March 2, 1939

Hon. John S. Cooper,
Somerset, Kentucky.

Dear John:

I have your letter of February 28th.

I seriously doubt if Swope will be a candidate against you.

I would suggest that you make a very hurried trip to the different county seats of the Ninth District, establishing contacts with the leaders in each county, and then as soon as you have done this, you make a trip to the First, Second and Fourth Districts at as early a date as possible. It might be well for you in the meanwhile to write to the following persons, advising them of your candidacy and soliciting their support, viz:

Judge Walter L. Prince,	Benton, Ky.
Mr. Robert L. Myre,	Paducah, Ky.
Mr. Claude Winslow,	Mayfield, Ky.
Mr. Harry Barret,	Hickman, Ky.
Mr. F. J. Pentecost,	Henderson, Ky.
Mr. John Worsham,	Henderson, Ky.
Mr. James Rash,	Henderson, Ky.
Judge A. D. Kirk,	Owensboro, Ky.
Mr. John Dean,	Owensboro, Ky.
Mr. Gray Haynes,	Owensboro, Ky.
Mr. Otis Greer,	Owensboro, Ky.
Mr. Richard Slack,	Owensboro, Ky.
Mr. Claude Smith,	Owensboro, Ky.
Mr. Roy Burlew, C/o Kenrad Corporation,	Owensboro, Ky.
Mr. Alvan Clark,	Hopkinsville, Ky.
Mr. W. E. Keith,	Hopkinsville, Ky.
Mr. Walter Robinson,	Hopkinsville, Ky.
Mr. Carl Williams,	Hopkinsville, Ky.
Hon. Kirby L. Gordon,	Madisonville, Ky.
Hon. Letcher Fox,	Madisonville, Ky.
Mr. Thos. E. Finley,	Madisonville, Ky.
Mr. Neville Moore,	Madisonville, Ky.
Mr. Max Harlin,	Bowling Green, Ky.

Mr. John S. Cooper March 2, 1939

Dr. Paul York,	Glasgow, Ky.
Mr. Rollie E. Keown,	Morgantown, Ky.
Mr. A. J. Bratcher,	Morgantown, Ky.
Judge Clarence Bartlett,	Hartford, Ky.
Mr. Otto C. Martin,	Hartford, Ky.
Hon. Paul Basham,	Hardinsburg, Ky.
Judge T. J. Sparks,	Greenville, Ky.
Mr. Pilson Smith,	Greensburg, Ky.
Miss Eliska Youtsler,	Brandenburg, Ky.
Mr. Herbert E. Brown,	Brandenburg, Ky.
Mr. Jesse E. Keown,	Hawesville, Ky.
Mr. Chester O. Carrier,	Leitchfield, Ky.
Mr. W. S. Carver,	Horse Cave, Ky.
Mr. Harry H. Wilson,	Munfordville, Ky.
Mr. Douglas Keen,	Scottsville, Ky.
Mrs. Emma D. Keen,	Scottsville, Ky.
Mr. I. G. Mason,	Adairville, Ky.
Mr. J. R. Bruce,	Russellville, Ky., R. F. D.
Mr. E. E. Biles,	Franklin, Ky.

I think a letter to these people will be very helpful at this time.

You remember the boys promised to raise the necessary money for the expenses of your Primary candidacy, and as soon as I get a day off I will take this up with some of the group with whom you conferred here on the night of the Banquet.

With best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

Chas. I. Dawson

CID-AB

JOHN S. COOPER
ATTORNEY AT LAW
SOMERSET, KENTUCKY

February 28, 1939

Hon. Charles I. Dawson,
Woodward, Dawson & Hobson,
Kentucky Home Life Building,
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Judge Dawson:

As you have probably noticed, I announced my candidacy for the Republican nomination for Governor last Wednesday in the Louisville and Lexington papers.

Court will end here Saturday, and it is my intention to immediately begin a tour of the Counties over the State. I believe it best to first visit the Counties in the Ninth District and after that I will come to Louisville and consult you about a trip in Western Kentucky.

The situation in Pulaski and adjoining Counties has been worked out satisfactorily, and all factions have assured me their support.

I did not talk to Robsion while he was in Kentucky, but he told several people from Somerset that he would be for me, or any other Ninth District man.

I have heard nothing further about Judge Swope's candidacy, but believe that he may be urged to announce with the idea that I might withdraw. As I told you in Louisvillle, I will run this race through, no matter who runs. I appreciate deeply your interest and that of your friends. If there is anything that you want to suggest that I should do, I shall be most happy to hear from you.

Again thanking you for your interest and help, I am

Sincerely yours,

John S Cooper

JOHN S. COOPER

JSC/bt

CHARLES I. DAWSON
JOHN E. TARRANT
R. LEE BLACKWELL
THOMAS W. BULLITT
M. BROOKS SENN
RICHARD W. ILER
MARTIN V. ROACH
FLOYD C. ROBERTSON
GALEN J. WHITE, JR.
MARVIN J. HIRN
LONNIE O. GRIGSBY
ROBERT L. BAIRD

BULLITT, DAWSON & TARRANT
THE SEVENTEENTH FLOOR
KENTUCKY HOME LIFE BUILDING
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40202

584-1144
AREA CODE 502

WM. MARSHALL BULLITT (1873-1957)

December 4, 1969

Mr. Richard M. Dawson,
Chairman of the Board,
Kentucky Home Mutual Life Insurance Company,
Kentucky Home Life Building,
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Dear Richard:

I enclose a copy of the Minute I wrote on your father for the Association of Life Insurance Counsel as I thought you might like to have it. I meant every word I said in it. I hope you approve.

Yours,

TWB:P
Enclosure

Thomas Bullitt

11/26/69

Richard M. Dawson
from T.A.B.

MINUTE IN HONOR OF CHARLES I. DAWSON

By general consent of those who knew him, Charles I. Dawson, or "The Judge" as he was commonly called by his friends and acquaintances, was a landmark figure in Kentucky's judicial, Republican and legal circles. A powerful intellect, a commanding and to those who did not know him a somewhat forbidding presence, great courage and strong convictions, a thorough knowledge of the law, a passionate dedication to constitutional law and to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States and a kindly, affectionate and human personality characterized the Judge. Perhaps his outstanding quality was a refusal to tolerate cant, hypocrisy or counterfeit values whether in public or private life and his immovable resolution to follow through on a course which he believed was right. Popularity, at the expense of principle, was something for which he cared nothing and the result was that he was widely admired and greatly beloved.

Judge Dawson died in Louisville, Kentucky on April 24, 1969 at 88, and as Chairman of the Board and General Counsel of the Kentucky Home Mutual Life Insurance Company had been a member of this Association since May, 1940 although never very active in its affairs. He was born in Logan County, Kentucky, on February 13, 1881, attended local schools, Bethel College and the University of Kentucky; was admitted to the Kentucky Bar in 1905 and that year was elected to the Kentucky House of Representatives from Logan County. From 1919 to 1923 he was the Attorney General of Kentucky. Although the unsuccessful Republican nominee for Governor of Kentucky in 1923 and the United States Senate in 1950. Judge Dawson's greatest political service to his State was in 1966 when he so successfully organized opposition throughout the State to an attempt by the State Administration, aided by a lavish expenditure of political and public funds, to railroad through a sweeping revision of the Kentucky Constitution that out of the 120 counties in Kentucky 120 counties rejected the revision. In 1967 he managed the successful gubernatorial campaign of Governor Louie B. Nunn, and in 1968, just a year before his death, he led the Kentucky delegation in support of President Richard Nixon at the Republican Convention in Miami.

As a Federal Judge for the Western District of Kentucky, appointed by President Coolidge in 1925, until he resigned in 1935 to continue his fight against the inroads of the Roosevelt Administration against the Constitution, Judge Dawson was described as "a legal crusader with a booming voice, bristling gray eyebrows and iron-gray tumbled hair". Although he enjoyed Bourbon whiskey as much as most of the members of this Association, he believed in strict enforcement of the law and in 1929 handed down one of the stiffest decisions on record under the prohibition statutes in holding that a man who bought a drink was as guilty as the bootlegger selling it. He made his mark as a Judge under the New Deal when he held as unconstitutional the efforts of the NRA to regulate wages in the soft coal industry and the Kerr-Smith Act regulating tobacco production. In May, 1935 he called the application of the NRA Code to local affairs "the boldest kind of usurpation" and held that the refusal of persons engaged in strictly local business to comply with the NRA "is not a crime and can not be made a crime by legislative fiat". He resigned from the Federal Bench in June, 1935 on the ground that his duty to his country required him to fight what he regarded as destructive tendencies in the Government to an extent not permissible to a Judge on the Bench, and the next year in Washington said that President Franklin D. Roosevelt "has demanded and a servile Congress has enacted law after law in violation of the Constitution".

From 1948 to his death Judge Dawson was a partner in Bullitt, Dawson & Tarrant in Louisville, and in 1949 was named as the coal operators representative on the Board of Trustees of the United Miners Welfare & Retirement Fund, but John L. Lewis blocked his appointment. Lewis knew that Judge Dawson would not tolerate the use of miners' welfare funds to further the personal ambitions and private enrichment of union leaders.

Judge Dawson is survived by his son, Richard M. Dawson, now Chairman of the Board of the Kentucky Home Mutual Life Insurance Company, and his two daughters, Mrs.Huddleston and Mrs. Gray.

In fighting against a rising tide of collective egalatarianism, Judg Dawson often walked alone but he knew his destination and he set a firm course. His many friends were saddened by the passing of one who was unique but always kind; splendid but exceedingly simple;wise and determined but never ponderous.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that this Association adopt the foregoing Minute as a permanent record of the high esteen in which Charles I. Dawson is held by his fellow members and a copy hereof be furnished to his family and partners as an expression of sympathy to them in their loss.

Squire R. Ogden
Allen C. Steere
Thomas W. Bullitt (Chairman)

August 19, 1940

Hon. Wendell L. Willkie,
Rushville, Indiana.

Dear Mr. Willkie:

I was proud of and delighted with your speech of acceptance. I believe it impressed the country as the faith and pledge of an honest and courageous leader.

I believe a campaign conducted along the same frank and courageous lines will inevitably result in victory this fall. Wherever I go I find great numbers of life-long Democrats openly stating that they intend to support you, and I believe this trend will greatly increase as the campaign develops.

With best wishes for your success, and pledging myself to any assistance possible, I am

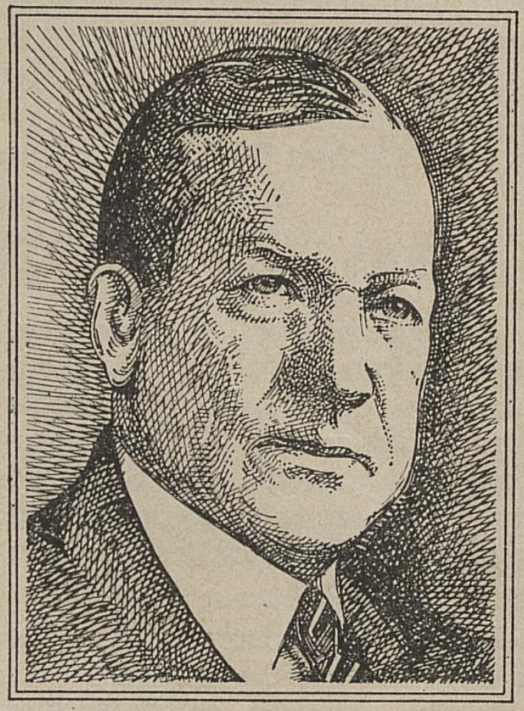
Very sincerely,

CID:AB

Chas. I. Dawson

CHARLES L. McNARY

** Progressive Statesman **



★

TYPICAL of the progressive spirit and progressive ideas which have characterized the west is Senator Charles L. McNary, of Oregon, Republican candidate for Vice President and running mate of Wendell Willkie, nominee for President of the United States. Selection of Senator McNary with his known record attests how far the Republican Party has shifted from its old moorings of ultra-conservatism and its willingness to pick its leaders on the basis of ability rather than on the number of electoral votes a state has.

The story of Senator McNary is that of a farm-born boy who, by sheer intelligence and hard work, carved out a career which has led to leadership of the Republican Party in the United States Senate, established a national reputation as a champion of agriculture, and a protector of the country's natural resources. Now he has been nominated for the second highest elective office within the gift of the American people.

For twenty-three years Senator McNary's record has been written in the Senate. His votes are recorded and he can neither add nor subtract therefrom, nor would he desire to do so, for they express his honest convictions. His voting record has been actuated by a desire for progress to help the underprivileged and improve the lot of his fellow Americans.

Charles Linza McNary was born June 12, 1874, on the land claim of his grandfather, Charles Clagget, of Kentucky, five miles from Salem, state capital of Oregon. The paternal grandfather, James McNary a native of Tennessee, was captain of a covered wagon train which creaked its way over the plains and mountains and roaring rivers of the Oregon Trail. The Senator's parents were Hugh Linza McNary and Mary Clagget McNary.

Endowed with an unusual amount of human sympathy, which has guided much of his legislative career, Senator McNary eventually purchased the land of his ancestors and today operates it as a successful farmer. A few miles from his modern farmhouse is the site of the meeting of pioneers, trappers and "mountain men" who established a provisional government for the Oregon Country—embracing what are now Oregon, Washington, Idaho and parts of Montana and Wyoming.



Plans to make young McNary a grocery clerk went awry when he saved $28 and, with this total capital, traveled by train and steamer to Palo Alto, California, entering Stanford University. There another Salem lad, Herbert Hoover, had preceded him by four years. In Arsena Hall, of the University, young McNary waited on tables, receiving $17.50 a month.

Followed the struggle of the average young country lawyer at Salem. Then appointment as dean of law at Willamette College. Later a Democratic governor appointed him associate justice of the Supreme Court of Oregon where his humanitarian views and judicial disposition resulted in several decisions which are landmarks in that state.

Then came a development which altered the course of Senator McNary's career as Justice and led to his reaching the United States Senate. A candidate for re-election to the supreme court, Justice McNary was defeated by one vote on the face of the returns. His friends insisted that he challenge the returns and demand a recount. The same sportsmanship which has characterized his actions in later life was put to the test. Justice McNary refused to question the returns and accepted the result graciously.

That election caused McNary to take an active, rather than academic, interest in politics and, no longer restrained by a judicial position, he became Republican State Chairman. A vacancy occurred in the United States Senate and a Republican governor gave the appointment to the man who had accepted the election returns as final. Justice McNary was entering upon his real work in life. That one vote enabled him to "find" himself.

Senator McNary in Washington soon became known as an independent thinker—a Republican who did not adhere strictly to party lines. He always put the interests of the Country as a whole above sectionalism and partisanship. Progressive ideas won his vote.

The position Senator McNary occupied was unique. He refused to accept all of the conservative ideas of the elder statesmen and he declined to adopt all of the extreme proposals of the small group desig-

nated as wildmen. He thought and acted in terms of National Welfare, supporting one or the other bloc according to his judgment.

A man of the people and understanding the fear of a dependent old age lurking in the mind of every man and woman of mature years, Senator McNary introduced the first old age pension bill twenty years ago.

Another of his progressive ideas was a proposal for crop insurance, also about twenty years ago. Such a plan is now being experimented with wheat.

It was as chairman of the Senate Committee on Reclamation and as chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry that Senator McNary began performing his great and constructive legislation, which has changed the character of the far west particularly and has touched every farmer in the United States, directly or indirectly.

Senator McNary was chairman of the committee which investigated and authorized Boulder Dam to impound waters for irrigation, flood control and, incidentally, to generate power. He took an active part in western reclamation wherever it has been feasible, knowing that this development will provide homes for thousands of settlers who struggle on submarginal land elsewhere. He is responsible for Bonneville Dam, a navigation project on the Columbia, which also harnesses the power of that mighty stream. His efforts have been constant to preserve the forests, to protect them against fires, for sustained yield so that logging operations will not remove trees faster than they can be reproduced.



In the field of agriculture, Senator McNary is regarded as an authority and the McNary-Haugen bill is still accepted by many farmers as the nearest solution to the farm problem. The McNary-Haugen bill was pioneering and so advanced in principle that it was viewed with alarm by conservatives. This farm relief bill, over bitter opposition, passed the Senate and House but was vetoed by President Coolidge. Again Senator McNary managed to start the bill on the way to the White House, but was frustrated by a second veto.

Senator McNary is regarded as an exceptionally able parliamentarian and he uses this knowledge in skillful fashion as leader of the Republican Minority of the Senate. Few in numbers, the Republicans under the guidance of Senator McNary have performed important service to the nation in the past seven years. A master of strategy, the slender, wiry, leader is a student of human nature and studies his fellow Senators and their reactions to legislation in mapping out a campaign for or against a measure.

As minority leader, Senator McNary has never opposed the administration on purely partisan grounds. He has supported social security, labor and farm legislation when not entirely satisfied as to their perfection believing such experimentation was justified and that perfection could be achieved later. When he felt the best interests of the nation were involved he has resorted to his knowledge of strategy and cleverly maneuvered Democrats into becoming his allies to stop bad legislation, such as the Supreme Court Packing Bill.

At 66, Senator McNary has a youthful carriage, a light quick step and sharp blue eyes which miss nothing as they twinkle. In manner he is graciousness itself, easily approached and a good listener. He is so amiable that he is on the most friendly relations with fellow Senators regardless of party affiliation. Despite being Republican Leader, his opinion has been sought by the White House where he is regarded as an opponent who fights cleanly and like a sportsman.

Part of his Oregon farm is an arboretum where he experiments with trees brought from the four corners of the globe and there are roses and other flowers blooming practically the year round. Senator McNary is one of the pioneers in the cultivation of filberts in the United States; other crops are prunes, cherries and walnuts. When the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted he plowed up acres of hops; they have not been replanted.

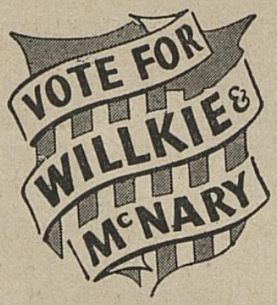
A lover of nature, he is a member of the special Senate Committee on the Conservation of Wild Life. No hunter or fisherman himself, he is deeply interested in the propagation of fish, in refuges for wildfowl and reservations for big game. On his ranch in Oregon he has a deep pool filled with trout which he himself feeds while several varieties of wildfowl voluntarily mingle with the domesticated birds.

Such is the humanitarian, statesman and son of the soil, Senator Charles L. McNary, Republican candidate for Vice President of the United States—a man who loves his country and its people.

Distributed by

Republican National Committee

Washington, D. C.



WILLKIE *for* PRESIDENT

~~666 STARKS BUILDING~~ . . . . . TELEPHONE: WABASH 6706
MARTIN BROWN BLDG. LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

HEADQUARTERS:
CITIZENS' FINANCE COMMITTEE
FOR KENTUCKY
JAMES C. STONE, CHAIRMAN

STATE CLEARING HOUSE
KENTUCKY FOR WILLKIE CLUBS

August 12, 1940

Mr. Charles I. Dawson
1805-26 Ky. Home Life Bldg.
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Dawson:

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your contribution of $500.00, contributed equally by Mr. Ernest Woodward, Mr. Robert P. Hobson, and yourself.

This practical means of expression of your interest will go a long way toward insuring the election of our candidate in November.

We are receiving an amazing number of contributions from Democrats and others who are not usually to be found on Republican lists. It is therefore difficult for us to build an accurate file of prospective contributors. May I ask that you use the enclosed page to give us the names of those you know to be in sympathy with our efforts so that we can arrange for each of them to have an opportunity to make a contribution.

We are enclosing a self-addressed stamped envelope for your convenience in sending us your suggestions.

Very truly yours,

James C. Stone

James C. Stone, Chairman

dr

THE FOLLOWING COULD IF THEY DESIRE TO DO SO MAKE A SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE KENTUCKY CITIZENS FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR WILLKIE

WAbash 6706

220 Martin Brown Bldg.
Louisville, Ky.

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Name _____

Address _____

Suggested by _____

586

TELEPHONE ANDOVER 2500

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
JOHN HAMILTON

VICE CHAIRMEN:
SAMUEL F. PRYOR, JR.
WALTER S. HALLANAN
MRS. GRACE B. REYNOLDS
MRS. PAUL FITZSIMONS

CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:
SINCLAIR WEEKS

SECRETARY:
HAROLD W. MASON

TREASURER:
C. B. GOODSPEED

GENERAL COUNSEL:
HENRY P. FLETCHER

120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.

August 12, 1940.

Hon. Charles I. Dawson
Woodward, Dawson & Hobson
1805 Kentucky Home Life Building
Louisville, Kentucky

My dear Judge:

I have just returned from a trip and find your letter of the 6th.

I did have quite a lengthy letter from Walter Hallanan with regard to the Kentucky situation and I shall be glad to do all that I can to help work out a satisfactory situation there. But of course both the Chairman and myself find ourselves in considerable embarrassment in attempting to go around or over the duly elected officers of the State organization, and if you have any ideas as to what should be done in order to bolster up the situation, I should like to have them in order that I may approach the whole problem intelligently and for the best interests of the Party.

With my kindest and best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

John Hamilton.

