on the Republican side and their conviction that there was no one of equivalent legal ability on the Republican side to answer him. Mr. Brewster asserted that the bill would "get twenty-five votes on our (the Republican) side."

(9) The meeting above referred to occurred on June 17th. Some time later in the week, Mr. Brewster went to Bangor, Maine.

On June 23rd, before the Holding Company Bill reached the floor of the House I had two telephone conversations with him in Bangor, Maine.

Representative Pettengill who had publicly challenged the Constitutionality of the Bill was advertised to speak over the radio on the night of June 25th. It was suggested by one of the Congressmen who had attended the June 17th meeting that if the argument which Senator Borah had made in the Senate upholding the Constitutionality of the Bill could be gotten to every member of the House on the morning of the 24th, the argument of the Senator might counteract any argument Mr. Pettengill might make over the radio that night as to the Constitutionality of the Bill. It was suggested that Mr. Borah's argument could be included as an enclosure with the kind of a

Congressman-to-Congressman letter Mr. Brewster had recommended at the meeting of June 17th. I discussed this idea with Mr. Rayburn, who thought it worth trying and who advised that the best Congressman to send the letter would be Mr. Brewster.

On the afternoon of June 23rd, therefore, in the presence of my assistant, Mr. James H. Rowe, Jr., I telephoned Mr. Brewster in Bangor, Maine, by long distance telephone from Mr. Rayburn's office in Room 1333 of the House Office Building. I asked whether Mr. Brewster would want to sign a letter to be sent to all Members of Congress enclosing Senator Borah's argument supporting the Constitutionality of the Senate Bill. Mr. Brewster said that he would sign such a letter, asked me to prepare it, and asked me to telephone Mr. Brewster in Bangor from Mr. Brewster's own office in the House Office Building so that he might know the language of the letter and might be able to give his secretary direct orders to cooperate with me in the matter of stationery and mailing. With Mr. Rowe I then went to Mr. Brewster's office and from there called Mr. Brewster in Bangor over the long distance telephone. I read the letter to Mr. Brewster.

Senator Borah's argument had occurred in a colloquy with Senator Hastings and Senator Hastings' name appeared in the letter I had prepared. Mr. Brewster observed that he thoroughly approved the idea of sending out the letter but that he hadn't expected Senator Hastings' name would appear in it and would prefer not to sign anything which might reflect on the ability of Senator Hastings because Senator Hastings, as Republican campaign manager, might interfere with Mr. Brewster's hopes to obtain Republican campaign funds from the Republican Party for the 1936 election. Mr. Brewster reiterated that Mr. Brewster could be counted on for help in the debate, but stated that he would prefer someone else sign the proposed letter and that he would try to suggest an influential member by wire. The time was so short that the letter was signed and sent out that night by Mr. Rankin. But in the morning there arrived for me from Mr. Brewster the following telegram: "Lindsay Warren would have very considerable prestige for the matter you mentioned and is decidedly interested. Ralph O. Brewster." Mr. Lindsay Warren, of course, presided during the proceedings of the Committee of the Whole of the House on the Bill and in unofficial compilations of the teller vote on the proposal to substitute Section 11 of the Senate Bill for Section 11 of the House Bill is reported to have voted in favor of the substitution.

(10) I understand Mr. Brewster did not return to Washington until Thursday, June 27th. At any rate I had no further contact with Mr. Brewster until the afternoon of that day.

There had been a general often-reiterated understanding that after the completion of the negotiations with Mr. Cooper, Major Fleming, in charge of construction for the Army Engineers, Mr. Moran, Mr. Brewster and Mr. Cooper would all go together to Eastport, Maine, to introduce Major Fleming to Eastport and to attend a celebration signaling the commencement of actual construction of the project.

On Thursday, June 26th, Mr. Cooper signed the contract concluding the negotiations. I first informed Mr. Moran of this fact and suggested to him that Mr. Cooper, Major Fleming, Mr. Brewster and Mr. Moran might all go to Eastport at any time they found it convenient to go together. In the course of that afternoon the Holding Company Bill had reached the Committee of the Whole of the House and the first reading of the Bill had been commenced. Mr. Moran suggested that since House action on the Holding Company Bill had begun it was not advisable for either himself or Mr. Brewster to leave Washington until House action on the Bill was concluded.

I then looked for Mr. Brewster and met him in the lobby of the House. I informed him of the conclusion of the negotiations with Mr. Cooper and of my conversation with Mr. Moran, and reminded him of the general understanding that to avoid controversies as to who was entitled politically to credit for the Passamaquoddy Project, Mr. Moran and Mr. Brewster were to go to Eastport together if they went at all. Mr. Brewster confirmed that understanding but stated that he did not see why it would not be possible for Mr. Brewster and Mr. Moran to go to Eastport that night, return by plane the next day and be back in the House in time for participation in the general debate with all Passamaquoddy worries behind them.