JH/DS

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
JOHN HAMILTON

VICE CHAIRMEN:
SAMUEL F. PRYOR, JR.
WALTER S. HALLANAN
MRS. GRACE B. REYNOLDS
MRS. PAUL FITZSIMONS

CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:
SINCLAIR WEEKS

SECRETARY:
HAROLD W. MASON

TREASURER:
C. B. GOODSPEED

GENERAL COUNSEL:
HENRY P. FLETCHER

WALTER S. HALLANAN
MEMBER FOR WEST VIRGINIA

1016 KANAWHA VALLEY BUILDING
CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA

July 26, 1940

Hon. Charles I. Dawson
Louisville
Kentucky

Dear Judge Dawson:

I am sending you a letter I have received from Hon. John Hamilton, of the National Committee, in reply to the letter I sent him with reference to the situation in Kentucky in the Willkie campaign. I have also written Joe Martin along the same line and I talked with Martin personally in Washington yesterday about the Kentucky situation. I indicated to him that I would be very glad to use my good offices in any way possible to work out the problem. Of course, Joe Martin is pretty close to Congressman Robsion and does not want to offend him.

However, Martin appreciated the importance of something being done to put the Willkie campaign in competent hands in Kentucky.

Inasmuch as Kentucky will be under the Chicago headquarters and since John Hamilton will be in charge there I think I can work out something with him - at least I am hopeful of being able to do so.

Day to day I am more encouraged about the outcome for Mr. Willkie's success. He is making a fine start and I believe that the fiasco pulled off in Chicago by the New Dealers has made certain our success in November. I am further convinced that Willkie's nomination at Philadelphia was providential in making it possible for us to defeat the New Deal. I do not believe any other candidate than Willkie could have measured up to the job.

With best wishes and hoping you will keep me posted on developments in your states, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. Hallanan

Enc.

586

TELEPHONE ANDOVER 2500

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
JOHN HAMILTON

VICE CHAIRMEN:
SAMUEL F. PRYOR, JR.
WALTER S. HALLANAN
MRS. GRACE B. REYNOLDS
MRS. PAUL FITZSIMONS

CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:
SINCLAIR WEEKS

SECRETARY:
HAROLD W. MASON

TREASURER:
C. B. GOODSPEED

GENERAL COUNSEL:
HENRY P. FLETCHER

120 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.

July 24, 1940.

Hon. Walter S. Hallanan
Kanawha Valley Building
Charleston, West Virginia

My dear Walter:

I have your letter of the 17th with the enclosed copy of a letter from Charles Dawson. I have heard more than rumblings along the same line of which he writes. I take it that after things get settled here that I am going to have to move into Kentucky and see if we can't do something to set up a campaign committee that will please all factions and give us a chance to grasp all the opportunities there are for the carrying of the state.

If you have any more news in this direction I shall be delighted to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

John Hamilton

John Hamilton.

JH/DS



THE COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY

SENATE

FRANKFORT, KY.

DR. O. F. HUME
(MADISON, ESTILL, JACKSON, ROCKCASTLE AND OWSLEY COUNTIES)
29TH SENATORIAL DISTRICT
RICHMOND, KY.

COMMITTEES:
PUBLIC HEALTH, CHAIRMAN
CHILD WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK
FORESTRY AND STATE PARKS
KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY AND TEACHERS' COLLEGES
MILITARY AFFAIRS
NATIONAL PARKS
VETERANS' LEGISLATION

July
Seventeen
1 9 4 0

Mr. Chas. I.Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

Dear Mr. Dawson:

Mr. Weisbrod, of Pittsburg, a representative out of Mr. Carlton B. Ketchum's office, will be at the Brown Hotel, Louisville, Kentucky, Saturday, July 20th. for luncheon.

We are asking a few of our friends from the various counties in Kentucky to join us, and would be delighted of you will come and meet Mr. Weis brod most informally.

Please reply to this office.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. O. F. Hume and
John M. Perkins

OFH/a

Received

J. M. PERKINS AND ASSOCIATES
417 HIGH STREET
FRANKFORT, KY.

July 16
1940

Chas. I. Dawson,
Ky. Home Life Bldg,
Louisville,
Kentucky.

Dear Charlie:

The representative of Mr. Weir the National Finance Chairman is sending his representative Mr. Weisbrod, to Louisville Saturday July 20th to assist in working out a plan of organization.

I have contacted Dr. Hume and we have called a meeting to be held at the Brown Hotel July 20th. A lunch will be served and then the matter will be brought up in regards to selecting a National Finance Chairman for Kentucky.

This meeting was called June 6th and I requested that Mr. Weir defer same until after the National Convention to see who would be the Nominee and who would be elected to take my place as National Committeeman.

Sincerely yours,

JMP:MRG. J.M. PERKINS.

P.S. Would like to see you the night before if you can be in town. We would to see this fellow in advance of the meeting JMP

HENRY F. ASHURST, ARIZ., CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
M. M. NEELY, W. VA.
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.
PATRICK MC CARRAN, NEV.
M. M. LOGAN, KY.
WILLIAM H. DIETERICH, ILL.
GEORGE MC GILL, KANS.
CARL A. HATCH, N. MEX.
EDWARD R. BURKE, NEBR.
KEY PITTMAN, NEV.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, WYO.
JAMES H. HUGHES, DEL.
WILLIAM E. BORAH, IDAHO
GEORGE W. NORRIS, NEBR.
WARREN R. AUSTIN, VT.
CHARLES L. MC NARY, OREG.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

June 22, 1940.

Honorable Samuel B. Pettengill, Chairman,
The National Committee to Uphold
Constitutional Government,
Transportation Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Pettengill:

During the last few years your Committee has rendered outstanding service, but the work it now is doing, if you find you can prosecute it as effectively as you have outlined, will eclipse all else for lasting good.

We have moved a long way in the wrong direction, and are badly involved. Only a strong and capable Congress - a dependable majority in both House and Senate - can help us escape irreparable damage. Such a Congress can be had. An abundance of outstanding ability exists in each State and in each Congressional District, but in too few States is this ability, or, are the right-thinking men and women who should draft it for public service, concerned as to Congressional elections - primary or general. All eyes seem glued on the Executive Mansion, as though totalitarianism already had come.

Even an average Congress could be made strong enough to preserve our system of self-government and free enterprise if the people "back home" - those who lead in local affairs and in molding local thought - were to become sufficiently aroused and concerned to demand it. These people have been taking too much for granted. They need awaking. The country and their Congress need their active assistance. You have undertaken arousing these solid men and women to a realization of their responsibilities. All power to you.

That you are the man to lead in this great work, no one will question. Your fine record as a member of Congress speaks for itself - and your ability to make people think is an asset of outstanding value. If you are given the full support and assistance such a far-flung work will require, you may turn the tide - turn it in time.

This much I can offer - that you may feel free to call upon me whenever I might be of assistance.

Cordially yours,

Edward R. Burke

Edward R. Burke, U.S.S.

THE THIRD CRISIS

A Plea to All Americans for a United Stand in Defense of Constitutional Government, Competitive Enterprise and Humanized Capitalism

Statement of program prepared for THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO UPHOLD CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

By SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL
Democratic Member of Congress from Indiana

THE most obvious fact in the headlines today is that the prosperity parade has come to a pause; in fact, it is marching backward. It is plain that the New Deal has entered upon a new phase. People are beginning to realize that all that glitters in Washington is not gold, however valuable much of the work of the last five years has been. We are obliged to take inventory, to strike a balance of the debits and credits and then plan our future.

At the moment the Nation is a babel of voices. Government blames industry, industry blames government; labor blames capital, capital blames labor; and labor blames labor. Everyone is looking for the fire escape. I wish to suggest that the fire escape is the return to constitutional government, competitive enterprise, and a humanized capitalism.

I am not here to argue the case of the *"haves"* against the *"have-nots,"* of property against poverty; nor to plead the cause of the peak of the economic pyramid against its base. I do not worry about those at the peak of the pyramid. The fact that they are there demonstrates that they need little help or protection from government. I would be just to those at the peak, to those whose courage, enterprise, invention and business genius have helped to build the prosperity of the nation not only for themselves, but for all the rest. Nevertheless, I do not worry about them.

Where Urgency Exists

My concern is for those at the base of the economic pyramid. I know that when there is a demand for used cars the new car market booms and that when people stop buying used cars, dealers are no longer able to sell new cars and the damming up of buying at the base soon spreads upward to the very peak of the pyramid.

In arguing for constitutional government, competitive enterprise and humanized capitalism, I do so because of my deep conviction that under a system which preserves these three things a *larger percentage of the "have-nots" have climbed into the ranks of the "haves" than under any other system since time began.* Contrariwise, it is my deep conviction that the destruction of these principles will mean the *same reduced standard of living in America* as we have seen abroad where politicians run business to serve their *political* ends. **If the history of mankind proves anything it teaches us that men prosper only so long as they are free.** Political and economic freedom releases tens of millions of mainsprings of initiative and enterprise and invention and new ideas. Under government bureaucracy, these forces are *not* released.

All of us recognize the necessity of change. I am sure there is not one who would not reshingle the roof, put in new plumbing, or buy new furniture in the home of free government. We do not feel, however, that we can improve our lot by tampering with the foundations upon which the whole superstructure rests. In coming to this conclusion, we do not theorize. We point to the record of actual achievement of one hundred and fifty years and longer on American soil where these principles have been tested time and again.

The Third Crisis

It seems plain that we have now reached the third crisis of our history. The first was the quarter-century which gave us our independence from the mother country and the Constitution of 1787. The second was, of course, the Civil War. The third is the present time, and what our children will inherit will be determined by the conclusions we arrive at and the course we pursue in the months and years immediately ahead.

Since the end of the World War, not less than seventeen constitutional governments have "gone with the wind." We are in the vortex of a worldwide struggle. The Man on Horseback has returned to the seats of power in country after country, and free enterprise has been yielding ground to the new Caesars who would run everything from a central point.

In this country, state capitalism is making headway not upon the merits of its own case, but upon failure of the managers of our enterprise in the broad field of public relations.

Weakness of Business

In my judgment that is the great weakness with which our business leaders may be justly charged. I am far from saying that the man who keeps his business out of the red and produces a payroll for Saturday afternoon, and sends in the thousands of reports to governmental bureaus, is not making a splendid contribution toward the sum total of our national life. But, gentlemen, *it is not enough.* American business has accomplished miracles of achievement which makes the Aladdin's Lamp of the story book seem like a flickering flame. The managers of our industry have shown marvelous ability to produce and distribute the goods which contribute to the comfort and well being of life, but they have fallen down in *selling the whole system* under which these goods are produced. They have been so immersed with the details of their own business that the *greater business*—the survival of free enterprise and constitutional government—has been in peril of going by default.

I do not wish to criticise. I only want to help. I know that the managers of

(SEE OVER)

business have been so cuffed around these past few years that they are resentful like an overpunished child. But in a goodnatured way, let me tell you an anecdote for the purpose of driving my point home. The anecdote comes from a man who himself has an interest in a couple of small banks in the cactus country of West Texas. Without disclosing his real name let's call him "Cactus Jack." He has had a long political experience and this is what he says: "I'd rather have the barbers with me than the bankers, for three reasons: First, there are more of them; second, the barbers talk; and third, and more important, the barbers *vote!*"

No United Defense

There is no over-all organization to defend the whole structure of constitutional government, competitive enterprise and humanized capital against attack from all sides. When one industry is under attack the rest sit back on the sidelines and watch it fight for its life, in the hope that it won't be necessary to join in the fray.

Someone once said that the chief difference between horses and men is that horses have horse sense! It is rather plain to me that we don't have as much sense as the bison on the western prairie. When they were under attack the bull buffaloes formed a ring with their fighting tools forward, and the cows and calves inside. They presented a united front.

What do we see today? The trucks and buses stand idle as the railroads come closer and closer to state socialism, little realizing that when railroads go down, trucks and buses and the ships follow. The light and power industry is gradually being driven to the wall by subsidized government competition. There is a demand to nationalize anthracite coal, and if and when that happens, of course, soft coal and petroleum follow. Then will come all communications—telephone, telegraph, airplanes, radio, and the press, as they have fallen one after the other, like a row of dominoes, abroad. Banking and credit are on their way to become the function of the state and, of course, credit will be extended largely to those who fawn upon the party in power and contribute to its campaign fund, and thus the state becomes "master." We see today a war against the formation of private capital through such weapons as the undistributed profits tax, the capital gains tax, and the gradual drying up of the springs of individual savings through the enforced shrinkage of the rates of interest, and dividends, and unnecessary harshness in the control of markets for new capital, all of which leads inevitably to government banking on a huge scale and as a permanent policy, rather than as a matter of emergency as intended under the R.F.C. Thus we look forward to the state becoming the sole substantial source of credit, and the dominating force over all American business.

We see all this but what are we doing about it?

During and before the Civil War the question was whether this physical union of states would endure, whether *E pluribus unum* would continue to characterize our form of government. That question was answered by the guns of Gettysburg. On the reverse of the Great Seal of the United States there is, however, another Latin phrase, descriptive of our government not in the physical relation of the states, but the relation between government and the individual, words which mean "a new order of the ages." The great question confronting our generation is whether this new order of the ages shall continue, or whether we shall reverse all of the tides of history and go back to the very conditions which our forefathers once crossed stormy seas to escape.

A Real Inspiration

Some of us got into the Supreme Court fight last February. We thought then that it was a hopeless struggle. It did not seem possible that it could be won, but we got in, some of us, because we had fathers at Gettysburg and in the Revolution, and because we asked ourselves,

"For how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods."

Some of us have been on American soil longer than the younger generation of Americans. That does not make us better. It simply makes us more fortunate. It is a precious heirloom to have the memory of America's great past, to feel in one's blood the compact in the Mayflower, the clearing in the wilderness, the flatboat floating down the Ohio, the days of '49, the Oregon Trail, the crunch of the wheel of the covered wagon, the driving of the last spike, the rush to the Yukon, the march of empire, and Chicago, "hog butcher to the world"! But those of us who feel these things are simply more fortunate.

Somehow we must make these millions of newer Americans feel the same things, to translate the great events in the lands from which they came into these same American terms. And we know that by the millions that do feel this same surge in their blood—Michael Pupin, stowaway boy from the shepherd's plains of Bulgaria; Steinmetz, a hunchback cripple, but an electrical wizard; the father and mother of Lindbergh; Knute Rockne, born in Scandinavia—these and millions of others are our allies in this great struggle to preserve constitutional government in its last stronghold on this planet. They, as well as we of an older generation know what Rudyard Kipling meant when he wrote:

"All we have of freedom, all we use
or know,
This our fathers bought for us, long
and long ago.
Ancient right, unnoticed as the
breath we draw,
Leave to live by no man's leave,
underneath the law;
Lance and torch and tumult, steel
and grey goose wing,
Wrenched them, inch and ell and all,
slowly from the king."

Something to Sell

Our great failure is that we have stopped advertising the American system to ourselves. I used to think, why is it necessary for Ivory soap to remind me every week that it floats? But I am told that as soon as Ivory soap curtails its advertising program, its sales begin to fall off.

What has American enterprise failed to sell? The idea that ours is the greatest *liberal* government in the world's history. The only sense that Americans in the mass are conservatives is that they want to conserve their liberties.

Let no one believe that this movement to the center, this abdication of constitutional rights by the citizen, the city, the county and the state, this concentration of power,—let no one be so fatuous as to believe that this is a liberal movement. It is a reactionary, a Tory movement.

Make no mistake. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were not written by reactionaries, nor was the Revolutionary War won by Tories.

We have something to sell, both tangible and intangible, and it is as nearly pure wool as this old world has ever seen.

Defining Our Legacy

What is this legacy of free enterprise and constitutional government which we received from our fathers? Even with its failure and shortcomings, it is the best in the world. We have 6 per cent

of the world's land area and 7 per cent of its people. But that 7 per cent has 32 per cent of the world's railway mileage, 58 per cent of its telephones, 36 per cent of its developed water power, 76 per cent of the world's automobiles—enough so that every man, woman, and child under the flag, 130,000,000 Americans, could climb into these cars and all ride on rubber at the same instant of time, a nation on wheels, a miracle of achievement in which bureaucrats played no part. The rubber that goes into the annual production of tires would go around the world and 6,000 miles to spare—a rubber-tired planet, if you please! When Stalin or Hitler or Mussolini do half as much, it will be twice as much as they have done!

This little 7 per cent of the world's population has 44 per cent of its radios; produces 60 per cent of the world's petroleum, 48 per cent of its copper, 43 per cent of its pig iron, 47 per cent of its steel, 58 per cent of its corn, 56 per cent of its cotton, 25 per cent of its sugar, 33 per cent of its coal. Of the commodities it does not produce, this little 7 per cent of the world's population goes out into the world's markets and buys 50 per cent of its rubber, 50 per cent of its coffee, 75 per cent of its silk. This 7 per cent of the world's population has 45 per cent of the world's total wealth; and far more than half of all the wheels that turn on this planet, from locomotive drivers to the wheels in milady's wrist watch, turn on American soil.

Building Real Security

In the worst year of the worst depression of our history 30,000,000 out of 32,000,000 American boys and girls of school age stayed in public schools. And on the point of security for old age this little 7 per cent has $108,000,000,000 of protection on the lives of 64,000,000 Americans, more security than all the rest of the world put together.

Gentlemen, I am a friend of the system which has done these things. With all its faults, follies, and crimes, it has produced and distributed more of the goods and comforts of living to more people over a greater territory and for a longer period of time than any other system in any other country since Adam walked out of the Garden of Eden. Neither of the princes of Babylon, the Pharaohs of Egypt, the emperors of Rome, the lords of feudalism, or the dictators of today ever served the common man one-half so well.

That is the material end of our economic and governmental system. It is our answer to those who say you cannot eat the Constitution. Strictly speaking, that is true. It is, however, no more true than to say you can't eat the Ten Commandments or the Sermon of the Mount, or the Golden Rule. Thank God, there are still some things in America that you cannot eat. But under the Constitution, more men have eaten more bread over more years than in any other country under any other form of government since the dawn of history.

And what shall we say about the intangible things of life? What shall be our answer to those who say there is nothing sacred about the Constitution: Again, strictly speaking, that is so. It was not written by the finger of God on tablets of stone on Mt. Sinai. But if the right to worship God in the light of one's conscience, to raise our children in the faith of our fathers, to not be required by law or otherwise to support a church in whose creed we do not believe; if that relationship between man and his Maker is sacred to the man who enjoys it, then the document that safeguards that right to him is sacred too, if anything human is worthy of that name.

These Sacred Things

And the same can be said about trial by jury; the right to be secure in one's household and effects; the right to participate in government, in frequent elections called, not as a matter of grace, but as a matter of right; freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and petition for redress of grievances; if these things are sacred to those who enjoy them, the document that safeguards these rights to them is sacred, too.

Such is the fruit of the tree our fathers planted. Shall we preserve *the tree* in order that our children may *also enjoy its fruits?* In a word, what are we going to do about it?

The Revolution was not won by summer patriots nor sunshine soldiers. It was won by the bloodstained snow of Valley Forge. The Civil War was not won by the "Don't-stick-your-neck-out" Club. It was won by the empty sleeve. The struggle today cannot be won by the "Let-George-do-it" boys. Sacrifice alone built this republic and sacrifice alone will save it, if it is to be saved.

Dare Not Delay

Nor can the issue be postponed to await your convenience. The next five years, and in part the next five months, will almost certainly tell whether you will bequeath to your boys and girls the legacies you received from your fathers.

In Bible times a shibboleth separated friend and foe. Today we need but one countersign for public service—devotion to constitutional freedom.

The men in public life who came to the defense of the Supreme Court *must not be repudiated.* If they are, there will then be a mandate, which no one can deny, to proceed with the destruction of constitutional safeguards. If, however, they are returned to office the mandate will be on the other foot.

Republicans and Democrats together answered the call of Lincoln. Democrats and Republicans must again present arms together. It is not necessary for anyone now to foreswear permanent allegiance to any party. No new party is now necessary. No formal organization is now necessary. Nor is it necessary nor wise to look ahead to 1940. 1938 is all that concerns us now.

We had an informal coalition in Washington in the Supreme Court fight. No one gave up his own party loyalty. He simply submerged it for the time being in the greater loyalty which is the end for which party loyalty is only the means—how best to serve one's country.

A similar informal coalition of citizens, as individual voters, is all that you need plan today. All that is necessary is that those *who think alike shall act together.* If your party candidate is right on this great issue of constitutional democracy vote for him. If he is wrong and his opponent is right, vote for the man who is right! ***Let your slogan be "We support no candidate who does not carry the Flag and keep step to the music of the Union."***

"WHAT ARE WE DOING ABOUT IT?"

The man who wrote the words on the foregoing pages and who described The THIRD CRISIS said: *"We see all this, but what are we doing about it?"*

Suppose you were asked:
"WHAT ARE YOU DOING ABOUT IT?"

Have you stopped "advertising the American System?"

Do you believe with Samuel Pettengill that "Under the Constitution, more men have eaten more bread over more years than in any other country under any other form of government since the dawn of history!"

The issue can't be postponed! *"The next five years, and in part the next five months, will almost certainly tell whether you will bequeath to your boys and girls the legacies you received from your fathers."*

What Must Be Done

A noted editor and columnist has said that the course of events this coming year would be shaped *not solely by the White House but* mainly by six other influences, and he named them in the following order:

(1) Public Opinion
(2) Congress
(3) The Administration
(4) Labor Leaders
(5) Men of Affairs
(6) Foreign Events

And this same writer declared: "I am hopeful that public opinion will by and by cause Washington to alter its attitude. . . . Congress will be expected to take heed of what their constituents demand."

Public Opinion has been placed first in rank as a major influence shaping our destiny.

All that is necessary is that those *"who think alike shall act together."*

You Are Invited to Cooperate with
THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO UPHOLD CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

You can help by giving moral and financial support and by distributing its educational material.

The Committee's successful experience in the Court fight developed methods of reaching the rank and file. It has thousands of volunteer workers in every state and controls machinery for reaching public opinion to stimulate action by "men and women who think alike."

Address the

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO UPHOLD
CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

FRANK E. GANNETT, *Chairman*
SUMNER GERARD, *Treasurer*

New York Office: 205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET
Telephone: MUrray Hill 4-3781

Heartiest Congratulations
times on appointment.
The U. S. has done
well. C. M. K.



Never a Christmas Morning,
Never the Old Year Ends,
But Somebody, Thinks of Somebody,
Old Days, Old Times, Old Friends.

Charles H. Morris

FRANKFORT, KY.

ROBERT H. McNEILL
GEORGE H. McNEILL

KELLY KASH
BRADFORD ROSS
EARL L. EDWARDS

TELEPHONE
NATIONAL 1220

McNEILL & McNEILL
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

1627 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

August, 3, 1939

Judge Chas I. Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

Dear Judge:-

ABOUT POLITICS.

Mr. McNeill and I held sort of political inquest today, discussing outlook and prospective activities for next year, with the expressed desire on the part of both of us to keep in touch with you and play along with you in determining candidates, delegates &c. He said that you and he sat together some in the Cleveland convention ~~xx~~ '36, and he has always been impressed with you since first meeting you on the bench. He is a North Carolina voter, and he is in touch with leaders there and will probably be named as delegate from the state-at-large, and there is talk of his running for Governor, though I dont think he seriously considers it. He is president of the Southern Society of Washington, and this give him quite an influence in various southern states, particularly the two Carolinas and other nearby states.

I happen to be well connected in Florida and South Carolina. The Republican candidate for U.S. Senator in Florida, Miles F. Draper of Tampa, is my intimate personal friend and handles matters for me there. When I was there in June he asked me to advise him along as to the strongest man for President, and he and I had much to do with the naming of Replogle for National Committeeman in June. With a little early work we can name the delegates from that state. In South Carolina I have a good line on the situation. Bob Lucas sent me there in 1930, as his representative, to address the first regular state convention ever held by the Republicans in that State. The meeting was at Columbia just a block from the building in which the first secession resolution was passed, but we had a very enthusiastic meeting. That was when Hoover was still very popular. I am sure that I have a line on some very influential leaders there. And I have some good connections in Tennessee.

The Taft announcement coming out today, the renewed activities for Dewey and the continued activities on behalf of Vandenburg, bring these three as the present outstanding names. In considering the most available man we will be glad from time to time to hear from you and also give you our views, and work with you.

Yours truly,

Kelly Kash

Hat Is in the Ring

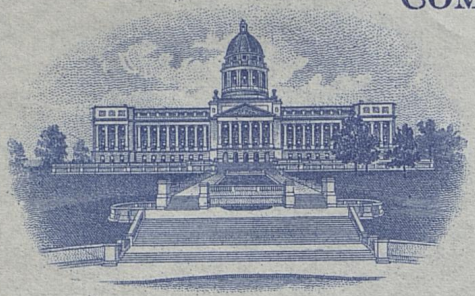


Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio today announced he is a candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1940. A letter from him authorized Ohio Republicans to enter his name for consideration in the primaries. He is the first to formally announce his candidacy in the 1940 campaign.

THE
COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY

SENATE

FRANKFORT, KY.



RAY B. MOSS
17TH SENATORIAL DISTRICT
PINEVILLE, KY.

COMMITTEES:
KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY AND TEACHERS' COLLEGES, CHAIRMAN
RULES
FISH AND GAME
FORESTRY AND STATE PARKS
INSURANCE
MINES AND MINING
PUBLIC UTILITIES

Pineville, Kentucky
July 26, 1939

Hon. Chas. I. Dawson
Kentucky Home Life Bldg.,
Louisville, Kentucky

My dear Judge:

Swope spoke here yesterday to about 325 to 350 people in the Courthouse and incidentally made a damn good speech. The Cooper boys have a good organization in this end of the County; also in the Middlesboro end of the County and are getting along alright.

There is just one thing wrong in this County and you or Bob Tway will have to handle that from the Harlan end. The indications are that the Jim Forrester crowd in this County is going to slate Swope and his ticket which, of course, is coming through, I would imagine, the Congressman. If this one thing can be straightened out I am not a bit afraid of the results. It would be just as easy to have that crowd slate Cooper which would insure Cooper a handsome majority.

Please take this matter up with Tway and any one else who can help solve it.

Yours very truly,

Ray

Ray B. Moss

RBM/A

July
24th,
1939

Mr. Charles I. Dawson
Suite 1805-26
Kentucky Home Life Building
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Dawson:

I have your letter of July 21st commenting upon the conversation you had with Mr. Bob Hunter relative to the race of Governor. I feel that the information that you have given me is authentic, consequently, any ties that I might have with King Swope can break off, due to the fact that King Swope knows my position in that line. Anything that I can do for Judge Cooper will be done, you may rest assured.

Yours very truly,

T J Christian

C*C

DEWEY SHORT
7TH DIST. MISSOURI

COMMITTEES:
MILITARY AFFAIRS
IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION

HOME ADDRESS:
GALENA, MISSOURI

MISS KATHLEEN WHITTLE
SECRETARY

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

July 1, 1939.

Hon. Charles I. Dawson,
Louisville, Ky.

My dear Sir:

As the only Republican Congressman from the State of Missouri, I am making a survey of the Republican prospects for 1940, and find from the records that you were listed as a delegate to the last Republican National Convention.

I shall appreciate it if you will advise me if you expect to be a delegate to the next Republican National Convention in 1940, but if not, who the delegates from your State or District are likely to be.

I should be glad if you could inform me how the delegates to the National Convention are selected in your State, together with the names and addresses of the individuals or organizations in charge of or directing the procedure for the selection of delegates in your State.

With appreciation of your courtesy and cooperation, I am

Very truly yours,

Dewey Short

"NOTIFICATION AND DECLARATION."

Of Frank A Easterling

For Nomination to the Office of Congress

To Secretary of State

(County Court Clerk or Secretary of State, as case may be.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky Carter County

For the purpose of having my name placed on the official primary election ballot as a candidate for nomination by the Republican party, I Frank A Easterling

(name in full as desired on the ballot)

do solemnly swear (or affirm), that I reside at No. Main street, in the city of Grayson, county of Carter, State of Kentucky and that I am a registered voter in Oakland precinct, city of Grayson, that I believe in the principles of said Republican party, and intend to support its principals and policies, and vote for its nominees at the coming general election; and that I have affiliated with such party and that I supported its nominees at the last general election, that if nominated as a candidate of said Republican party at the said ensuing election, I will accept such nomination and not withdraw; that I will not knowingly violate any election law or any law defining or relating to corrupt and fraudulent practice in campaigns or elections in this State, and if finally elected, I will qualify for said office.

Frank A. Easterling

(Signature of Candidate)

Subscribed and sworn to before me by Frank A Easterling this 27 day of June, 1938.

NOTARY PUBLIC ROWAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY

Lottie M. Powers

(Signature of Officer)

Notary Public Rowan Co. Ky.

(Title of Officer)

My commission expires Jan. 21, 1940.

We, Thos S Yates and Chas. Sexton do solemnly swear (or affirm), that we are qualified electors and members of the Republican party, and have affiliated with said party, and supported its nominees at the last general election; that we are residents and legal voters of the City of Grayson County of ~~Carter~~ Rowan State of Kentucky; that we are personally acquainted with Frank A. Easterling who files the hereto attached notification and declaration, and we know him to be a discreet citizen, and a member of the Republican party, and that, to the best of our knowledge and belief, he has affiliated with and supported said party as defined in the primary election law; that he is a resident of the City, County and State set out in his notificationand declaration, and we believe him to be qualified to fill the office of Congress

Thos S Yates

Chas Sexton

(Signatures of affiants)

Subscribed and sworn to before me by Thos S Yates & Chas Sexton and this 27 day of June 1938

LOTTIE M. POWERS NOTARY PUBLIC ROWAN COUNTY

Lottie M. Powers

(Signature of Officer)

Notary Public Rowan Co. Ky.

(Title of Officer)

My commission expires Jan. 21, 1940.

Dear Sir:

I am returning Notification & Declaration as the Law requires that all must be in this office by Midnight of June 27th.
This received today(28th)at noon.

Chas D. Arnett.

SECRETARY OF STATE

HENRY L. STODDARD
280 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY

As an editor and publisher studying closely the trend of national affairs for nearly fifty years, I am convinced that we are facing today the most serious test of our ability to maintain representative government. We are not now far from absolute control by one man of government, finance and business.

Such a statement is not easy for an American to make, but it is a truth that we must not ignore until too late.

The National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government has proven its ability to mobilize public sentiment effectively. More than any other one influence, its work put a strong, nation-wide public opinion back of the Senators who defeated the Supreme Court packing proposal. Under the continued leadership of Frank Gannett as its chairman, the same organizing work will arouse people everywhere to the great danger inherent in the office reorganization bill and other measures now before Congress that put power in one hand for one purpose.

Separately, each of us can do little. Acting together, through such an organization as Mr. Gannett has put together the last two years, we can uphold and strengthen those Senators and Congressmen who must have support from the people for their stand against pending measures.

Will you join with me in giving financial aid to the Gannett Committee? Every dollar is carefully expended, strictly accounted for, and its influence will be as marked as in the defeat of the Court measure.

Sincerely yours,

Henry L. Stoddard

Henry L. Stoddard

The Gannett Newspapers

Frank E. Gannett
President

February 18, 1938

Executive Offices
Rochester, N. Y.

Hon. Chas. I. Dawson
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Sir:

This is a call to you for ACTION -- and the time is short. The country needs your help, and your representatives in Congress need a renewed, definite mandate -- from voters at home.

The pending Executive Reorganization bill, which the Administration is determined to drive through Congress, is alarmingly dangerous, even in its amended form. It should be rejected as emphatically as was the bill to pack the Supreme Court, and for the same reason -- because both were designed to undermine democratic government and substitute centralized one-man power -- inevitable forerunner of dictatorship.

See for yourself, in Amos Pinchot's Open Letter to the President, what was actually planned. We had in our possession an authentic copy of this then secreted bill to remodel our government, when we warned the country that the Court packing proposal was only an opening wedge.

Telegraph or write your Senators and Congressman at once, voicing your protest. Tell them, if you agree with this viewpoint, that Congress should recover its delegated powers and refuse to grant more powers to any President. It should drop the Executive Reorganization bill and concentrate on getting the millions of idle men and billions of idle dollars back to work. More recovery before more reform.

Having sent your personal protest, enlist others to do likewise. And multiply the effect by pouring in signed petitions. Get as many signatures as you can on enclosed forms and forward promptly to this Committee's headquarters for mass presentation. But, above all, push for "letters from home".

Our nation is in its THIRD CRISIS. As the people in Washington's and Lincoln's time had to dedicate their energies and sacrifice their property and lives, so we must dedicate ourselves and our resources, if we are to conserve our liberties and ward off the reactionary movement that strives to place our personal and economic lives under political domination from Washington.

The editor of a nationally known Midwestern newspaper writes: "I have been astounded at the utter lack of appreciation of the dangers in the Executive Reorganization bill. It provides a pyramiding of power for dictatorship in the hands of any President. Your Committee did a great job in the Court fight. Here is another call. You succeeded because you reached the rank and file."

Out of an invaluable legislative experience, Representative Pettengill, Democrat, of Indiana, has analyzed this "Third Crisis." He points out the urgent need

for "a nationwide organization to defend constitutional government, the competitive system and humanized capitalism."

The primaries just ahead will determine the character of the next Congress. And Congress is our only remaining bulwark. James Roosevelt has just intervened in Florida, using White House power against Representative J. Mark Wilcox because he opposed the President in the Court fight. If Senators and Representatives who have voted their convictions are eliminated by White House pressure and patronage, the New Deal will proceed on the theory that it has a "mandate" to do whatever it pleases.

This Committee is supporting for reelection such men as Representative Pettengill, regardless of their party label. The response has been tremendously encouraging. It indicates that voters of both parties, if appealed to, will unite in sufficient numbers to keep such men in Congress.

Besides organizing mass protests against Executive encroachment, this Committee is moving to establish a national forum for discussion and clarification of issues and principles fundamental to the preservation of our system of competitive enterprise under constitutional law. It plans --

(1) a publication "AMERICA'S FUTURE" for leaders in all walks of life;

(2) a radio forum by which the thoughts and voices of the ablest men and women in the nation can be broadcast throughout the country and, by recordings, be localized in Congressional and Senatorial elections.

This Committee's successful fight against packing the Supreme Court was supported by thousands of men and women. They continue to give their time and money. Our nationwide supporters can be a controlling national influence by organizing blocs of voters in both parties. To do this in 150 Congressional districts and 20 Senatorial contests, it must receive many thousands of contributions, <u>both large and small</u>. Will you send what you can?

Who, in this Third Crisis, will defend our own and our children's liberty if we ourselves do not act? Again, may I urge you to --

(1) Telegraph or write your protest immediately to your Congressman and Senators. Demand they take back delegated authority. Demand "more recovery before more reform". Get others to do likewise. Send us copies.

(2) Contribute liberally your moral and financial support. Our effectiveness during the decisive next five months will depend upon the measure in which you and others help.

I consider the situation so grave that I am increasing my contributions by an additional $5,000 in proportion as support comes from others.

Sincerely yours,

Frank E. Gannett

Frank E. Gannett, Chairman
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO UPHOLD
CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

April
13th
1937

Judge John S. Cooper,
Somerset, Kentucky.

Dear John:

I have not answered your letter of March 25th sooner because I have been overwhelmed with work.

I am glad to know that Judge Tartar and his friends will back you, and I think you should go ahead and announce. I do not anticipate that we will have any trouble getting all factions to unite on you.

With best wishes, I am,

Your friend,

Chas. I. Dawson

CID:AB

JOHN S. COOPER
JUDGE PULASKI COUNTY
SOMERSET, KY.

March 25,1937.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Woodward, Dawson and Hobson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

Dear Judge Dawson:

I have given quite a good deal of thought to the matter of making the race for Judge of the Court of Appeals and would be willing to make the race if it is satisfactory to Republican leaders over the District. I have talked to Judge Tarter, and he assures me that he will be able to line up his faction, and he tells me that he will see you next Tuesday or Wednesday about the matter. If you can do so conveniently, it might be wise to sound out Judge Bethurum about my making the race, but you can do as you think best, after talking to Judge Tarter. I believe that there is a good chance to win. Thanking you for your interest in the matter, I am

Respectfully,

John S. Cooper

John S. Cooper.

PROMISE

AND

PERFORMANCE

The Administration of
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
REVEALS ITSELF

"BUT REMEMBER WELL, that attitude and method—the way we do things, is nearly always the measure of our sincerity."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Butte, Montana, September 19, 1932

COPYRIGHT, 1936 BY
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
(*Permission to quote in part from this book is hereby granted*)

8

"WE BELIEVE that a party platform is a covenant with the people to be faithfully kept by the party when entrusted with power, and that the people are entitled to know in plain words the terms of the contract to which they are asked to subscribe."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, *1932*

"THAT ADMIRABLE DOCUMENT, the platform, which you have adopted, is clear. I accept it one hundred per cent."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Acceptance Speech, July 2, 1932*

"FINALLY, I have made it clear, ever since my nomination a year ago, that I subscribe to the Democratic platform one hundred per cent."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *telegram to Leon McCord, member of Democratic National Committee from Alabama, July 8, 1933*

RELIEF

REEMPLOYMENT

PROMISE

"IT IS NO TIME for delay when 11,000,000 of honest, industrious and willing men and women are tramping the streets and roads of our country looking for work . . . and we of the Democratic party will not wait."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Baltimore, October 25, 1932*

"IT IS A PRIMARY PURPOSE of my administration to cooperate with the States and with industry, to secure work opportunities for as many of the unemployed as possible, by which they will find employment through normal channels."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Statement, June 14, 1933*

"THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT must and shall quit this business of relief. I am not willing that the vitality of our people be further sapped by the giving of cash, or market baskets, or a few hours of weekly work, cutting grass, raking leaves, or picking up papers in the public parks."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Message to Congress, January 4, 1935*

RELIEF

REEMPLOYMENT

PERFORMANCE

IN MARCH, 1936, there were **UNEMPLOYED,** according to:

The American Federation of Labor..... **12,184,000**
National Industrial Conference Board..... **9,649,000**

AS OF JANUARY, 1936, AT LEAST 19,000,000 PEOPLE WERE RECEIVING RELIEF benefits according to Relief Administrator Hopkins.

(House of Representatives hearings on First Deficiency Bill, 1936)

The following table shows the growth in the number of cases on relief (a case may be an individual or an entire family):

MONTH	INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES ON RELIEF
1933	
July	3,908,068
1934	
July	4,355,493
1935	
June	4,530,832
1936	
March	**5,300,000**

(Federal Emergency Relief Administration reports; Franklin D. Roosevelt, Message to Congress, March 18, 1936)

RELIEF

THE COST

PROMISE

"IF WE MAINTAIN the course I have outlined, we can confidently look forward to cumulative beneficial forces represented by increased volume of business, more general profit, greater employment, and a diminution of relief expenses . . . . "

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Budget Message,* JANUARY 3, 1934

"WE CAN LOOK FORWARD TODAY toward a continued reduction of deficits, to increased tax receipts, and to declining expenditures for the needy unemployed."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Budget Message,* JANUARY 3, 1936

"THIS $400,000,000 (for Civil Works Administration) *isn't going to cost the Federal Government any more money,* because we are taking it out of the large Public Works appropriation of $3,300,000,000. It is using a portion of that fund in a very practical way."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *November 15, 1933*

RELIEF

THE COST

PERFORMANCE

RELIEF EXPENDITURES, reported in the Budget for 1937, have totaled as follows:

YEAR ENDED JUNE 30	EXPENDITURE
1934	$1,361,800,000
1935	2,341,300,000
1936*	3,118,700,000
TOTAL	**$6,821,800,000**

**Treasury Department Statement of Emergency Relief Expenditures classified in accordance with the testimony of the Works Progress Administrator before the Senate Appropriations Committee, May, 1936*

"I HAVE THE HONOR TO REQUEST AN ADDITIONAL $950,000,000 for the purpose of the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 . . . . and for continuing the Civil Works Program."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Message to Congress, January 29, 1934*

RELIEF

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

PROMISE

"We CONDEMN the improper and excessive use of money in political activities."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM *1932*

"We DO WANT YOU to be absolutely hardboiled, if you find any local person within your own states who is trying to get political advantage out of the relief of human needs, and you will have the backing of this Administration 100%, even if you hit the biggest political boss on the head in carrying out this general program."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Remarks to State Directors of the National Emergency Council, February 2, 1934*

PERFORMANCE

"I HAND YOU herewith a list of doctors in Ohio county. Kindly separate the Democrats and the Republicans and list them in order of priority so we may notify our safety foremen and compensation men as to who is eligible to participate in case of injury."

(*From a letter written by the State Relief Administrator of West Virginia to a county relief Supervisor, as read before the Senate by* SENATOR HOLT, *Democrat, of West Virginia*)

"DEAR COMMITTEEMAN:

Contact all houses in your division and get the names of all men on relief, also of those holding WPA jobs. Urge them to register Democratic on March 26 or else lose their jobs.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) CHARLES MCDONALD"

(*Reproduced from a photostatic copy of a letter signed by Democratic leader of the 14th ward in Philadelphia on March 14, 1936, ten days before the Pennsylvania primary registrations, as printed in the Philadelphia Inquirer of March 28, 1936*)

"I AM SURE YOU KNOW THAT I CANNOT BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACTS OF DUMB POLITICIANS."

(HARRY L. HOPKINS, *Works Progress Administrator, in reply to a senatorial request for an investigation of alleged relief irregularities, March 5, 1936*)

PROMISE

"To PUT one thousand men to work with picks and shovels to dig up a water main on one side of the highway, and lay it again on the other side of the highway, is not only a silly project but it destroys the morale of the men who are doing the job."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *On Our Way, 1934, page 87*

BOONDOGGLING

PERFORMANCE

"I WANT TO SAY just one word about the usefulness of what we are doing. There is a grand word that is going around: **'BOONDOGGLING.'** It is a pretty good word. If we can boondoggle ourselves out of this depression, that word is going to be enshrined in the hearts of the American people for years to come."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Newark, January 18, 1936*

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

CIVIL SERVICE

PROMISE

"THE MERIT SYSTEM in civil service is in no danger at my hands; but on the contrary, I hope that it will be extended and improved during my term as President."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *letter to Civil Service Reform League, August 1933*

"THE MERIT SYSTEM has been and will continue to be extended during my administration."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *letter to H. Eliot Kaplan, Secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League, September 17, 1935*

"THERE can be no question of greater moment or broader effect than the maintenance, strengthening, and extension of the merit system, established in the competitive principles of the Civil Service Act, whose 53rd birthday is being celebrated this month . . . I am glad to assure your great organization of my support in this effort."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *radio address to League of Women Voters, January 30, 1936*

"THE Seventy-third Congress, as a part of its efforts to meet the emergency with which the nation was confronted, exempted from the civil service requirements positions in the newly created emergency agencies. The Seventy-fourth Congress made some additional exemptions."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *letter to H. Eliot Kaplan, Secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League, September 17, 1935.*

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

CIVIL SERVICE

PERFORMANCE

FROM June 30, 1932 to June 30, 1935 the number of employees in the EXECUTIVE BRANCH of the Federal Government (excluding the Army and Navy) INCREASED 136,244.

During the same years there was an actual DECLINE OF 11,897 in the number of such employees under CIVIL SERVICE:

The percentage of employees under Civil Service declined from 80.1% to 63.3%.