There was no discussion of any kind as to Mr. Brewster's vote on the Holding Company Bill or as to any change in his intention to fulfill the expectations of those favoring the substitution of Senate Section 11 of receiving his help in the fight on the floor. He gave me absolutely no indication that there was any change whatsoever in his position from that he had taken at the meeting of June 17th and I had no discussion with him on the subject. In view of Mr. Brewster's presence at meetings to urge the Senate sections, his readiness to participate in the fight for them, his suggestion of Lindsay Warren for the Borah letter, his whole course of conduct, I did not entertain the slightest suspicion that Mr. Brewster wasn't as wholeheartedly as ever for the Administration's position on the Holding Company Bill.

That night Mr. Brewster took the train to Eastport with Mr. Cooper and Major Fleming--without Congressman Moran. Mr. Moran informs me that Mr. Brewster advised Mr. Moran, after my conversation with Mr. Brewster, that Mr. Brewster was going to Passamaquoddy and had made reservations for Mr. Moran if Mr. Moran chose to accompany him but that Mr. Brewster said nothing about the Holding Company Bill or the understanding that Mr. Brewster was not to go to Passamaquoddy without Mr. Moran.

Mr. Brewster arrived in Eastport the next day, Friday, and made a speech at a celebration inaugurating the Passamaquoddy Project at which Mr. Cooper and Major Fleming also made speeches. Mr. Brewster did not return on Friday. He did not return until the next Monday, July 1.

(11) The vote to substitute Section 11 of the Senate Bill for Section 11 of the House Bill, i.e., the vote most important to the group which had attended the meeting on July 17th, was scheduled to occur between 2 and 2:30 o'clock on Monday, July 1. During the preceding Friday night, Saturday and Sunday, I tried without success to reach Mr. Brewster to deliver him suggestions for the speech he was expected to make.

The House opened on Monday at 10 o'clock. During the proceedings of that day, through the courtesy of Mr. Boland, I sat in Mr. Boland's small office in the Capitol to be available to carry out instructions of Mr. Rayburn and Mr. Eicher who were supporting on the floor the movement to substitute sections of the Senate Bill for sections of the House Bill. Mr. Rayburn expected Mr. Brewster to make a speech that morning.

Just before the opening of the House, I telephoned Mr. Brewster's secretary to learn if he had returned. She replied that she did not know where Mr. Brewster was but that she thought he might be at a "potato committee" meeting in Senator Hale's office. I left a message asking that Mr. Brewster call me.

By 12 o'clock I had received no call from Mr. Brewster. I called Senator Hale's office and was advised that Mr. Brewster was not in Senator Hale's office nor had been in Senator Hale's office during the morning.

I had not seen or heard from Mr. Brewster since Thursday of the previous week, and from that moment had no contacts of any kind with Mr. Brewster or with his office except in the presence of witnesses.

I telephoned Dr. Gruening and advised him of my natural doubts of the efficacy of Mr. Brewster's assurances to protect the Passamaquoddy Project in the Maine Legislature and in the other legal problems, if Mr. Brewster should change sides on the power question. Dr. Gruening replied that it was unthinkable that Mr. Brewster would compromise his position on the Bill and suggested that I call Mr. Brewster's secretary, be as insistent as necessary to make certain that she let me talk to Mr. Brewster, and insist with Mr. Brewster that he let the other members of the group know immediately through me whether he was going to give them the help of his speech or not. Dr. Gruening stated that Dr. Gruening too would make a real attempt to reach Mr. Brewster by telephone to learn what position Mr. Brewster would take.

I thereupon called Mr. Brewster's office, at approximately 12:15 in the presence of Mr. Benjamin Cohen and Mr. Joseph Cotton, both thoroughly acquainted with the situation. I asked Mr. Brewster's secretary where I could reach Mr. Brewster, and told her I had not been able to locate him in Senator Hale's office. She replied that she did not know where Mr. Brewster could be reached. I then said in substance that Mr. Brewster owed it to me personally to let me know what he was going to do about the speech on the Holding Company Bill, because I'd worked my head off for him on 'Quoddy' and to find Mr. Brewster and tell him I expected to be called back.

(12) From 12:15 until 1:35 I stayed in Mr. Boland's office, having my lunch brought in. About one o'clock or shortly thereafter I received a telephone call in Mr. Boland's office from Mr. Brewster. Mr. James H. Rowe, Jr., was in the room with me during the entire conversation. I asked Mr. Brewster whether he was going to speak for the Senate amendments. He didn't say a word against the Administration's position on these amendments, but informed me that his political situation was such that he could not make the speech but that he was going to see Dr. Gruening.