THIS COMPARES with an almost uninterrupted increase in the proportion of Federal employees under Civil Service from the time of President Arthur, when the principle was first established. The record is shown in the following table:

YEAR	PRESIDENTS	TOTAL EXECUTIVE EMPLOYEES	EMPLOYEES UNDER CIVIL SERVICE	PER CENT UNDER THE CIVIL SERVICE
1883	Arthur	———	———	12.5—estimated
1901	McKinley	256,000	106,205	41.5
1911	Taft	370,000	227,657	61.5
1916	Wilson	438,057	296,926	67.8
1918	Wilson	917,760	642,432	70.0
1920	Wilson	691,116	497,603	72.0
1923	Harding	515,772	411,398	79.8
1928	Coolidge	540,867	431,763	79.8
1932	Hoover	583,196	467,161	80.1
1935	ROOSEVELT	719,440	455,264	63.3
1936	(MARCH 31)	806,035	NOT AVAILABLE	

(*Civil Service Commission Reports and Statistical Abstract of the United States*)

IT IS TO BE NOTED from the above table that between the years 1916 and 1918, when President Wilson organized the nation for war, the number of employees of the government increased 479,703. Despite this growth, President Wilson was able to increase the total proportion under Civil Service by 2.2%.

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

PROMISE

"When I assumed the office of Postmaster General you expressed the desire that the postal service be so conducted that the revenues and expenditures would approximately balance each other . . . .

"I have the honor to inform you that pre-audited figures for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1934 show, after making the usual adjustments authorized by law for certain subventions and free mailing services, that our postal receipts exceeded expenditures for the first time since 1919, the surplus being approximately $5,000,000 . . .

"I take pride in making this favorable report and am sure that it will be most gratifying to you."

POSTMASTER GENERAL FARLEY, *radio message to President Roosevelt, July 20, 1934*

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

PERFORMANCE

1934

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Post Office Department showed

A SURPLUS OF..... $12,161,415.03

HOWEVER, the Secretary of the Treasury's Annual Report shows the Post Office Department had

A DEFICIT OF..... 52,003,296.00

DISCREPANCY..... $64,164,711.03

1935

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Post Office Department showed

A SURPLUS OF..... $4,964,149.31

HOWEVER, the Secretary of the Treasury's Annual Report shows the Post Office Department had

A DEFICIT OF..... 63,970,405.00

DISCREPANCY..... $68,934,554.31

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

AIRMAIL CONTRACTS

PROMISE

"THE SIMPLE FACT is that from records taken from the files of the Post Office Department, from the files of air mail contractors, themselves, and from evidence produced before the Senate Investigating Committee, it was clearly shown that *these contracts were given and obtained through collusion and fraud.* . . .

"IF THIS ADMINISTRATION was going to keep faith with the people, these fraudulent contracts had to be wiped out."

POSTMASTER GENERAL FARLEY, *Wilmington, Delaware, March 20, 1934*

AIRMAIL CONTRACTS

PERFORMANCE

On February 9, 1934 Postmaster General Farley cancelled all domestic governmental air mail contracts. This was done without hearings. The cancellation became effective upon ten days' notice rather than upon sixty days' notice as required by the Independent Offices' Appropriation Act of June 16, 1933.

On the same day by Executive Order, President Roosevelt commanded the Army to fly the air mail.

Twelve Army flyers lost their lives in pursuance of this order.

The cost of Army operation of the air mail was $3,700,000.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AFTER A LAPSE OF MORE THAN TWO YEARS HAS FAILED TO BRING INDICTMENTS AGAINST THE AVIATION COMPANIES FOR THE COLLUSION AND FRAUD ALLEGED BY THE POSTMASTER GENERAL IN HIS SPEECH OF MARCH 20, 1934.

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

BUREAUCRACY

PROMISE

"We are attempting too many functions and we need a simplification of what the Federal Government is giving to the people.

"I accuse the present Administration of being the greatest spending administration in peace times in all our history—one which has piled bureau on bureau, commission on commission, and has failed to anticipate the dire needs or reduced earning power of the people. Bureaus and bureaucrats have been retained at the expense of the taxpayer."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Sioux City, September 29, 1932*

"The people of America demand a reduction of Federal expenditure. It can be accomplished not only by reducing the expenditures of existing departments, but it can be done by abolishing many useless commissions, bureaus and functions, and it can be done by consolidating many activities of the government."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Brooklyn, November 4, 1932*

BUREAUCRACY

PERFORMANCE

BEFORE the Roosevelt Administration there were **TEN** agencies dealing with the production and distribution of power. In 1935 there were **TWENTY-THREE** agencies concerned with it.

TWO agencies of the Federal Government were primarily concerned with the settlement of labor disputes in 1932. Four years later **TWELVE** agencies are interested in the settlement of labor disputes.

Housing problems were being considered by **FOUR** agencies of the Government before the Roosevelt Administration. In 1936 **FIFTEEN** agencies are dealing with the problem.

In 1932 there were **SIX** agencies of the Government to which foreign trade was a major concern. Today there are **TWELVE** agencies concerned with this activity.

FOUR government agencies were making loans to farmers four years ago. Today there are **THIRTEEN** agencies engaged in making such loans.

EIGHT agencies of the Federal Government exercised extensive control over the public lands. In 1936 such control was being exercised by **FIFTEEN** different organizations in the Federal Government.

TODAY THERE ARE THREE DIFFERENT GOVERNMENT COMMITTEES EACH ENTIRELY INDEPENDENT OF THE OTHER, ALL STUDYING OVERLAPPING SERVICES IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

PROMISE

"WE CONDEMN the extravagance of the Farm Board . . ."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM *1932*

"I HAVE CALLED for a reorganization of the Department of Agriculture to the end that it may serve the people more and cost the people less."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Sacramento, September 22, 1932*

"WE ARE CERTAINLY paying enough for the Department of Agriculture to get something more useful than we are now getting. I have already proposed its reorganization. I am going to insist that we get more service for the farmer for less money."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Atlanta, October 24, 1932*

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

PERFORMANCE

THE FEDERAL FARM BOARD under the Hoover Administration had at its disposal a revolving fund of $500,000,000. On December 31, 1935, approximately $175,000,000 of this appropriation still remained.

DURING THE FIRST THREE YEARS of the operations of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration under the Roosevelt Administration funds to the amount of **$1,732,000,000** were made available and of these funds the following sums were expended up to March 31, 1936:

Administrative Expenses	$ 84,953,000
Rental and Benefit Payments	1,135,929,000
Removal and Conservation of Surplus	73,495,000
Drought Relief, Food Conservation and Disease Eradication Operations	162,346,000
Other	61,496,000
TOTAL EXPENDITURES to March 31, 1936	**$1,518,219,000**

(*Agricultural Adjustment Administration Reports*)

IN ADDITION to these expenditures under the AAA, the following table indicates the **INCREASE IN COST** and number of employees in the regular Department of Agriculture:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

	COST	NO. EMPLOYED
1932	$318,975,817	26,371
1936	436,094,141	47,175
INCREASE	**$117,118,324**	**20,804**

IN ADDITION to all of the above, there has been an expenditure by the Resettlement Administration for rural purposes of **$74,100,000.**

(*Budget Message, January 3, 1936; U. S. Civil Service Commission Reports*)

AGRICULTURE

HOME AND FOREIGN MARKETS

PROMISE

"We favor . . . effective control of crop surpluses so that our farmers may have the full benefit of the domestic market.

"We condemn . . . the unsound policy of restricting agricultural products to the demands of domestic markets."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM *1932*

HOME AND FOREIGN MARKETS

PERFORMANCE

COMPETITION for the American domestic market has increased as a result of rising imports. **FROM 1932 TO 1935 THE VOLUME OF IMPORTS OF CRUDE FOODSTUFFS INCREASED 41% AND OF MANUFACTURED FOODSTUFFS INCREASED 49%.**

The following table gives the volume of imports in 1932 and 1935 for important agricultural products:

COMMODITY	1932	1935
Wheat	3,000 bu.	27,439,000 bu.
Corn	344,000 bu.	43,242,000 bu.
Oats	59,000 bu.	10,107,000 bu.
Barley	None	4,840,000 bu.
Rye	None	9,643,000 bu.
Rice	19,074,000 lb.	53,457,000 lb.
Barley malt	52,533,000 lb.	320,623,000 lb.
Hay	13,858 tons	67,171 tons

MEANWHILE the **VOLUME OF AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS** from the United States had **DECLINED.** The quantities of individual commodities exported had declined as follows:

Cotton	33%
Unmanufactured tobacco	4%
Wheat	99%
Flour	42%
Meat products	19%
Lard	82%

(*Publications of Department of Commerce*)

AGRICULTURE

CROP RESTRICTION

PROMISE

"WE CONDEMN . . . the unsound policy of restricting agricultural products to the demands of domestic markets."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM *1932*

"WHEN THE FUTILITY of maintaining prices of wheat and cotton through so-called stabilization became apparent, the President's Farm Board, of which his Secretary of Agriculture was a member, invented the cruel joke of advising farmers to allow 20 per cent of their wheat lands to lie idle, to plow up every third row of cotton and to shoot every tenth dairy cow."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Topeka, September 14, 1932*

AGRICULTURE

CROP RESTRICTION

PERFORMANCE

In the summer of 1933 the Government paid farmers under the AAA to **PLOW UP 10,500,000 ACRES** of growing cotton, or 25% of the total acreage.

The Bankhead Cotton Act of 1934 set **A LIMIT OF 10,000,000 BALES** of cotton to be marketed by farmers from the 1934–1935 crop.

In the fall of 1933, the AAA **DESTROYED 6,200,000 PIGS** and slaughtered 220,000 prospective mother sows at a cost of over $30,000,000. The total live weight of the pigs and sows slaughtered was 443,627,348 pounds. Of this only 97,064,159 pounds of food products were obtained—the rest was converted into inedible grease or fertilizer.

The AAA **RETIRED** approximately **36,000,000 ACRES** of corn, wheat, cotton and tobacco from cultivation, or one-tenth of the land in cultivation in the United States.

(*Agricultural Adjustment Administration Reports*)

IN AN ADDRESS TO FARMERS IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 14, 1935, THE PRESIDENT SUMMARIZED THE PERFORMANCE OF THE NEW DEAL AS FOLLOWS:

"It is high time for you and for me to carry, by education, knowledge of the fact that not a single program of the AAA contemplated the destruction of an acre of food crops in the United States.

It is high time for you and me to make clear that we are not plowing under cotton this year—that we did not plow it under in 1934 and that we only plowed some of it under in 1933 because the Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed after a huge crop of cotton was already in the ground.

It is high time for us to repeat on every occasion that we have not wastefully destroyed food in any form. It is true that the relief administrator has purchased hundreds of thousands of tons of foodstuffs to feed the needy and hungry who are on the relief rolls in every part of the United States.

The crocodile tears, shed by the professional mourners of an old and obsolete order over the slaughter of little pigs and other measures to reduce surplus agricultural inventories deceive very few thinking people, and least of all the farmers themselves.

The acknowledged destiny of a pig is sausage, or ham, or bacon or pork. In these forms millions of pigs were consumed by vast numbers of needy people who otherwise would have had to do without."

AGRICULTURE

CONSTITUTIONAL MEASURES

PROMISE

"WE FAVOR . . . the enactment of every constitutional measure that will aid farmers to receive for their basic farm commodities prices in excess of cost."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM *1932*

"I LIKE TO THINK that agricultural adjustment is an expression, in concrete form, of the human rights those farmer patriots sought to win when they stood at the bridge at Concord, when they proclaimed the Declaration of Independence and when they perpetuated these ideals by the adoption of the Constitution."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Fremont, Nebraska, September 28, 1935*

PAGE(S)
MISSING

PERFORMANCE

THE BANKHEAD COTTON ACT OF 1934 imposed a penalty tax of 50% of the market value of lint cotton, levied on each pound of cotton ginned in excess of the farmer's allotted amount. Violation of the Act was punishable by a fine not to exceed $1,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both.

THE KERR TOBACCO ACT imposed a tax ranging from 25% to 33½% of the sales price of the tobacco which a grower sold in excess of the allotment made to him by the Secretary of Agriculture. Punishments for violations of the Act were similar to those imposed by the Bankhead Cotton Act with the additional provision that false statements with respect to, or falsification of tax documents were punishable by a fine not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both.

THE POTATO CONTROL ACT OF 1935 provided for a tax of three-fourths of one cent per pound (45 cents per bushel) for potatoes marketed in excess of allotments prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture. In addition to the usual penalties on the grower for violation, the Act made the buyer responsible for the purchase of only those potatoes marketed in a manner fulfilling the requirements of the law. Section 220 stated:

> "Any person who knowingly sells, or offers for sale, or knowingly offers to buy, or buys, potatoes not packaged as required by this title, or any person who knowingly offers to buy, or buys, potatoes to the packages of which are not affixed or attached tax-exemption stamps or tax stamps as required by this title shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $1,000. Any person convicted of a second offense under the provisions of this title may, in addition to such fine, be imprisoned for not more than one year."

"CONGRESS HAS NO POWER TO ENFORCE ITS COMMANDS ON THE FARMER TO THE ENDS SOUGHT BY TAXING AND SPENDING TO PURCHASE COMPLIANCE. THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ENTIRE PLAN OF OUR GOVERNMENT NEGATIVE ANY SUCH USE OF THE POWER TO TAX AND TO SPEND AS THE ACT UNDERTAKES TO AUTHORIZE."

(Supreme Court decision on AAA, January 6, 1936)

AGRICULTURE

EMERGENCY PROGRAM

PROMISE

"AN ACT to relieve the existing National economic *emergency* by increasing agricultural purchasing power, to raise revenue for extraordinary expenses incurred by reason of such *emergency*, to provide *emergency* relief with respect to agricultural indebtedness, to provide for the ordinary liquidation of joint stock land banks, and for other purposes."

Preamble of Agricultural Adjustment Act, 1933

AGRICULTURE

EMERGENCY PROGRAM

PERFORMANCE

"IT NEVER was the idea of the man who framed the Act, of those in Congress who revised it, nor of Henry Wallace or Chester Davis that the Agricultural Adjustment Administration should be either a MERE EMERGENCY OPERATION or a static agency."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Statement, October 25, 1935*

COST OF GOVERNMENT

EXTRAVAGANCE

PROMISE

"WE ADVOCATE an immediate and drastic reduction of governmental expenditures by abolishing useless commissions and offices, consolidating departments and bureaus, and eliminating extravagance, to accomplish a saving of not less than 25% in the cost of Federal government . . . . . "

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM *1932*

"FOR THREE LONG YEARS I have been going up and down this country preaching that government . . . . costs too much. I shall not stop the preaching . . . . "

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Acceptance Speech, July 2, 1932*

"THAT (the Hoover spending), my friends, . . . is the most reckless and extravagant pace I have been able to discover in the statistical record of any peace-time government anywhere, any time."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Pittsburgh, October 19, 1932*

"YOU ARE HAVING the most economical federal administration you have had for years."

POSTMASTER GENERAL FARLEY, *Salt Lake City, August 1, 1934*

PAGE(S)
MISSING

COST OF GOVERNMENT

TAX REDUCTION

PROMISE

"TAXES ARE PAID in the sweat of every man who labors . . . . If excessive, they are reflected in idle factories, tax-sold farms and, hence, in hordes of the hungry tramping the streets and seeking jobs in vain. Our workers may never see a tax bill, but they pay in deductions from wages, in increased cost of what they buy, or (as now) in broad cessation of employment . . . . Our people and our business cannot carry its excessive burdens of taxation . . . ."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Pittsburgh, October 19, 1932*

"I SHALL USE this position of high responsibility to discuss up and down the country, at all seasons, at all times, the duty of reducing taxes, of increasing the efficiency of government, of cutting out the underbrush around our governmental structure, of getting the most public service for every dollar paid by taxation. This I pledge you and nothing I have said in the campaign transcends in importance this covenant with the taxpayers of this country."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Sioux City, September 29, 1932*

COST OF GOVERNMENT

TAX REDUCTION

PERFORMANCE

ESTIMATED TAX RECEIPTS in 1937 represent an **INCREASE OF 196%** over 1933.

THE FOLLOWING are the tax receipts of the Federal Treasury including customs, for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1933–1937 (figures for 1936 and 1937 estimated or partially estimated):

1933	$1,855,174,208
1934	2,954,038,131
1935	3,621,043,062
1936 (Est.)	**4,228,036,000**
1937 (Est.)	**5,494,114,000**

(Figures for 1933, 1934 from Secretary of the Treasury's Report 1935; figures for 1935, 1936, 1937 from Budget Message, January 3, 1936. The 1936 estimates include processing taxes, since invalidated by the Supreme Court.)

LAWS, involving increased taxation, passed by the Roosevelt Administration:

Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933
National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933
Non-Intoxicating Liquor Tax Act of 1933
Railroad Retirement Act of 1934
Bankhead Cotton Act of 1934
Revenue Act of 1934
Bituminous Coal Conservation Act of 1935 (Guffey Bill)
Liquor Taxing Act of 1934
Revenue Act of 1935
Social Security Act of 1935
Railroad Retirement Act of 1935
Kerr-Smith Tobacco Act of 1935
Potato Control Act of 1935

A BILL for the taxation of future undistributed earnings of corporations and a "windfall" tax on processors of certain agricultural products was proposed in March, 1936. The majority report of this bill, signed by Democratic members of the House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee, forecasts new tax laws in 1937: "This, (the pending tax bill), will take care of the President's request **UNTIL THE NEXT SESSION OF CONGRESS** which can then act more intelligently in the light of conditions then existing."

COST OF GOVERNMENT

CONSUMER TAXES

PROMISE

"NOT ONLY must the government income meet prospective expenditures, but this income must be secured on the principle of ability to pay. *This is a declaration* in favor of graduated income, inheritance and profits taxes, and *against taxes on food and clothing*, whose burden is actually shifted to the consumers of these necessities of life on a per capita basis rather than on the basis of the relative size of personal income."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Looking Forward, 1934, pages 104-05*

"WE FAVOR maintenance of the national credit by a federal budget, annually balanced on the basis of accurate executive estimates within *revenues raised by a system of taxation levied on the principle of ability to pay.*"

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM *1932*

"SUCH A REVISION of our corporate taxes would effect great simplification of the tax procedure, in corporate accounting, and in the understanding of the whole subject by the citizens of the nation."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Message to Congress, proposing new tax bill, March 3, 1936*

CONSUMER TAXES

PERFORMANCE

IN 1930, "we find that those taxes bearing most heavily on the **WELL-TO-DO CONTRIBUTED . . . 68.2 PER CENT** of its (the National Government's) total internal revenue and customs receipts, while miscellaneous taxes and customs receipts, bearing most heavily upon the **CONSUMER, CONTRIBUTED ONLY . . . 31.8 PER CENT** of such receipts. . . .

"IN 1935 the **TAXES BASED ON ABILITY TO PAY CONTRIBUTED 38.7 PER CENT** of the internal revenue and customs receipts . . . there has been an increase in the proportion of revenues contributed by **TAXES BASED ON CONSUMPTION TO 61.3 (PER CENT).**"

ROBERT JACKSON, *Assistant General Counsel, Treasury Department, before Committee on Finance, U. S. Senate, August 6, 1935*

"WHAT IS KNOWN as consumers' taxes, namely the invisible taxes paid by people in every walk of life, fall relatively much more heavily upon the poor man than on the rich man. **IN 1929, CONSUMERS' TAXES REPRESENTED ONLY 30% OF THE NATIONAL REVENUE. TODAY THEY ARE 60% . . . .**"

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *letter to Roy W. Howard, September 2, 1935*

"IF THE DIVIDEND CREDIT is a percentage of the adjusted net income which is less than 62.5 (and such percentage is not shown in the foregoing table) the tax shall be a percentage of the adjusted net income equal to the sum of 7.5, plus eleven thirty-firsts of the amount by which 62.5 exceeds the percentage which the dividend credit is of the adjusted net income."

REVENUE BILL OF *1936 as passed by the House of Representatives*

CURRENCY POLICIES

SOUND CURRENCY

PROMISE

"WE ADVOCATE a sound currency to be preserved at all hazards."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM *1932*

"ONE OF THE MOST commonly repeated misrepresentations by Republican speakers, including the President, has been the claim that the Democratic position with regard to money has not been made sufficiently clear. The President is seeing visions of rubber dollars. This is only part of his campaign of fear. I am not going to characterize these statements. I merely present the facts. The Democratic Platform specifically declares, 'We advocate a sound currency to be preserved at all hazards.' That, I take it is plain English.

"THE THING HAS been said . . . . in plain English three times in my speeches. It is stated without qualification in the platform and I have announced my unqualified acceptance of that platform."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Brooklyn, November 4, 1932*

CURRENCY POLICIES

SOUND CURRENCY

PERFORMANCE

ON APRIL 20, 1933, the **GOLD STANDARD WAS ABANDONED** under an Executive Order issued by President Roosevelt.

ON MAY 12, 1933, President Roosevelt approved the Thomas Amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act which gave him the following, among other powers:

1 · To issue $3,000,000,000 of currency in the form of unsecured United States notes (fiat money).

2 · To fix the weights of the gold and silver dollars at such amounts as the President finds necessary . . . and to provide for the unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio so fixed; or to reduce the weight of the gold dollar (without reference to silver) by any amount up to 50%.

ON JANUARY 31, 1934, the President, by proclamation, **FIXED THE GOLD CONTENT OF THE DOLLAR AT 59.06%** of what it had formerly been.

The above proclamation included the following statement:

"*I reserve the right by virtue of the authority vested in me to alter and modify this proclamation . . .*"

CURRENCY POLICIES

GOLD CLAUSE

PROMISE

"THE BUSINESS MEN of the country . . . were told in blunt language in Des Moines, Iowa (by President Hoover), how close an escape the country had some months ago from going off the gold standard. This as has been clearly shown since was a libel on the credit of the United States. . . . Senator Glass made a devastating challenge that no responsible government would have sold to the country securities payable in gold if it knew the promise, yes, the covenant, to pay interest and principal in gold of specified weight and fineness per dollar embodied in these securities was as dubious as the President of the United States claims it was . . ."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Brooklyn, November 4, 1932*

CURRENCY POLICIES

GOLD CLAUSE

PERFORMANCE

"THE NOTES will be dated May 2, 1933 . . . the principal and interest of the notes will be **PAYABLE IN UNITED STATES GOLD COIN OF THE PRESENT STANDARD OF VALUE.**"

(Covenant printed on face of $500,000,000 Government securities offered to investors April 24, 1933)

FORTY-TWO DAYS LATER, June 5, 1933, President Roosevelt signed a joint resolution of Congress abrogating the Gold Clause in all existing and future public and private contracts.

IN RENDERING ITS DECISION on the Government's repudiation of its gold contracts the Supreme Court, February 18, 1935, adopted the language of an earlier decision, as follows:

> "**THE UNITED STATES ARE AS MUCH BOUND BY THEIR CONTRACTS AS ARE INDIVIDUALS.** If they repudiate their obligations, it is as much repudiation, with all the wrong and reproach that term implies, as it would be if the repudiator had been a State or a Municipality or a citizen."

CURRENCY POLICIES

WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

PROMISE

"WE ADVOCATE . . . an international economic conference designed to restore international trade and facilitate exchange."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM *1932*

"IF NORMAL LIFE is to be resumed, the World Economic Conference must be made a success. . . . We are in agreement that a fixed measure of exchange values must be re-established in the world, and we believe that this measure must be gold."

AMERICAN-ITALIAN STATEMENT, *May 6, 1933, following conversations between President Roosevelt and representatives of Great Britain, France and Italy*

"THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE . . . must establish order in place of the present chaos by a stabilization of currencies, by freeing the flow of world trade, and by international action to raise price levels. It must, in short, supplement individual domestic programs for economic recovery by wise and considered international action."

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, *Message to Nations participating in the World Monetary and Economic Conference, May 16, 1933*

CURRENCY POLICIES

WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

PERFORMANCE

On July 3, 1933, the usefulness of the World Monetary and Economic Conference was for all practical purposes ended by a radio message from President Roosevelt to the Conference in London:

> "The world will not long be lulled by the specious policy of achieving a temporary and probably an artificial stability in foreign exchange on the part of a few large countries . . ."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *in a radio message to the World Monetary and Economic Conference, July 3, 1933*

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

MONOPOLY

PROMISE

"We ADVOCATE strengthening and impartial enforcement of the anti-trust laws to prevent monopoly and unfair trade practices, and revision thereof for the better protection of labor and the small producer and distributor."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM *1932*

"THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES of the anti-trust laws should be more adequately applied. Monopolies and private price fixing within industries must not be allowed nor condoned. 'No monopoly should be private'."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Message advocating the extension of the NRA, February 20, 1935*

MONOPOLY

PERFORMANCE

"THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT provided that "While this title is in effect . . . and for sixty days thereafter, any code, agreement or license approved . . . under this title . . . shall be exempt from the provisions of the anti-trust laws of the United States." (Title I, Section 5).

"THE ANTI-TRUST ACTS prohibit combinations in restraint of trade. But NRA specifically permits such combinations with government sanction and supervision. **THERE IS NOT ONE SINGLE CODE THAT IS NOT A COMBINATION IN RESTRAINT OF TRADE,** and, if codes are not permitted so to restrain trade, then NIRA ought to be repealed tomorrow."

GENERAL HUGH JOHNSON, *former NRA Administrator, in The Blue Eagle from Egg to Earth, page 177*

"YET STEP BY STEP through the diabolical logic of events the NRA became the apparent exponent and protector of 'price fixing'—that hateful objective of that most hated ogre, a big business monopoly."

DONALD R. RICHBERG, *former Counsel and later Administrator of NRA, in The Rainbow, page 31*

"THE NRA has given the sanction of government to self-governing combinations . . . Inevitably this means control by the largest producers. . . . We have here a body not only perfectly equipped to exercise monopolistic control, but endowed with extraordinary powers incompatible with the ideals heretofore entertained in a free country. . . . In proportion as the authority of government sanctions regulation by industrial combinations, the inevitable tendency is toward monopoly with the elimination of the small business."

(Special and Supplementary Reports of Darrow Committee, appointed by the President, released May 20, 1934)

LABOR DISPUTES

PROMISE

"THIS (NRA) is not a law to foment discord and it will not be executed as such."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Statement, June 16, 1933*

"THE WORKERS of this country have rights under this law which cannot be taken from them, and nobody will be permitted to whittle them away, but, on the other hand, no aggression is now necessary to attain those rights."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Radio Address, July 24, 1933*

"I WOULD POINT OUT that the extent and severity of labor disputes during this period (the preceding twelve months) has been far less than in any other previous comparable period."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Radio Address, September 30, 1934*

LABOR DISPUTES

PERFORMANCE

In the twenty-three months that NRA was on the Statute books, the average **NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS** and the number of days of idleness per month resulting therefrom were **APPROXIMATELY FOUR TIMES AS LARGE** as during the six months before NRA.

AFTER NRA was declared unconstitutional, both the number of workers involved in industrial disputes and the number of days lost have **DECLINED.**

The following table gives monthly average figures:

	WORKERS IN DISPUTES AVERAGE PER MONTH	MAN DAYS OF IDLENESS AVERAGE PER MONTH
Before NRA (January to June '33)	41,953	417,776
During NRA (July '33—May '35)	163,511	1,621,583
After NRA (June '35—February '36)	153,537	1,290,315

(Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor)

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

CONTROL OF BUSINESS

PROMISE

"IT IS WHOLLY WRONG to call the measures that we have taken government control of farming, control of industry, and control of transportation. It is rather a partnership between government and farming and industry and transportation, not partnership in profits, for the profits would still go to the citizens, but rather a partnership in planning and partnership to see that the plans are carried out."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Radio Address, May 7, 1933*

CONTROL OF BUSINESS

PERFORMANCE

IN ITS RULING on the NRA, the Supreme Court said, May 27, 1935

> "If the commerce clause were construed to reach all enterprises and transactions which could be said to have an indirect effect upon interstate commerce, the Federal authority would embrace practically all the activities of the people and the authority of the State over its domestic concerns would exist only by sufferance of the Federal government . . .
>
> "Otherwise, . . . there would be **VIRTUALLY NO LIMIT TO THE FEDERAL POWER** and for all practical purposes, we should have a completely centralized Government . . ."

MR. JUSTICE CARDOZO added:

> "Here in effect is a **ROVING COMMISSION** (to the President) to inquire into evils and upon discovery to correct them."

IN ITS RULING upon the AAA, on January 6, 1936, the Supreme Court said:

> "At best it is a scheme for purchasing with Federal funds **SUBMISSION TO FEDERAL REGULATION** of a subject reserved to the States."

ON May 18, 1936, in declaring the "Bituminous Coal Conservation Act of 1935" (Guffey Bill) unconstitutional the Supreme Court again told the Roosevelt Administration it could not set up an NRA. Immediately upon the Supreme Court announcing its opinion a new bill was presented in Congress.

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS

PROMISE

"WE ADVOCATE . . . . The removal of government from all fields of private enterprise except where necessary to develop public works and natural resources in the common interest."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM *1932*

GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS

PERFORMANCE

THE FOLLOWING are some of the **GOVERNMENT AGENCIES,** created since March 4, 1933, **WHICH COMPETE WITH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE:**

Federal Housing Administration
Home Owners' Loan Corporation
Alley Dwelling Authority
Subsistence Homesteads Corporation
Resettlement Administration
Rural Electrification Administration
Electric Home and Farm Authority
First Export-Import Bank of Washington
Second Export-Import Bank of Washington
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation
Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperatives, Inc.
Central Bank for Cooperatives
District Banks (12) for Cooperatives
Production Credit Corporations (12)
Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation
Federal Credit Union System
Commodity Credit Corporation
Virgin Islands Co.

LOANS OUTSTANDING
MARCH 31, 1936

GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS AND LENDING AGENCIES $8,317,000,000

(*Federal Reserve Bulletin, May, 1936*)

RECOVERY

ECONOMIC PLANNING

PROMISE

"YES, we are on the way back—not by mere chance; not by a turn of the cycle. We are coming back more soundly than ever before because we planned it that way, and don't let anybody tell you differently."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Charleston, S. C., October 23, 1935*

PERFORMANCE

THE PRICE

FROM March 4, 1933 to May 15, 1936:

Roosevelt Expenditures	$22,431,000,000
Increase in National Debt	10,605,000,000

(*Daily Statement of the United States Treasury*)

THE RESULTS

THE American Federation of Labor reported 12,184,000 still unemployed in March, 1936.

THE President reported 5,300,000 families and individuals still on relief in March, 1936 in contrast to 3,908,000 in July, 1933.

(*The President's Message to Congress, March 18, 1936, F. E. R. A. Report*)

THE United States ranks twelfth in recovery among the leading nations of the world as measured by Industrial Production:

COUNTRY	PERCENTAGE CHANGE 1929 TO DECEMBER 1935
1. Japan	+52.9
2. Finland	+27.5
3. Denmark	+24.0
4. Chile	+20.8
5. Hungary	+20.5
6. United Kingdom	+12.2*
7. Norway	+ 9.6
8. Estonia	− 3.1
9. Germany	− 3.8
10. Austria	−10.6
11. Spain	−12.6
12. UNITED STATES	**−12.6**
13. Canada	−14.6
14. Czechoslovakia	−19.6
15. Belgium	−21.2
16. Netherlands	−30.2
17. France	−31.2
18. Poland	−31.4

(*League of Nations MONTHLY BULLETIN OF STATISTICS, April, 1936*)
*(*Covers 4th quarter of 1935*)

RECOVERY

NEW CAPITAL

PROMISE

"IF THE COUNTRY is to flourish, capital must be invested in enterprise."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *statement upon signing the Securities Act, May 27, 1933*

NEW CAPITAL

PERFORMANCE

NEW CAPITAL made available for investment in productive enterprise through the security markets amounted to $348,000,000 in 1935. This was less than 1/10th of the volume in 1929 and 1/9th of the volume in 1927.

IN GREAT BRITAIN in 1935 new capital floated in the security markets for domestic purposes was nearly as great as in 1929.

NEW CAPITAL ISSUES

STOCKS AND BONDS representing new capital invested, excluding governmental borrowings and refundings:

	UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN
1927	$3,201,000,000	$710,509,000
1928	3,062,000,000	983,033,000
1929	3,668,000,000	759,174,000
1930	3,039,000,000	394,186,500
1931	1,006,000,000	155,728,000
1932	321,000,000	248,191,500
1933	177,000,000	296,856,500
1934	356,000,000	350,388,000
1935	348,000,000	666,710,500
	(Standard Statistics Co., "New Money for Operating and Producing")	*(Midland Bank, London, "New Issues for British Companies," converted from £ to $ at $4.8665)*

EMPLOYMENT, greatly dependent upon capital investments, in Great Britain has, like the investment in new capital, recovered more rapidly than in the United States:

	UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN
Unemployed 1930 (Average)	4,770,000	1,993,951
" Feb. 1936	12,550,000	2,016,578
PER CENT INCREASE:	163%	1.1%
	(American Federation of Labor)	*(League of Nations, Bulletin of Statistics)*

RECOVERY

BANK CREDIT

PROMISE

"COMMERCIAL CREDIT has continually contracted and is contracting now.

"The truth is that our banks are financing these stupendous (Government) deficits and that the burden is absorbing their resources. All this is highly undesirable and wholly unnecessary. It arises from one cause only, and that is the unbalanced budget . . . .

"OUR FEDERAL EXTRAVAGANCE and improvidence bears a double evil: First, our people and our business can not carry its excessive burdens of taxation; second, our credit structure is impaired by the unorthodox Federal financing made necessary by the unprecedented magnitude of its deficits. . . . Instead of financing the billion dollar deficit of 1931 in the regular way, our government simply absorbed that much of the lending capacity of banks, and, by so much, impaired the credit available for business.

"In that year the amount of government obligations held by our banks increased by a little more than one billion dollars."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Pittsburgh, October 19, 1932*

RECOVERY

BANK CREDIT

PERFORMANCE

POSITION OF ALL ACTIVE BANKS

	TOTAL LOANS AND DISCOUNTS	HOLDINGS OF U. S. GOVERNMENT OBLIGATIONS
June 30, 1932	$28,090,000,000	$ 6,456,000,000
June 30, 1933	22,388,000,000	7,796,000,000
June 30, 1934	21,431,158,000	11,663,000,000
June 30, 1935	20,419,000,000	14,284,000,000
PERCENTAGE CHANGE FROM 1933 TO 1935	8.8% DECREASE	83.2% INCREASE

(*Annual Reports, Comptroller of Currency*)

Senator Carter Glass, of Virginia, Secretary of the Treasury under President Wilson, and co-Author of the Federal Reserve Act, on February 21, 1935, said:

"The Existing Outstanding Indebtedness of the United States is approximately $28,000,000,000. Listen, Senators: Of that amount $15,364,000,000 is piled up in the banking institutions of the country. **SOME OF THE BANKS HAVE AS MUCH AS 60 PER CENT OF THEIR ENTIRE ASSETS INVESTED IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.** They are prohibited, were there the demand, from coming to the aid of business activity. They hold 55 per cent of Government securities in the banks of the United States as against but 11 per cent of Great Britain's indebtedness held in the banks of Great Britain—55 per cent as against 11 per cent!

"The banks have been brought to a state in which they are literally obliged to take Treasury issues whether they want them or not.

"They are compelled to take them in order to maintain the bond market of the United States, because it has been represented to me by competent authorities that a depreciation of 10 per cent in Government bonds would render insolvent 90 per cent of the banks of this country."

(*Congressional Record, 74th Congress, First Session, Vol. 4, page 2475*)

CONSTITUTION

STATE RIGHTS

PROMISE

"THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION has proven itself the most marvelously elastic compilation of rules of Government ever written . . . . It was clear to the framers of our Constitution that the greatest possible liberty of self-government must be given to each State, and that any national administration attempting to make all laws for the whole Nation . . . would inevitably result at some future time in a dissolution of the Union itself.

"NOW TO BRING ABOUT government by oligarchy, masquerading as democracy, it is fundamentally essential that practically all authority and control be centralized in our national government. The individual sovereignty of our States must first be destroyed . . . . We are safe from the danger of any such departure from the principles on which this country was founded just so long as the individual home rule of the States is scrupulously preserved and fought for whenever they seem in danger."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT *as Governor of the State of New York, Radio Address, March 2, 1930*

CONSTITUTION

STATE RIGHTS

PERFORMANCE

"IF THE COMMERCE CLAUSE were construed to reach all enterprises and transactions which could be said to have an indirect effect upon interstate commerce, the Federal authority would embrace practically all the activities of the people and THE AUTHORITY OF THE STATE OVER ITS DOMESTIC CONCERNS WOULD EXIST ONLY BY SUFFERANCE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT."

SUPREME COURT DECISION *declaring National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional, May 27, 1935*

"THIS ACT INVADES THE RESERVED RIGHTS OF THE STATES. It is a statutory plan to regulate and control agricultural production, a matter beyond the powers delegated to the Federal Government . . ."

SUPREME COURT DECISION *declaring Agricultural Adjustment Act unconstitutional, January 6, 1936*

"STATE POWERS CAN NEITHER BE APPROPRIATED ON THE ONE HAND NOR ABDICATED ON THE OTHER . . . Every journey to a forbidden land begins with the first step; and the danger of such a step by the Federal government in the direction of taking over the powers of the states is that the end of the journey may find the states so despoiled of their powers . . . as to reduce them to little more than geographical subdivisions of the national domain."

SUPREME COURT DECISION *declaring the Guffey Coal Act unconstitutional, May 18, 1936*

CONSTITUTION

THE OATH OF OFFICE

PROMISE

"I, FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

OATH OF OFFICE, *March 4, 1933*

THE OATH OF OFFICE

PERFORMANCE

THE FOLLOWING executive and legislative acts during the Roosevelt Administration have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court:

1 • Oil Control Sections of NIRA, January 7, 1935.

2 • Joint Resolution of Congress invalidating the Gold clause in existing Government bonds, February 18, 1935.

3 • Railroad Pension Act, May 6, 1935.

4 • National Industrial Recovery Act, May 27, 1935.

5 • Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage Moratorium Act, May 27, 1935.

6 • Removal of Federal Trade Commissioner Humphrey by President Roosevelt, May 27, 1935.

7 • Agricultural Adjustment Act, January 6, 1936.

(On February 10, 1936, to avoid unfavorable decisions by the Supreme Court, Congress repealed the Bankhead Cotton Control Act, Kerr Tobacco Control Act, and the Potato Control Act.)

8 • Guffey Coal Act, May 18, 1936.

(This Act, equivalent to NRA for the coal industry, was signed by the President 94 days after NRA had been declared unconstitutional.)

9 • Municipal Corporation Bankruptcy Law, May 25, 1936.

"(THE PRESIDENT) said that the country was in the 'horse and buggy' stage when the Constitution was written. . . . He then went on to state, without qualification, that if the implications of the Court decision were carried to their logical conclusion they would strip the government of most of their powers."

PRESS REPORT *of so-called "Horse and buggy" interview of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the President, following NRA decision, May 31, 1935*

"I HOPE YOUR COMMITTEE WILL NOT PERMIT DOUBTS AS TO CONSTITUTIONALITY, HOWEVER REASONABLE, TO BLOCK THE SUGGESTED LEGISLATION."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *the President, in letter to Representative Samuel B. Hill, regarding the Guffey Coal Bill, July 5, 1935*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
AGRICULTURE	20-29
CONSTITUTION	60-63
COST OF GOVERNMENT	30-39
CURRENCY POLICIES	40-45
GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION	10-19
GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS	46-53
RECOVERY	54-59
RELIEF	2-9

	PAGE
Agriculture	20
Agriculture, Department of	18
Airmail Contracts	14
Bank Credit	58
Boondoggling	8
Budget, Balanced	32
Bureaucracy	16
Business, Control of	50
Business, Government in	52
Capital, New	56
Civil Service	10
Coercion	26
Constitution	60
Constitutional Measures	24
Cost of Relief	4
Cost of Government	30
Crop Restriction	22
Currency Policies	40
Currency, Sound	40
Debt, National	34
Economic Planning	54
Emergency Program	28
Extravagance	30
Gold Clause	42
Government Administration	10
Government and Business	46
Labor Disputes	48
Markets, Home and Foreign	20
Monopoly	46
Oath of Office	62
Political Activities	6
Post Office Department	12
Recovery	54
Reemployment	2
Relief	2
State Rights	60
Tax Reduction	36
Taxes, Consumer	38
World Economic Conference	44

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building, Washington, D. C.

AN INVITATION TO JOIN THE
AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE

We extend to every American citizen who believes in the fundamental principles which gave birth to the Constitution of the United States an invitation to become a member of the American Liberty League.

You may indicate your acceptance of this invitation by filling in the necessary information as to your name and address on the enrollment blank below and mailing it to American Liberty League, National Press Building, Washington, D. C.

There are no fees or dues. If you are willing and able to give monetary help for the League's support your contribution will be appreciated, as our activities are supported entirely by the voluntary gifts of our members.

ENROLLMENT BLANK

Date_____

I favor the principles and purposes of the American Liberty League and request that I be enrolled as a { regular / *contributing } member.

*Signature*_____

Please Print

_____
Name (Mr. Mrs. Miss)

_____
Street

_____
Town

_____
County State

*As a contributing member I desire to give $_____ to help support the activities of the League: Cash herewith _____ Installments as follows: _____

_____

(97)

★ ★

The Facts in the Case

★ ★ ★

Speech of

ALFRED E. SMITH

★

American Liberty League Dinner
Washington, D. C.
January 25, 1936

AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE
National Headquarters
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

★ ★

Document No. 97

WHEN you have finished with this pamphlet please pass it on to some friend or acquaintance who might be interested, calling his attention to the membership blank on page 24.

PAMPHLETS

AVAILABLE

(CONTINUED)

Two Amazing Years—*Speech by Nicholas Roosevelt*
Legislation—By Coercion or Constitution—*Speech by Jouett Shouse*
The Imperilment of Democracy—*Speech by Fitzgerald Hall*
The Spirit of Americanism—*Speech by William H. Ellis*
The Test of Citizenship—*Speech by Dean Carl W. Ackerman*
Today's Lessons for Tomorrow—*Speech by Captain William H. Stayton*
"Breathing Spells"—*Speech by Jouett Shouse*
The Duty of the Lawyer in the Present Crisis—*Speech by James M. Beck*
The Constitution and the Supreme Court—*Speech by Borden Burr*
The Economic Necessity in the Southern States for a Return to the Constitution—*Speech by Forney Johnston*
The National Lawyers Committee of the American Liberty League—*Speech by Ethan A. H. Shepley*
Our Growing National Debt and Inflation—*Speech by Dr. E. W. Kemmerer*
Inflation is Bad Business—*Speech by Dr. Neil Carothers*
The Real Significance of the Constitutional Issue—*Speech by R. E. Desvernine*
Arousing Class Prejudices—*Speech by Jouett Shouse*
The Fallacies and Dangers of the Townsend Plan—*Speech by Dr. Walter E. Spahr*
What of 1936?—*Speech by James P. Warburg*
Americanism at the Crossroads—*Speech by R. E. Desvernine*
The Constitution and the New Deal—*Speech by James M. Carson*
The American Constitution—Whose Heritage?—*Speech by Frederick H. Stinchfield*
The American Form of Government—Let Us Preserve It—*Speech by Albert C. Ritchie*
The Redistribution of Power—*Speech by John W. Davis*
Time to Stop—*Speech by Dr. Neil Carothers*
The President Has Made the Issue—*Speech by Charles I. Dawson*

PAMPHLETS
AVAILABLE

COPIES of the following pamphlets and other League literature may be obtained upon application to the League's national headquarters.