At about this stage of the conversation, there was a break in the telephone connection. I tried to get Mr. Brewster back at his office but his secretary informed me that he was not there. A few moments later, Mr. Brewster called me back. Mr. Brewster told me that he had Dr. Gruening on the other telephone. I could hear Mr. Brewster talking to "Ernest" as he talked alternately to me and another party over two telephones. There was a blurred and confusing conversation as Mr. Brewster tried to handle both telephones at once.

Ever since my talk with Dr. Gruening my responsibility for safeguarding the Government's legal position in the Passamaquoddy project was never out of my mind. When Mr. Brewster used some such phrase as his "peculiar" or "difficult political position in Maine" I felt new concern because of the dependence of the Government in the legal aspects of the 'Quoddy' situation on Mr. Brewster's assurances as to his political and professional position in Maine. Naturally, I at once realized that the legal position on which the Government relied was greatly impaired.

I therefore said to Mr. Brewster in effect, "If your peculiar political position is so delicate as you say, I want to make it clear that I am not accusing you of running out, but that it is best that you and I be brutally frank now to avoid personal misunderstandings as to our relations on 'Quoddy' in the future. If as you say you are not a free man politically and must take power company support into your calculations, then you'll understand perfectly that from now on you can't expect me to trust you to protect 'Quoddy' or trust your assurances that we'll get that Maine Power Authority out of the Maine Legislature."

Mr. Brewster said that he wanted to see me and that he was making arrangements to see Dr. Gruening. I told Mr. Brewster that I would prefer to see him at the same time that he saw Dr. Gruening so that the conversation could be "three-cornered". Talking alternately to Dr. Gruening and to me, Mr. Brewster arranged an appointment with both of us for 1:45 in Statuary Hall in the Capitol.

(13) The vote was to come between 2 and 2:30. I met Dr. Gruening in Statuary Hall at 1:40. Mr. Brewster was late. He arrived at two minutes of 2. The vote occurred at 2:10.

Mr. Brewster then made it clear to Dr. Gruening and me that he was not only not going to speak for the substitution of the Senate sections but that he was not going to vote for them. This was the first indication I had had that he would not even vote for the amendment.

Dr. Gruening argued with him while I stood by saying nothing. Dr. Gruening's argument in substance was that to refuse to vote for the Senate amendments would run contrary not only to the specific expectations Mr. Brewster had given as to his action on the Bill but was directly contrary to what Mr. Brewster had always agreed upon with Dr. Gruening as fundamental philosophy on the power issue.

Mr. Brewster raised no question at all as to the merits of the Senate amendments or the so-called "death sentence". He replied in substance as follows: "Yes, I understand everything you say, but since my visit to Maine I know that my political situation is so delicate that I simply cannot vote for this death sentence unless some such arrangement as I told you about, Ernest, can be made." (Dr. Gruening advises me that this portion of the conversation related to an earlier discussion with Dr. Gruening in which Mr. Brewster inquired whether he could have Administration assurances that he would receive as many Democratic "liberal" votes as he might need in the next election to offset Conservative Republican votes he might lose by support of Administration policies). Dr. Gruening did not mention Passamaquoddy and I said nothing during Dr. Gruening's plea.

At the close of Mr. Brewster's reply to Dr. Gruening, however, I said to Mr. Brewster in effect: "Now to say in front of Ernest what I have said to you before. I don't wish to reflect on your personal integrity but I think that if you and I are brutally frank now it will avoid personal misunderstandings as to our relations on 'Quoddy' in the future. If as you say you are not a free man politically and must take power company support into your calculations, then you'll understand perfectly that from now on you can't expect me to trust you to protect 'Quoddy' or trust your assurances that we'll get that Maine Power Authority out of the Maine Legislature." Mr. Brewster replied, "I understand. It's well to get that clarified."

Then Mr. Brewster turned to Dr. Gruening and said, "I thought I would go back to my hotel and not be present at all during the voting."

I then said, "No, nobody wants you to do any ducking. Go in and vote as you want to vote."

I then left Dr. Gruening and Mr. Brewster who walked on together toward the Republican entrance to the House chamber.

(14) Dr. Gruening has advised me that when Mr. Brewster left Dr. Gruening, Dr. Gruening was under the impression that Mr. Brewster would vote for the substitution of Senate Section 11.

Mr. Brewster actually voted against the substitution of Senate Section 11.

Mr. Moran advises me that immediately after Mr. Brewster's vote, Mr. Moran stated to Mr. Brewster, "Why, I thought you were with us", and that Mr. Brewster replied, "I was".

(15) Mr. Brewster's charge against me was made on the floor of the House, on a request of unanimous consent, twenty-four hours later.