Statement of Principles and Purposes
American Liberty League—Its Platform
The $4,880,000,000 Emergency Relief Appropriation Act
The Bonus
Inflation
The Thirty Hour Week Bill
The Holding Company Bill
The Bituminous Coal Bill
Price Control
The Labor Relations Bill
The Farmers' Home Bill
The TVA Amendments
The Supreme Court and the New Deal
The Revised AAA Amendments
The President's Tax Program
Expanding Bureaucracy
Lawmaking by Executive Order
New Deal Laws in Federal Courts
Potato Control
Consumers and the AAA
Budget Prospects
Dangerous Experimentation
Economic Planning—Mistaken But Not New
Work Relief
The AAA and Our Form of Government
Alternatives to the American Form of Government
A Program for Congress
The 1937 Budget
Professors and the New Deal
The President Wants More Power (*leaflet*)
The National Labor Relations Act—*Summary of Conclusions from Report of the National Lawyers Committee*
Straws Which Tell
An Open Letter to the President—*By Dr. Neil Carothers*
How to Meet the Issue—*Speech by W. E. Borah*
The Duty of the Church to the Social Order—*Speech by S. Wells Utley*
The American Bar—The Trustee of American Institutions—*Speech by Albert C. Ritchie*

The Facts in the Case

★

MR. CHAIRMAN, members and guests of the American Liberty League and my friends listening in, as I have been told by the newspapers, from all parts of the United States:

At the outset of my remarks let me make one thing perfectly clear. I am not a candidate for any nomination by any party at any time, and what is more, I do not intend to even lift my right hand to secure any nomination from any party at any time.

Further than that, I have no axe to grind. There is nothing personal in this whole performance in so far as I am concerned. I have no feeling against any man, woman or child in the United States.

I am in possession of supreme happiness and comfort. I represent no group, no man, and I speak for no man or no group, but I do speak for what I believe to be the best interests of the great rank and file of the American people in which class I belong.

NOW, I am here tonight, also, because I have a great love for the United States of America. I love it for what I know it has meant to mankind since the day of its institution. I love it because I feel it has grown to be the great stabilizing force in world civilization. I love it above everything else for the opportunity that it offers to every man and every woman that desires to take advantage of it. No man that I know of or that I probably ever read of has any more reason to love it than I have.

It kept the gateway open for me. It is a matter of common knowledge throughout the country, and I do not state it boastfully, because it is well known, that, deprived by poverty in my early years of an education, that gateway showed me how it was possible to go from a newsboy on the sidewalks of New York to the

Governorship of the greatest state in the Union.

Now listen: I have five children and I have ten grandchildren, and you take it from me, I want that gate left open not alone for mine—I am not selfish about it—not for mine, but for every boy and girl in the country, and in that respect I am no different from every father and mother in the United States.

Think it over for a minute. Figure it out for yourself. It is possible for your children's success to be your success.

I remember distinctly my first inauguration as Governor of New York. I am not sure that the young folks understood it thoroughly, but there were three people at that inauguration that did understand it, and one was my mother, the other was my sister, and the third was my wife. They understood. They were with me in all of the early struggles.

NOW, I am here for another reason. I am here because I am a Democrat. I was born in the Democratic party and I expect to die in it. I was attracted to it in my youth because I was led to believe that no man owned it, and furthermore that no group of men owned it, but, on the other hand, that it belonged to all the plain people of the United States.

I must make a confession. It is not easy for me to stand up here tonight and talk to the American people against the Democratic administration. That is not easy. It hurts me. But I can call upon innumerable witnesses to testify to the fact that during my whole public life I put patriotism above partisanship. And when I see danger—I say "danger," that is, the "Stop, look and listen" to the fundamental principles upon which this government of ours was organized—it is difficult for me to refrain from speaking up.

NOW, what are these dangers that I see? The first is the arraignment of class against class.

It has been freely predicted that if we were ever to have civil strife again in this country, it would come from the appeal to passion and prejudice that comes from the demagogue that would incite one class of our people against the other.

In my time I have met some good and bad industrialists; I have met some good and bad financiers, but I have also met some good and bad laborers. And this I know, that permanent prosperity is dependent upon both capital and labor alike.

I also know that there can be no permanent prosperity in this country until industry is able to employ labor, and there certainly can be no permanent recovery upon any governmental theory of soak the rich or soak the poor.

Even the children in our high schools—and let it be said to the glory of our educational institutions that even the children in our high schools know that you can't soak capital without soaking labor at the same time.

THE next thing that I view as being dangerous to our national well-being is government by bureaucracy instead of what we have been taught to look for, government by law.

Just let me quote something from the President's message to Congress: "In thirty-four months we have built up new instruments of public power. In the hands of a people's government this power is wholesome and proper. But in the hands of political puppets of an economic autocracy such power would provide shackles for the liberties of the people."

Now, I interpret that to mean: If you are going to have an autocrat, take me, but be very careful about the other fellow. There is a complete answer to that, and it rises in the minds of the great rank and file, and that answer is just this: We will never in this country tolerate any law that provides shackles for our people. We don't want any autocrats,

either in or out of office; we wouldn't even take a good one.

The next danger that is apparent to me is the vast building up of new bureaus of government, draining the resources of our people into a common pool and redistributing them, not by any process of law, but by the whim of a bureaucratic autocracy.

WELL, now, what am I here for? I am here not to find fault. Anybody can do that. I am here to make suggestions. Now, what would I have my party do?

I would have them re-establish and redeclare the principles that they put forth in that 1932 platform. Even our Republican friends—and I know many of them, they talk to me freely, we have our little confidences among ourselves—they have all agreed that it is the most compact, the most direct, and the most intelligent political platform that was ever put forth by any political party in this country.

The Republican platform was ten times as long; it was stuffy, it was unreadable, and in many points, not understandable, and no administration in the history of the country came into power with a more simple, a more clear, or a more inescapable mandate than did the party that was inaugurated on the 4th of March in 1933.

And listen, no candidate in the history of the country ever pledged himself more unequivocally to his party platform than did the President that was inaugurated on that day.

WELL, here we are. Millions and millions of Democrats just like myself, all over the country, still believe in that platform, and what we want to know is why it wasn't carried out.

And listen, there is only one man in the United States of America that can answer that question. It won't do to pass it down to an undersecretary. I won't even recognize him

Communistic Russia. There can be only one flag, the Stars and Stripes, or the red flag of the godless union of the Soviet. There can be only one national anthem, the Star Spangled Banner or the Internationale.

There can be only one victor. If the Constitution wins, we win, but if the Constitution—Stop! Stop there! The Constitution can't lose. The fact is, it has already won, but the news has not reached certain ears.

your mind off it to the end that you may do the right thing and not the expedient thing.

Next, I suggest to them that they dig up the 1932 platform from the grave that they buried it in, read it over, and study it, breathe life into it, and follow it in legislative and executive action, to the end that they make good their promises to the American people when they put forth that platform, and the candidate that stood upon it, one hundred per cent. In short, make good.

Third, I would suggest that they stop compromising with the fundamental principles laid down by Jackson, Jefferson and Cleveland.

Fourth, stop attempting to alter the form and structure of our government without recourse to the people themselves as provided in their own constitution. This country belongs to the people, and it doesn't belong to any administration.

Next, I suggest that they read their oath of office to support the Constitution of the United States. And I ask them to remember that they took the oath with their hands on the Holy Bible, thereby calling upon God Almighty Himself to witness their solemn promise. It is bad enough to disappoint us.

Sixth, I suggest that from this moment on they resolve to make the Constitution again the civil bible of the United States and pay it the same civil respect and reverence that they would religiously pay the Holy Scripture, and I ask them to read from Holy Scripture the parable of the prodigal son and to follow his example. "Stop! Stop wasting your substance in a foreign land and come back to your father's house."

NOW, in conclusion, let me give this solemn warning. There can be only one Capital—Washington or Moscow. There can be only one atmosphere of government, the clear, pure, fresh air of free America or the foul breath of

when I hear his name. I won't know where he came from. I will be sure that he never lived down in my district.

NOW, let us wander for a little while and let's take a look at that platform, and let's see what happened to it. Here is the way it started out:

"We believe that a party platform is a covenant with the people, to be faithfully kept by the party when entrusted with power, and that the people are entitled to know in plain words the terms of the contract to which they are asked to subscribe. The Democratic Party solemnly promises by appropriate action to put into effect the principles, policies and reforms herein advocated and to eradicate the political methods and practices herein condemned."

My friends, these are what we call fighting words. At the time that the platform went through the air and over the wire, the people of the United States were in the lowest possible depths of despair, and the Democratic platform looked to them like the star of hope; it looked like the rising sun in the East to the mariner on the bridge of a ship after a terrible night. But what happened to it?

FIRST plank: "We advocate the immediate and drastic reduction of governmental expenditure by abolishing useless commissions and offices, consolidating departments and bureaus, and eliminating extravagance, to accomplish a saving of not less than twenty-five per cent in the cost of the Federal Government."

Well, now, what is the fact? No offices were consolidated, no bureaus were eliminated but on the other hand the alphabet was exhausted in the creation of new departments. And—this is sad news for the taxpayer—the cost, the ordinary cost, what we refer to as housekeeping cost, over and above all emergencies—that ordinary housekeeping cost of government is

greater today than it has ever been in any time in the history of the republic.

ANOTHER plank: "We favor maintenance of the national credit by a Federal budget annually balanced on the basis of accurate Executive estimates within revenue."

How can you balance a budget if you insist upon spending more money than you take in? Even the increased revenue won't go to balance the budget because it is "hocked" before you receive it. What is worse than that, we have borrowed, we owe something; we have borrowed so that we have reached a new high peak of Federal indebtedness for all time.

Well, that wouldn't annoy me so very much ordinarily. When I was Governor of New York they found a lot of fault with me because I borrowed a lot of money. That wouldn't worry me. If it solved our problem and we were out of trouble I would say "All right, let 'er go." But the sin of it is that we have the indebtedness and at the end of three years we are just where we started. Unemployment and the farm problem we still have with us.

NOW, here is something that I want to say to the rank and file. There are three classes of people in this country; there is the poor and rich, and in between the two is what has often been referred to as the great backbone of America, that is, the plain fellow. That is the fellow that makes from one hundred dollars a month up to the man that draws down five or six thousand dollars a year. They are the great army. Forget the rich; they can't pay this debt. If you took everything they have away from them, they couldn't pay it; there ain't enough of them, and furthermore they ain't got enough.

There is no use talking about the poor; they will never pay it because they have got nothing. This debt is going to be paid by that great big middle class that we refer to as the backbone

that the United States Supreme Court may be intimidated into a friendly opinion with respect to it. But I have held all during my public life that Almighty God is with this country and He didn't give us that kind of Supreme Court.

NOW, this is pretty tough for me to have to go at my own party this way, but I submit that there is a limit to blind loyalty.

As a young man in the Democratic Party, I witnessed the rise and fall of Bryan and Bryanism, and I know exactly what Bryan did to our party. I knew how long it took to build it after he got finished with it. But let me say this to the everlasting credit of Bryan and the men that followed him, they had the nerve and the courage and the honesty to put into the platform just what their leaders stood for, and they further put the American people into a position of making an intelligent choice when they went to the polls.

Why, the fact of this whole thing is (I speak now not only of the Executive but of the Legislature at the same time) that they promised one set of things, they repudiated that promise, and they launched off on a program of action totally different. Well, in twenty-five years of experience, I have known both parties to fail to carry out some of the planks of their platform, but this is the first time that I have known a party, upon such a huge scale, to not only fail to carry out the planks, but to do the directly opposite thing to what they promised.

NOW, suggestions—and I make these as a Democrat anxious for the success of my party, and I make them in good faith. Here are my suggestions:

Number 1: I suggest to the members of my party on Capitol Hill here in Washington that they take their mind off the Tuesday that follows the first Monday in November. Just take

men, women and children than any man in the State of New York. And the sin of this whole thing and the part of it that worries me and gives me concern is that this haphazard, hurry-up passage of legislation is never going to accomplish the purposes for which it was designed. And bear this in mind, follow the platform—"under state laws!"

HERE is another one: "We promise the enactment of every constitutional measure that will aid the farmers to receive for their basic farm commodities prices in excess of cost."

Well, what is the use of talking about that? "Promise every constitutional measure!" The Supreme Court disposed of that within the last couple of weeks, and, according to the papers the other day, some brilliant individual has conceived the idea of how to get around the Constitution. We are going to have forty-eight A.A.A.'s, one for each state.

The day that the United States Supreme Court decided that case I left my office to attend a meeting of a board of trustees of a hospital downtown that I am interested in, and as I stepped into the taxicab the driver was reading the extra, "Supreme Court Declares A.A.A. Unconstitutional."

We rode along for a few minutes and we got about three blocks from my office and we got caught in a red light and had to stand still, and the taxi driver turned around and looked at me and said, "Governor, ain't there any lawyers in Congress any more?" Just then the light changed, and I was afraid to answer him for fear I might disconcert him, but I was all ready to say, "Yes, son, but they don't function."

WE HAVE got another plank—"We advocate strengthening and impartial enforcement of the anti-trust laws."

What happened? Why, the NRA just put

hatred of the Old World was distilled in our Constitution into the purest democracy that the world has ever known.

THERE are just three principles, and in the interest of brevity I will read them. I can read them quicker than I can talk them.

"First, a Federal government strictly limited in its power, with all other powers except those expressly mentioned reserved to the states and to the people, so as to insure state's rights, guarantee home rule, and preserve freedom of individual initiative and local control."

That is simple enough. The difference between the state constitutions and the Federal Constitution is that in the state you can do anything you want to do provided it is not prohibited by the Constitution. But in the Federal government, according to that document, you can do only that which that Constitution tells you that you can do.

What is the trouble? Congress has overstepped its powers. It went beyond that constitutional limitation, and it has enacted laws that not only violate that, but violate the home rule and the state's rights principle.

And who says that? Do I say it? Not at all. That was said by the United States Supreme Court in the last ten or twelve days.

SECONDLY, a government with three independent branches; Congress to make the laws, the Executive to execute them, the Supreme Court, and so forth. You know that.

In the name of heaven, where is the independence of Congress? Why, they just laid right down. They are flatter on the Congressional floor than the rug on the table here. They surrendered all of their powers to the Executive, and that is the reason why you read in the newspapers references to Congress as the rubber-stamp Congress.

We all know that the most important bills

were drafted by the brain trusters and sent over to Congress and passed by Congress without consideration, without debate, and without meaning any offense at all to my Democratic brethren in Congress, I think I can safely say without ninety per cent of them knowing what was in the bills, what was the meaning of the list that came over. And beside certain bills was "must." What does that mean? Speaking for the rank and file of American people, we don't want any Executive to tell Congress what it must do, and we don't want any Congress to tell the Executive what he must do, and we don't want Congress or the Executive jointly or severally to tell the United States Supreme Court what it must do. And, on the other hand, we don't want the United States Supreme Court to tell either of them what they must do. What we want, and what we insist upon, and what we are going to have, is the absolute preservation of this balance of power which is the keystone, the arch upon which the whole theory of democratic government has got to rest, and when you rattle it, you rattle the whole structure.

THE third one is methods of amending the Constitution. Of course, when our forefathers wrote the Constitution of the United States it couldn't be possible that they had it in their minds that that was going to be all right for all time to come, so they said, "Now, we will provide a manner and method of amending it." That is set forth in the document itself, and during our national life we amended it many times. We amended it once by mistake, and we corrected the mistake. What did we do? We took the amendment out. Fine! That is the way we want to do it, by recourse to the people. But we don't want an Administration that takes a shot at it in the dark, and that ducks away from it and dodges away from it and tries to put something over in contradiction of it upon any theory that there is going to be a great public howl in favor of it, and it is possible

and the rank and file, and the sin of it is that they ain't going to know they are paying it. It is going to come to them in the form of indirect and hidden taxation. It will come to them in the cost of living, in the cost of clothing, in the cost of every activity that they enter into, and because it is not a direct tax, they won't think they're paying it. But, take it from me, they are going to pay it.

ANOTHER plank: "We advocate the extension of Federal credit to the states to provide unemployment relief where the diminishing resources of the states make it impossible for them to provide for their needs."

That was pretty plain. That was a recognition in the national convention of the rights of the states. But how is it interpreted?

The Federal Government took over most of the relief problems, some of them useful and most of them useless. They started out to prime the pump for industry in order to absorb the ranks of the unemployed, and at the end of three years their affirmative policy is absolutely nothing better than the negative policy of the Administration that preceded them.

"WE favor unemployment and old-age insurance under state laws." Now, let me make myself perfectly clear, so that no demagogue or no crackpot in the next week or so will be able to say anything about my attitude on this kind of legislation. I am in favor of it, and I take my hat off to no man in the United States on the question of legislation beneficial to the poor, the weak, the sick or the afflicted, or men, women and children.

Because why? I started out a quarter of a century ago when I had very few followers in my state, and during that period I advocated, fought for, introduced as a legislator, and finally, as Governor for eight long years, signed more progressive legislation in the interest of

It is all right with me. It is all right with me if they want to disguise themselves as Norman Thomas or Karl Marx, or Lenin, or any of the rest of that bunch, but what I won't stand for is allowing them to march under the banner of Jefferson, Jackson or Cleveland.

What is worrying me is where does that leave us millions of Democrats? My mind is now fixed upon the convention in June in Philadelphia. The committee on resolutions is about to report, and the preamble to the platform is: "We, the representatives of the Democratic Party, in convention assembled, heartily indorse the Democratic Administration."

What happens to the disciples of Jefferson and Jackson and Cleveland when that resolution is read out? Why, for us it is a washout. There is only one of two things we can do. We can either take on the mantle of hypocrisy or we can take a walk, and we will probably do the latter.

NOW, leave the platform alone for a little while. What about this attack that has been made upon the fundamental institutions of this country? Who threatened them, and did we have any warning of this threat?

Why, you don't have to study party platforms. You don't have to read books. You don't have to listen to professors of economics. You will find the whole thing incorporated in the greatest declaration of political principles that ever came from the hands of man, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

Always have in your mind that the Constitution and the first ten amendments to it were drafted by refugees and by sons of refugees, by men with bitter memories of European oppression and hardship, by men who brought to this country and handed down to their descendants an abiding fear of arbitrary centralized government and autocracy.

And, listen, all the bitterness and all the

a gas bag on the anti-trust laws and put them fast asleep, and nobody said anything about it. I don't know whether they are good or whether they are bad, but I know they didn't work.

Another one: "We promise the removal of Government from all fields of private enterprise except where necessary to develop public works and national resources in the common interest."

NRA, a vast octopus set up by Government, that wound its arms around all the business of the country, paralyzing big business, and choked little business to death.

Did you read in the papers a short time ago where somebody said that business was going to get a breathing spell? What is the meaning of that? And where did that expression arise? I'll tell you where it comes from. It comes from the prize ring. When the aggressor is punching the head off the other fellow, he suddenly takes compassion on him and he gives him a breathing spell before he delivers the knockout wallop.

HERE is another one: "We condemn the open and covert resistance of administrative officials to every effort made by Congressional committees to curtail the extravagant expenditures of governmental and improvident subsidies granted to private interests."

Now, just between ourselves, do you know any administrative officer that has tried to stop Congress from appropriating money? Do you think there has been any desire on the part of Congress to curtail appropriations? Why, not at all. The fact is that Congress approved them right and left—didn't even tell what they were for. And the truth further is that every administrative officer sought to get all that he possibly could in order to expand the activities of his own office and throw the money of the people right and left.

And, as to subsidies, why, never at any time

in the history of this or any other country were there so many subsidies granted to private groups and on such a huge scale.

The fact of the matter is that most of the cases now pending before the United States Supreme Court revolve around the point of whether or not it is proper for Congress to tax all the people to pay subsidies to a particular group.

HERE is another one: "We condemn the extravagance of the Farm Board, its disastrous action which made the government a speculator in farm products, and the unsound policy of restricting agricultural products to the demands of domestic markets."

Listen, I'll let you in on something. This hasn't leaked out yet, so kind of keep it to yourself until you get the news. On the first of February we are going to own 4,005,000 bales of cotton. The cost is $270,000,000. And we have been such brilliant speculators that we are paying thirteen cents a pound for it, when you add storage and carrying charges, and it can be bought at any one of the ten cotton markets of the South today for eleven and a half cents. Some speculators!

What about the restriction of our agricultural products to the demands of the domestic market? Why, the fact about that is that we shut out entirely the foreign market, and by plowing under corn and wheat and the destruction of foodstuffs, food from foreign countries has been pouring into our American markets—food that should have been purchased by us from our own farmers. In other words, while some of the countries of the Old World were attempting to drive the wolf of hunger from the doormat, the United States of America flew in the face of God's bounty and destroyed its own foodstuffs. There can be no question about that.

Now, I could go on indefinitely with some of the other planks. They are unimportant, and

the radio time will not permit it. But just let me sum up this way:

Regulation of the Stock Exchange and the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, plus one or two minor planks of the platform that in no way touch the daily life of our people, have been carried out, but the balance of the platform was thrown in the wastebasket. About that there can be no question.

LET'S see how it was carried out. Make a test for yourselves. Just get the platform of the Democratic Party, and get the platform of the Socialist Party, and lay them down on your dining-room table, side by side, and get a heavy lead pencil and scratch out the word "Democratic" and scratch out the word "Socialist," and let the two platforms lay there.

Then study the record of the present Administration up to date. After you have done that, make your mind up to pick up the platform that more nearly squares with the record, and you will put your hand on the Socialist platform. You couldn't touch the Democratic. And, incidentally, let me say that is not the first time in recorded history that a group of men have stolen the livery of the church to do the work of the devil.

If you study this whole situation, you will find that that is at the bottom of all of our troubles. This country was organized on the principles of a representative democracy, and you can't mix socialism or communism with that. They are like oil and water. They refuse to mix. And, incidentally, let me say to you, that is the reason why the United States Supreme Court is working overtime throwing the alphabet out the window three letters at a time.

NOW, I am going to let you in on something else. How do you suppose all this happened? Here is the way it happened: The young brain trusters caught the Socialists in swimming and they ran away with their clothes.

CHAS. FINLEY
11TH DISTRICT
KENTUCKY

COMMITTEES:
MINES AND MINING
TERRITORIES

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

Williamsburg, Ky.
June 7th 1935

Judge C.I.Dawson,
Louisville, Ky.

My Dear Judge:-

Enclosed herewith I am handing you a letter from my good friend W.A.York, of Nora, Clinton, Co., Ky., which will explain itself.

Mr York is evidently unaware that there is a Democratic U.S.District Atty. who handles dismissals of this sort; or that U.S.Federal Courts are on a different plane from our State Courts.

However, I know of nothing else to do with the letter than send it to you. feeling sure that you would help him, if you could.

Your friend,
Chas Finley
Chas. Finley

P.S.
Sorry to learn of your resignation, but hope you will find the change to your advantage

Return for my files 67

Nora Ky
6-5-35.

Mr Charles Finley.
Barbourville Kentucky

Dear Sir:-
I have always been a true republician, as you remember I made a hard fight for you. My boy Tomas C York he was rural carrier route 2 leading out of Albany, the Democrats has taken his job and had him turned out as rural carrier. and now they are trying to send him to the pison.
you know how you have treated by the democrats I am asking you to help me now. I Want You to see Charles Dauston at once and see if you can't get his case

dismissed they have indited him in the government Court I understand that Dauston will be in Lexington the tenth.
I know that Dauston is going to resign at once. When Dauston made his race for governor we only lost three Votes in this end of the county out of about seven hundred Votes, this end of the County saved Dauston I have always been a hard fighter for the repebuctions I am asking you to help me as the boy is isintent the democrats have it in for me as they have you if you can do anything for the boy I sure will appreciate it.
Now Charles do the best you can for me & let me here from you soon if we ever need help we need it now
W. A. York

Reminds when Governor Morrow here.

Frankfort, Ky
May 20,1935

Judge Charles I. Dawson
Louisville, Ky
My Dear Charlie:

A young man by the name of Elmer E. Sizemore, of Hyden, Leslie County, wants an appointment as educational advisor in one of the C.C.C. Camps, to be constructed in South-Eastern Kentucky. Dr. Nat T. Frame, educational advisor, 5th Area, Civil Conservation Corp, Ft. Hays, Columbus, Ohio., has the selection of these advisors. I have written a strong letter for young Sizemore. He merits a very high recognition.

If it is not asking too much of you I wish you would write a letter to Dr. Frame for him. Sizemore managed my campaign in Leslie, and he is really a very fine young man.

Your friend,

Edwin P. Morrow

JOHN M. ROBSION
NINTH KENTUCKY

MEMBER:
COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES
JUDICIARY
REVISION OF LAWS

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

April 8, 1935.

Honorable Charles I. Dawson,
Federal Building,
Louisville, Ky.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Judge Dawson:

I received both of your letters and thank you for the information.

I sincerely trust that our party may work out a harmonious program. If they do and the Laffoon crowd controls the Democratic primary, I think there is little doubt of our success in November.

I see that our good friend Judge Hurst is inclined to want to run. After several months of very careful investigation, it seemed to me that no one really had a look-in for our nomination except Swope. I think our friend Judge Tartar will be quite reasonable. He is very anxious to see harmony in the party and to see our party win. I do not know what will be the attitude of Judge Bingham. I have requested Judge Hurst and Judge Bingham to canvass the situation thoroughly for themselves or to have some person in whom they have confidence to do so.

Now as to the Senatorial matter up in our country, I talked with our friend and some of our mutual friends, and explained to him fully my situation -- that I was not urging anybody to run but the Republican leaders in Knox County were discouraging any one running from Knox County; and I further explained to our friend up in Bell frankly and fully that I had nothing but the kindest feeling for him but in the event that one of my active friends and supporters should be a candidate, I would vote for the man who always supported me, but it is not my purpose to go out and take a hand in local fights.

As pointed out in my other letters, I have no interest to serve except to contribute my little bit to help bring about harmony in the party in order that our party may win in Kentucky this year. We cannot over-estimate the far-reaching results of a Republican victory in Kentucky this year to the people of Kentucky and to our party in the state and nation.

I hope to be in Kentucky along in the first days of May. In the meantime, I hope all the leaders will make a careful survey of the state so that we may offer to the people of Kentucky a ticket of real men and women, with vote-getting power in their respective sections of the state, and with the ability, desire, and purpose to contribute their part in every way for Republican success.

I wrote you and others advising that Congressman Hamilton Fish desired to make a Republican speech there on the 2nd, 3rd, or 4th of May. He makes a good, keen speech, and it might be helpful to the Republicans. I think he has the Republican presidential bee in his bonnet. However, no Republican here so far as I know is making any commitments, and I am sure the Republicans of Kentucky would not be disposed to make any commitments for President at this time.

Do you Republicans want him to come?

Sincerely yours,

JMR:S

Louisville, Ky.,
April 6, 1935.

PERSONAL.

Hon. J. M. Robsion, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Robsion:-

Several mutual friends have been in to see me during the past week, to see if there could not be something done to iron out the Senatorial situation in your district. They seem anxious that the matter should be so ironed out that Ray Moss can be re-elected. Two of the men who have talked to me have always been friends and supporters of yours, and some have been on the opposite side; and I am merely writing to suggest that you might be of some help in straightening out the situation, if you feel so disposed.

I had a talk with Swope on Thursday of this week, and I am becoming more and more convinced that he is going to be able to make a very impressive campaign, with splendid prospects of success in the fall.

With best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

Chas. I. Dawson

CID-B

Louisville, Ky.,
April 5, 1935.

Hon. J. M. Robsion, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:-

I have your letter of April 3rd, with enclosures.

I presume you have heard by this time that Governor Morrow has decided not to make the race, and it seems to me that the way is about cleared where Swope will have no serious opposition. I hope it may be managed so that he can be freed of all opposition.

I think it is highly important that you leaders get together and agree on a ticket to run with him, properly distributed over the State and of a type that will help instead of weaken his candidacy. How such an agreement can be made effective I hardly know, although it might be arranged through a recommending convention.

The reports which I hear from all over the State sound too good to be true, but I am becoming somewhat enthusiastic about our chances of winning.

Please treat this letter as confidential.

With best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

Chas. I. Dawson

CID-B

JOHN M. ROBSION
NINTH KENTUCKY

MEMBER:
COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES
JUDICIARY
REVISION OF LAWS

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

April 3, 1935.

Honorable Charles I. Dawson,
Federal Building,
Louisville, Ky.

PERSONAL and CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Judge Dawson:

I have written Chilton and Perkins and have also written Harrison and others. I enclose copies of my letters. I did not include you in either letter because it might reach hand that would prove embarrassing.

What I have said in these letters as to appreciation and other matters goes to you as well as to those I have written at length.

Now, my dear Judge, we can win in Kentucky this year, and I grow more hopeful day by day of success in the nation next year. If we win in Kentucky this year, it will mean a great deal to the people of Kentucky and our party and will do more to inspire the Republicans of the nation than most anything else that could happen.

I wish you would write me in a strictly personal and confidential way how matters are progressing in Kentucky.

With best wishes, I remain

Your friend,

John M. Robsion

JMR:S

JOHN M. ROBSION
NINTH KENTUCKY

MEMBER:
COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES
JUDICIARY
REVISION OF LAWS

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

COPY

April 2, 1935.

Honorable John M. Perkins,
Frankfort, Kentucky.

Honorable J. Matt Chilton,
Louisville, Kentucky.

PERSONAL and CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Republican friends:

I was very glad to have an opportunity to see you and other Republicans again and was very happy to find such a fine spirit of harmony and desire for our party to win in November.

The Republicans of Kentucky really want to win. They have more fight in them than I have observed since 1928. I have come to the conclusion that if we can nominate our ticket without a fight and the Democrats name either one of the six who have now announced, there is little doubt of success in November. The Republicans and a lot of other folks are willing to put up a real fight against the Laffoon crowd.

I think it was a little unfortunate that the conference there got into the press. I note there were some things charged in the press article that were not mentioned at all.

I wish to re-affirm that I have no interest in our fight in Kentucky except for our party to win. This will mean much to the welfare of the people of Kentucky and to our party. As I understand it, Kentucky is the only state in the Union that will elect a Governor this year, and if the Republicans of Kentucky can win, how much it will electrify the Republicans and others throughout the nation who are opposed to Roosevelt and his "brain-less trusters"!

I wish to express my appreciation for the attitude of yourselves and other Republican leaders in Kentucky.

I have heard nothing as to the outcome of your mission. You gentlemen kindly consented to see our friend. I should like to know the outcome.

I think every man in the state who has announced for Governor or who is spoken of for Governor will have to admit that at no time or place did I urge any man to get into the race or to get out; but I am thoroughly convinced that Swope is far out in front, and in view of the fact that he is a World War veteran and has been elected three times in Democratic districts - once for Congress and twice for circuit judge - and has had very little to do with state politics, I think that all Republicans can get

COPY

behind him actively, and many independents and many Democrats; and in that way he will be our best bet.

Will you kindly favor me with an early reply?

Again thanking you, and with best wishes, I remain

Your friend,

(signed) J. M.Robsion

JMR:S

JOHN M. ROBSION
NINTH KENTUCKY

MEMBER:
COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES
JUDICIARY
REVISION OF LAWS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

April 3, 1935.

-C O P Y-

Messrs. W. B. Harrison,
E. S. Helburn,
Chesley Searcy,
Robert W. Hunter,
Karl Malone,
Louisville, Kentucky.

PERSONAL and CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Republican friends:

I wish to thank you for having an opportunity to meet with you and other Republican leaders to discuss the action to be taken by our party which would best serve the welfare of the people of Kentucky and our party.

It was most unfortunate that the people of Kentucky turned down the Republican Party and its able ticket in 1931 and gave to us the present group at Frankfort as our officials. The people of Kentucky certainly need relief, and their only real hope of relief is through the Republican Party.

I have talked with several hundred Republican leaders and quite a number of leading Democrats, and have received hundreds of letters from other Republican leaders, and I am thoroughly convinced, my friends, that we can win Kentucky this year. I do not think we could over-estimate the splendid benefits that will come to the people of Kentucky by the election of a Republican ticket, and of course our success in Kentucky this year would electrify the Republicans and other citizens of the United States who are sincerely interested in the welfare of our nation and are opposed to Mr. Roosevelt and his "brainless trust."

I have tried to get the proposition over so far as my personal interest is concerned that I have no interest to serve except the welfare of the people of Kentucky and the success of our party in the state and in the nation. If the Republican Party can select a ticket of outstanding men and women who will deserve to win and without a fight in our own party, I feel that success will crown our efforts.

On the other hand, if we have a bitter fight in our own party, even though we select a splendid ticket our chance to win will be greatly lessened and more than likely would be entirely wiped out.

I have never seen the Republicans so anxious to put up a real fight and so sincerely interested in winning and maintaining harmony in the party, and I want to thank you Republican leaders as well as others who were present for your expressed determination to help maintain harmony and promote the success of our party in the state. I have written the Judge; also our friends, Chilton and Perkins.

-C O P Y-

I trust that you friends will find the time to advise me how matters are progressing. Any information you give will be greatly and personally appreciated.

I regret that publicity was given to the meeting there. I notice that some of the matters were misstated, and it mentioned that mation was taken about a certain matter that was not even mentioned so far as I know.

Some of my good friends in my District are favorably mentioned in connection with the Governorship. We hope to have these matters harmonized. The general feeling in our District is that we must have harmony and for the good of the state and the party we must win in November.

With every good wish, I remain

Your friend,

JMR:S

W. D. COCHRAN
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
MAYSVILLE, KY.

July 21, 1934.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Judge of United District Court,
Louisville, Kentucky.

Dear Judge Dawson:

I sincerely appreciate the interest which you have shown in the appointments made by Governor Laffoon of Mr. Miller and Mr. Clark and myself to the Public Service Commission.

It was most gratifying to me, and I am sure that I can also speak for Mr. Miller and Mr. Clark, to know that your interest was such as expressed in your letter to Governor Laffoon of July 9th, copy of which was sent to me.

I assure you that we shall use every effort to justify the confidence which you have indicated in the new commission.

Yours very truly,

W. D. Cochran

WDC:R

GLOVER H. CARY
WILBUR K. MILLER
ARTHUR D. KIRK

GEORGE S. WILSON, JR.

CARY, MILLER & KIRK
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
OWENSBORO, KENTUCKY

July 12, 1934

Judge Charles I. Dawson
Federal Building
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Judge Dawson:

I am very grateful for a copy of your letter of the 9th instant to the Governor about the appointments to the Public Service Commission, and I appreciate more than I can say the kind things you said about us.

My ambition is to conduct myself there in such a way that later on you will still feel the same way about my appointment. If you hear of any fool things I am doing up there, I wish you would write to me about them.

Again thanking you and with good wishes always, I am

Sincerely yours,

Wilbur K. Miller

WKM:K

Louisville, Ky.,
July 9, 1934.

Governor Ruby Laffoon,
Madisonville, Ky.

Dear Governor:-

A public official gets so many knocks and so few expressions of appreciation that I am taking this opportunity to congratulate you on the wonderful appointments you have made for the new Utilities Commission.

I do not know Mr. Clark personally, but hear good things of him. I do know Wilbur Miller and William Cochran, and without hesitation I say you could not have picked two cleaner, more outstanding or more capable young men in Kentucky.

Frankly, I had some doubt of the wisdom of creating a Utilities Commission for Kentucky. I was afraid that the constitutional limitation on official salaries in Kentucky would prevent you getting the type of men who would inspire confidence in the Commission; but with two young lawyers of the type of Wilbur Miller and William Cochran on the Commission, I predict that it will soon become the outstanding Commission in the Nation. These young men belong to nobody; they have the courage, and, I am sure, the inclination and ability, to make wonderful public servants, and will be fair both to the utilities and to the public.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Chas. I. Dawson

CID-B

M. M. LOGAN, KY., CHAIRMAN
KEY PITTMAN, NEV.
CARL HAYDEN, ARIZ.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA.
W. J. BULOW, S.DAK.
JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
JOHN E. ERICKSON, MONT.
ARTHUR R. ROBINSON, IND.
LYNN J. FRAZIER, N.DAK.
ROSCOE C. PATTERSON, MO.
H. D. HATFIELD, W.VA.
JAMES J. DAVIS, PA.

FRANCES SETTLE, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING

June 18, 1934

Judge Charles I. Dawson
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Judge Dawson:

I expect to get home about the first of July and as soon as I can find it convenient to both of us, I will call around to see you and we will discuss the matter referred to in your letter of June 16th.

With very sincere regards and best wishes, I remain

Your friend,

M. M. Logan

M. M. LOGAN

MML:gm

M. M. LOGAN, KY., CHAIRMAN
KEY PITTMAN, NEV.
CARL HAYDEN, ARIZ.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA.
W. J. BULOW, S.DAK.
JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
JOHN E. ERICKSON, MONT.
ARTHUR R. ROBINSON, IND.
LYNN J. FRAZIER, N.DAK.
ROSCOE C. PATTERSON, MO.
H. D. HATFIELD, W.VA.
JAMES J. DAVIS, PA.
FRANCES SETTLE, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MINES AND MINING

June 14, 1934

Personal

Judge Charles I. Dawson
Judge United States District Court
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Judge:

Your telegram was delivered to me last night.

Permit me to say that I have in mind exactly that which you suggest and I think I have an agreement that it shall be done the next session of Congress.

Assuring you of my very sincere regards, I remain,

Your friend,

M. M. Logan

M. M. Logan

MML:FHC

Louisville, Ky.,
May 24,1934.

Hon. James M. Beck, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Beck:-

I have your letter of May 21st with reference to my opinion in the matter of the constitutionality of the National Industrial Recovery Act as applied to coal mining, and I thank you very much for your interest and kind words.

I have read with a great deal of interest and with entire approval every utterance of yours on this important question and on other invasions by the National Government of the reserved powers of the States and the rights of the people. It is very depressing to observe the indifference of so many people to these encroachments, which seem to me to threaten the very existence of our form of government. There seems to be a determination on the part of many of those now in authority to disregard all constitutional limitations, and I regret to say that some judges are ascribing to the word "emergency" some magic power, to be invoked whenever it is desired to override plain constitutional provisions.

I am glad to comply with your request by enclosing you a copy of the opinion referred to.

Very truly yours,

Chas. I. Dawson

CID-B

Encl.

JAMES M. BECK
2D DISTRICT
PENNSYLVANIA

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C.

May
Twenty-first
1 9 3 4

Hon. Charles I. Dawson
United States District Court Chambers
Louisville
Kentucky

My dear Judge:

I have been greatly interested in some excerpts from an opinion that you recently rendered in the case of the Western Kentucky Coal operators. I am wondering whether you would do me the kindness to have the Clerk of your Court send me the full opinion.

My recollection is that four other Federal District judges and several State judges have reached the same conclusion that you did, but certainly no one has put the question of constitutionality so forcefully and bluntly.

I argued against the NRA on similar grounds when it was before the House of Representatives, and as I regarded the imminent passage of that law as the beginning of the end of our Constitution, I called my address "The Passing of the Constitution." I venture to enclose a copy.

Yours very truly,

James M. Beck

P.S. I am writing only as a member of Congress. I have no interest of a personal character in the litigation in your District.

B

SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS

JOHN J. McSWAIN, S.C., CHAIRMAN
LISTER HILL, ALA.
JAMES M. FITZPATRICK, N.Y.
JED JOHNSON, OKLA.
NUMA F. MONTET, LA.
ANDREW J. MAY, KY.
R. EWING THOMASON, TEX.
WILLIAM N. ROGERS, N.H.
THOMAS C. COFFIN, IDAHO
CHESTER THOMPSON, ILL.
DOW W. HARTER, OHIO
CHARLES I. FADDIS, PA.
CLARENCE W. TURNER, TENN.
RICHARD M. DUNCAN, MO.
THEODORE A. PEYSER, N.Y.
ANDREW EDMISTON, W.VA.
PAUL J. KVALE, MINN.

W. FRANK JAMES, MICH.
HARRY C. RANSLEY, PA.
EDWARD W. GOSS, CONN.
VINCENT CARTER, WYO.
WALTER G. ANDREWS, N.Y.
THEODORE CHRISTIANSON, MINN.
DONALD H. MC LEAN, N.J.
CHARLES A. PLUMLEY, VT.

KENNETH ANDERSON, CLERK
FRANCES MARTIN, ASSISTANT CLERK
A. E. SLOAN, MESSENGER

ANDREW J. MAY
7TH DIST. KENTUCKY

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 7, 1934

Honorable Chas. I. Dawson,
United States District Judge,,
Louisville, Kentucky.

Dear Judge Dawson:

I appreciate very much your letter of May 4th and again reassure you that when my bill is reported for the appointment of an additional judge for Kentucky, no changes whatever will be made in your district, and I shall be glad to accept your suggestion as an amendment to the bill, not to restrict the place of residence of the Judge, leaving it entirely to him to select his own residence. I think possibly you have in mind the bill introduced by Senator Logan which provides that the Judge shall reside at some one of the places where courts are held, while my bill merely provides that the judge shall not reside at the same place as either of the District Judges. However, that is a matter of minor importance and will be taken care of.

I do not think any report for additional judges will be reported at this session. At least, that is what the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee tells me.

I hope you had time to go to and enjoy the Derby.

Very truly yours,

A. J. May

AJM:LH

Louisville, Ky.,
May 4, 1934.

Hon. A. J. May, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jack:-

I have not answered your letter of April 17th, with reference to the proposed third judge for Kentucky, sooner because of press of other business.

As I have heretofore stated to you, I would be opposed to any bill providing for additional places of holding court in the Western District. Inasmuch as the press of criminal business has to some extent disappeared from the two districts, I do not think it would be wise to undertake to limit the jurisdiction of the proposed third judge to criminal cases. I think the bill as drawn sufficiently takes care of the jurisdiction of the proposed judge. I doubt very much, however, the wisdom of the provision of your bill which requires the proposed new judge to reside, or have his official place of residence, in a place other than where either of the present judges reside or have their official residence. I think the new judge should be allowed to have his official residence at such place as he may elect, and I feel confident that he would elect to have his official residence at the point where he could render the greatest service.

With best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

Chas. I. Dawson

CID-B

SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS

JOHN J. MC SWAIN, S.C., CHAIRMAN
LISTER HILL, ALA.
JAMES M. FITZPATRICK, N.Y.
JED JOHNSON, OKLA.
NUMA F. MONTET, LA.
ANDREW J. MAY, KY.
R. EWING THOMASON, TEX.
WILLIAM N. ROGERS, N.H.
THOMAS C. COFFIN, IDAHO
CHESTER THOMPSON, ILL.
DOW W. HARTER, OHIO
CHARLES I. FADDIS, PA.
CLARENCE W. TURNER, TENN.
RICHARD M. DUNCAN, MO.
THEODORE A. PEYSER, N.Y.
ANDREW EDMISTON, W.VA.
PAUL J. KVALE, MINN.

W. FRANK JAMES, MICH.
HARRY C. RANSLEY, PA.
EDWARD W. GOSS, CONN.
VINCENT CARTER, WYO.
WALTER G. ANDREWS, N.Y.
THEODORE CHRISTIANSON, MINN.
DONALD H. MC LEAN, N.J.
CHARLES A. PLUMLEY, VT.

KENNETH ANDERSON, CLERK
FRANCES MARTIN, ASSISTANT CLERK
A. E. SLOAN, MESSENGER

ANDREW J. MAY
7TH DIST. KENTUCKY

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 17, 1934

Hon. Chas. I. Dawson, Judge,
United States District Court,
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Judge Dawson:

I am pleased to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 13th, in regard to my bill to provide a third Federal Judge at large for the state of Kentucky, with jurisdiction to sit in both districts on the call of either of the judges of either of the districts.

I note what you say regarding additional places of holding court in your district and at the time I drew the bill, I was under the impression that you desired such additional places, but since receiving your letter of April 13th, being advised that you do not so desire, I shall ask the Committee to strike out portions of the bill as may be necessary to eleminate these additional places and, furthermore, I can assure you that the bill does not change the counties in either district in any respect whatever, and you will retain in your district, Oldham County, the county of your residence.

I have not intended by the bill to do anything more than to try to be of service to my state and to my two Federal Judges, whose respect and esteem I covet and hope to enjoy. If there is any other suggestions you care to make about the bill, I shall be glad to have you do so promptly as I expect to urge its being reported at this session and passage if possible.

Something has been said, I believe, by you in some of your former statements in connection with the proposed Langley bill to the effect that the third judge should be given only criminal jurisdiction subject, of course, to being called by either or both of the Judges of either district to sit in advisory capacity in civil matters.

I will await with interest any suggestions you may have to make and for your information, I am enclosing a copy of the bill now pending.

Very truly yours,

A. J. May

AJM:LH

Louisville, Ky.,
April 13, 1934.

Hon. A. J. May, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jack:-

I have not answered your communication with reference to a third judge because I had hoped to have a chance to talk the matter over with Judge Cochran. I do not want to do anything contrary to his wishes.

Personally, I have no objection to a third judge, with jurisdiction in both districts, and I have felt that such additional judge would be a real help. I do object, however, to any additional places of holding court in my district. My objection is not based upon any lack of willingness that terms of court may be established wherever needed, but I do not think there is any need for any additional places of holding court in my district, and the establishment of such additional places would merely mean additional expense to the Government and would furthermore require time which I should really be devoting to the Louisville docket.

If it is intended to push the third judge proposition at this term of Congress, I hope there will be no change made in the counties allotted to my district. I am especially anxious, of course, to retain Oldham County in my district, as that is the county of my residence.

With best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

Chas. I. Dawson

CID-B

73D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 138

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 9, 1933

Mr. MAY introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed

A BILL

To provide for an additional district judge for the eastern and western districts of Kentucky, and to amend section 83 of the Judicial Code, as amended.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is authorized to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, an additional district judge for the eastern and western districts of Kentucky. The compensation and powers of the judge so appointed shall be the same as provided by law for the judges of the said districts; and such judge shall reside, and shall have his official place of residence, at a place in the State of Kentucky, but such place shall be one other than where

the judge of the eastern district or the judge of the western district shall reside or have his official place of residence. The division of business and assignment of cases for trial in the said districts shall be in accordance with the provisions of section 23 of the Judicial Code, as amended (U. S. C., title 28, sec. 27).

SEC. 2. Section 83 of the Judicial Code, as amended (U. S. C., title 28, sec. 158), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 83. The State of Kentucky is divided into two judicial districts, to be known as the eastern and western districts of Kentucky.

"The eastern district shall include the territory embraced on the 1st day of January, 1931, in the counties of Carroll, Trimble, Henry, Shelby, Anderson, Mercer, Boyle, Gallatin, Boone, Kenton, Campbell, Pendleton, Grant, Owen, Franklin, Bourbon, Scott, Woodford, Fayette, Jessamine, Gerrard, Madison, Lincoln, Rockcastle, Pulaski, Wayne, McCreary, Whitley, Bell, Knox, Harlan, Laurel, Clay, Leslie, Letcher, Perry, Owsley, Jackson, Estill, Lee, Breathitt, Knott, Pike, Floyd, Magoffin, Martin, Johnson, Lawrence, Boyd, Greenup, Carter, Elliott, Morgan, Wolfe, Powell, Menifee, Clark, Montgomery, Bath, Rowan, Lewis, Fleming, Mason, Bracken, Robertson, Nicholas, and Harrison, with the waters thereof.

"Regular terms of the district court for the eastern district shall be held each year at the following times and places: At Lexington, beginning on the second Mondays in January and June; at Somerset, beginning on the second Mondays in February and September; at Jackson, beginning on the first Monday in March and the third Monday in September; at Frankfort, beginning on the second Monday in March and the fourth Monday in September; at Pikeville, beginning on the fourth Monday in March and the second Monday in October; at Covington, beginning on the first Monday in April and the fourth Monday in October; at Richmond, beginning on the second Mondays in April and November; at Hazard, beginning on the fourth Monday in April and the third Monday in November; at London, beginning on the second Monday in May and the fourth Monday in November; and at Catlettsburg, beginning on the fourth Monday in May and the second Monday in December: *Provided,* That suitable rooms and accommodations for holding court at Lexington, Hazard, Pikeville, and Somerset shall be furnished without expense to the United States until such time as the United States shall provide such rooms and accommodations.

"The clerk of the court for the eastern district shall maintain an office in charge of himself, a deputy, or a clerical assistant, at each of the places in said district

where terms of court are required to be held, each of which offices shall be kept open at all times for the transaction of the business of said court.

"The western district shall include the territory embraced on the 1st day of January, 1931, in the counties of Oldham, Jefferson, Spencer, Bullitt, Nelson, Washington, Marion, Larue, Taylor, Casey, Green, Adair, Russell, Clinton, Cumberland, Monroe, Metcalfe, Allen, Barren, Simpson, Logan, Warren, Butler, Hart, Edmonson, Grayson, Hardin, Meade, Breckenridge, Hancock, Daviess, Ohio, McLean, Muhlenberg, Todd, Christian, Trigg, Lyon, Caldwell, Livingston, Crittenden, Hopkins, Webster, Henderson, Union, Marshall, Calloway, McCracken, Graves, Ballard, Carlisle, Hickman, and Fulton, with the waters thereof.

"Regular terms of the district court for the western district shall be held each year at the following times and places: At Elizabethtown beginning on the first Monday in February and the second Monday in September; at Hopkinsville beginning on the third Mondays in February and September; at Louisville beginning on the second Monday in March and the first Monday in October; at Paducah beginning on the third Monday in April and the second Monday in November; at Owensboro beginning on the first Monday in May and the fourth

Monday in November; and at Bowling Green beginning on the third Monday in May and the second Monday in December: *Provided,* That suitable rooms and accommodations for holding court at Elizabethtown and Hopkinsville shall be furnished without expense to the United States until such time as the United States shall provide such rooms and accommodations.

"The clerk of the court for the western district shall maintain an office in charge of himself, a deputy, or a clerical assistant at each of the places in said district where terms of court are required to be held, each of which offices shall be kept open at all times for the transaction of the business of said court.

"The clerks of the courts for the eastern and mid-western districts, upon issuing original process in a civil action, shall make it returnable to the court nearest to the county of the residence of the defendant, or of that defendant whose county is nearest to a court; and shall, immediately upon payment by the plaintiff of his fees accrued, send the papers filed to the clerk of the court to which the process is made returnable; and whenever the process is not thus made returnable any defendant may, upon motion, on or before the calling of the cause, have it transferred to the court to which it should have been sent had the clerk known the residence of the defendant when the action was brought."

73D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 138

A BILL

To provide for an additional district judge for the eastern and western districts of Kentucky, and to amend section 83 of the Judicial Code, as amended.

By Mr. MAY

MARCH 9, 1933

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed

1207-A

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		FULL RATE	
DAY LETTER		DEFERRED	
NIGHT MESSAGE		CABLE LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER		WEEK END LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT — J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

NO.	CASH OR CHG.
CHECK	
TIME FILED	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Crestwood ,Ky.,November 27, 1933

To HONORABLE HENRY WALLACE,

Street and No. SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE,

Place WASHINGTON, D. C.

PROPOSED LOUISVILLE MILK CODE SO UNFAIR IN METHOD OF FIXING BASE OF PRODUCERS RECENTLY ENTERING BUSINESS THAT, IF VALID, IT DESTROYS THEIR INVESTMENT STOP SURELY YOU WILL NOT SANCTION A PLAN WHICH CONFISCATES THE INVESTMENT OF THOSE WHO HAVE ESTABLISHED DAIRY HERDS SINCE APRIL FIRST NINETEEN THIRTY-TWO AND WHICH CREATES A MONOPOLY IN FAVOR OF PRODUCERS IN BUSINESS PRIOR TO THAT DATE.

(SIGNED) ALBERT DAWSON

Sender's address for reference

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

Sender's telephone number

ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a message should order it repeated, that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this, one-half the unrepeated message rate is charged in addition. Unless otherwise indicated on its face, this is an unrepeated message and paid for as such, in consideration whereof it is agreed between the sender of the message and this company as follows:

1. The company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the unrepeated-message rate beyond the sum of five hundred dollars; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the repeated-message rate beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, *unless specially valued;* nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines; nor for errors in cipher or obscure messages.

2. In any event the company shall not be liable for damages for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of any message, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, at which amount each message is deemed to be valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing by the sender thereof at the time the message is tendered for transmission, and unless the repeated-message rate is paid or agreed to be paid, and an additional charge equal to one-tenth of one percent of the amount by which such valuation shall exceed five thousand dollars.

3. The company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this message over the lines of any other company when necessary to reach its destination.

4. Domestic messages and incoming cable messages will be delivered free within one-half mile of the company's office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or towns. Beyond these limits the company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender's request, as his agent and at his expense, endeavor to contract for him for such delivery at a reasonable price.

5. No responsibility attaches to this company concerning messages until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices; and if a message is sent to such office by one of the company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender.

6. The company will not be liable for damages or statutory penalties in any case where the claim is not presented in writing within sixty days after the message is filed with the company for transmission.

7. It is agreed that in any action by the company to recover the tolls for any message or messages the prompt and correct transmission and delivery thereof shall be presumed, subject to rebuttal by competent evidence.

8. Special terms governing the transmission of messages according to their classes, as enumerated below, shall apply to messages in each of such respective classes in addition to all the foregoing terms.

9. No employee of the company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY
INCORPORATED
NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

CLASSES OF SERVICE

TELEGRAMS

A full-rate expedited service.

NIGHT MESSAGES

Accepted up to 2:00 A.M. at reduced rates to be sent during the night and delivered not earlier than the morning of the ensuing business day.

Night Messages may at the option of the Telegraph Company be mailed at destination to the addressees, and the Company shall be deemed to have discharged its obligation in such cases with respect to delivery by mailing such night messages at destination, postage prepaid.

DAY LETTERS

A deferred day service at rates lower than the standard telegram rates as follows: One and one-half times the standard night letter rate for the transmission of 50 words or less and one-fifth of the initial rates for each additional 10 words or less.

SPECIAL TERMS APPLYING TO DAY LETTERS:

In further consideration of the reduced rate for this special Day Letter service, the following special terms in addition to those enumerated above are hereby agreed to:

A. Day Letters may be forwarded by the Telegraph Company as a deferred service and the transmission and delivery of such Day Letters is, in all respects, subordinate to the priority of transmission and delivery of regular telegrams.

B. This Day Letter is received subject to the express understanding and agreement that the Company does not undertake that a Day Letter shall be delivered on the day of its date absolutely, and at all events; but that the Company's obligation in this respect is subject to the condition that there shall remain sufficient time for the transmission and delivery of such Day Letter on the day of its date during regular office hours, subject to the priority of the transmission of regular telegrams under the conditions named above.

No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

NIGHT LETTERS

Accepted up to 2:00 A.M. for delivery on the morning of the ensuing business day, at rates still lower than standard night message rates, as follows: The standard telegram rate for 10 words shall be charged for the transmission of 50 words or less, and one-fifth of such standard telegram rate for 10 words shall be charged for each additional 10 words or less.

SPECIAL TERMS APPLYING TO NIGHT LETTERS:

In further consideration of the reduced rates for this special Night Letter service, the following special terms in addition to those enumerated above are hereby agreed to:

Night Letters may at the option of the Telegraph Company be mailed at destination to the addressees, and the Company shall be deemed to have discharged its obligation in such cases with respect to delivery by mailing such Night Letters at destination, postage prepaid.

No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

FULL RATE CABLES

An expedited service throughout. Code language permitted.

DEFERRED HALF-RATE CABLES

Half-rate messages are subject to being deferred in favor of full rate messages for not exceeding 24 hours. Must be in language of country of origin or of destination, or in French. This class of service is in effect with most European countries and with various other countries throughout the world. Full particulars supplied on application at any Western Union Office.

CABLE LETTERS

For plain-language communications. The language of the country of destination may be employed, if the Cable Letter service is in operation to that country. Subject to delivery at the convenience of the Company within 24 hours if telegraphic delivery is selected. Delivery by mail beyond London will be made if a full mailing address is given and the words "Post London" are written after the destination. Rate is approximately one-third of the full rate; minimum 20 words.

WEEK-END LETTERS

Similar to Cable Letters except that they are accepted up to midnight Saturday for delivery Monday morning, if telegraphic delivery is selected. Rate is approximately one-quarter of the full rate; minimum 20 words.

Sppt. 18th, 1931.

Mr. William Marshall Bullitt,
Stockbridge, Mass.

Dear Mr. Bullitt:-

My stenographer is out of the office to-day, and you will therefore understand why this letter has the appearance of being written by a novice with the typewriter.

I was sorry that I could not stop off and visit you, but had to get home, as I must be in Middlesboro to-morrow.

I had wanted to have a very frank talk with you, but as you will possibly be away for some time yet, I am writing you.

I have been under some considerable embarassment recently because I have felt that you have changed your mind about the proposed partnership, and did not know just how to make this fact known to me. In other words I have been embarassed because you seemed to be embarassed about the matter.

The purpose of this letter is to help you in this respect. I want you to believe that I speak the absolute truth when I tell you that if for any reason you have concluded that you do not desire, or can not afford to go on with the proposition, it will make no difference whatever, so far as I am concerned, in our relations. I do not even expect you give me any reason. The business is yours, and I have always felt that probably you would regret such anx arrangement after it was made, and if you have any doubts about the matter it is best for both of us that we forget the matter.

I hope I have made myself clear. I am not ~~chagrained~~ chagrined, I only want you to feel perfectly free to do what you want to do without feeling embarassed, or under any obligations to me. You are under no such obligation, and I do not want you to feel as if you are.

With best wishes, I am,

Your friend,

W. J. Fields
Olive Hill, Kentucky

Sept. 11th, 1931.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
United States District Court,
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Judge:

Your kind letter of the 5th inst with inclosure has been received and I thank you from the bottom of my heart for both. Your letter to the President was splendid indeed and I feel that it should and will be, more effective than any other indorsement that has gone forward.

I realized from the beginning the importance of having the support of the United States Senators from Kentucky and my first act in my campaign to secure this appointment was to wire both Barkley and Logan. They have each forwarded his indorsement of me to the President.

I have written several of my former associates in Congress, who are still members and expect to write several more.

Thanking you again for your kindly interest in me and assuring you of my high regard for you, I am,

Yours very truly,

W. J. Fields

RALPH GILBERT
8TH DIST. KENTUCKY

HOME ADDRESS:
SHELBYVILLE, KENTUCKY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

~~Washington, D. C.~~
Shelbyville, Kentucky.
September 7, 1931.

Mr. Sam T. Castleman,
R. F. D.,
Shelbyville, Kentucky.

Dear Mr. Castleman:

Several of our friends have spoken about the desire of Judge Charles I. Dawson to move to Shelby County to make his home. No doubt, if Judge Dawson decides to do this, he would want Shelby County to be in his Federal District. Under Congressional courtesy, these matters are usually left to the Congressman, if he resides in that County. Shelby County, as you recall, is located so that it can be attached to either Judge Cochran's district or Judge Dawson's district without inconvenience to our people.

In view of the splendid standing of Judge Dawson and his reputation upon the Bench, it would be a pleasure for me to suggest to the Congress that Shelby County be added to Judge Dawson's district, if it is the desire of Judge Dawson that this be done. As you will probably see him, I wish you would convey to him my attitude in the matter.

I am, with kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

Ralph Gilbert

Sept. 5th, 1931.

Hon. W. J. Fields,
Olive Hill, Ky.

Dear Governor:-

Major Helburn has just told me of the fact that your friends plan to present your name to the President for appointment as a member of the Tariff Commission to succeed Mr. Dennis.

If there is anything in the world I can do to help you, do not fail to let me know.

I am enclosing herewith copy of letter I have just written to the President.

I think it will be absolutely necessary for you to have the indorsment of the two Senators from Kentucky, but I presume you have attended to that.

As the appointment will go to some Democrat, it occurs to me that you would do well to get a number of your former associates in Congress, who are still members interested in your behalf.

With best wishes, I am,

Your friend,

Sept. 5th, 1931.

The President,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:-

I have just learned that the friends of Hon. William J. Fields, former Governor of Kentucky, will present his name to you for appointment as a Democratic member of the Tariff Commission to succeed Mr. Dennis, and I am writing to express my indorsement of Governor Fields.

I was his Republican opponent when he was elected Governor of Kentucky, but this fact does not blind me as to his character.

He is a man of great common sense, just and honorable, and has had wide experience in public life. He was a member of Congress from the Ninth Kentucky District for many years before he became Governor, and the fact that he has never been defeated in a final election attests the confidence the people generally have in him.

If you should determine to appoint him, I believe the appointment would be favorably received by both major political parties in Kentucky.

Very Sincerely,

(Chas. I. Dawson)

W. J. Fields
Olive Hill, Kentucky

Sept. 3rd, 1931.

Major E.S.Helburn,
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Major:

Your kind favor of the Ist inst, with inclosures, has been received and all have been read with interest. you have my heart felt thanks. It was both thoughtful and good of you to write Mr.Lucas.

You will know better than I could possibly know, the Republicans whos indorsements would be most helpful to me and any additional indorsements that you might procure for me would be deeply appreciated.

I have a feeling that the indorsement from your party that I would appreciate next to yours would be the indorsement of Judge Dawson. The Judge has been so excedingly nice to me at every opportunity since our contest for Governor that I have long since formed a profound admiration for him and because of that fact, aside from the very great weight I know his indorsement would carry, I have a desire to have him listed amongst my supporters and to have a copy of his indorsement to place along with yours in my special files to pass on to my children and grand children. If you can get same for me be assured that it will be appreciated.

Mrs.Fields read your letter and enclosures with it with very great interest and joins me in thanks to you for your indorsement to the President, your letter to Col.Lucas and your kind invitation to visit the Helburn home and we both hope that it may be our pleasure to doso ere long.

Sincerely your friend,

W. J. Fields

LAW OFFICES OF
ERNST, CASSATT & COTTLE

RICHARD P. ERNST
ALFRED C. CASSATT
FRANK W. COTTLE

FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
CINCINNATI

April 20, 1931.

PERSONAL

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
United States Court,
Paducah, Kentucky.

My dear Judge:

Your letter of April 19th is just at hand.

I am very sorry indeed you did not reach me over the phone. I was told long distance wanted me and at once called up long distance and through some error on the part of that office, they had no record whatever of the place from which the call came, so I had no idea who was calling.

If you remain in Paducah during the week, I fear that I will not be able to see you until the latter part of the week beginning Sunday, May 3rd or the early part of the week following, as I leave next Sunday for Washington to attend the Gridiron Dinner April 27th, Monday, the dinner having been postponed on account of Nick Longworth's death.

I note what you say and of course will make no mention of the matter. Just as soon as I find that I am coming home, will wire you.

I trust you are taking good care of yourself. I noticed some of the Louisville Judges have their hands full at the present time.

With my kindest, not only to you, but to the family, I am

Sincerely yours,

Richard P. Ernst

P. S.
My address in Washington will be Willard Hotel.

E JD

M. H. THATCHER
5TH DISTRICT KENTUCKY

MEMBER
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

500 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 10, 1930.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
U. S. District Court,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Judge Dawson:

Your letter of January 28, relative to H. R. 16335, has been received.

It is hardly likely that any action will be taken on the measure at this late date. However, I should like to discuss the bill with you at some convenient time during the summer when I am in Louisville. I expect to return some time after the adjurnment of the present Sessions of Congress.

Yours very truly,

M. H. Thatcher

M. H. THATCHER
5TH DISTRICT KENTUCKY

MEMBER
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
500 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 22, 1931.

Judge A. J. M. Cochran,
Maysville, Kentucky.

My dear Judge Cochran:

Your letter of the 20th instant has been received.

As you have doubtless noted in the press, the House Judiciary Committee, acting upon the recommendation of the Council of Judges, and also upon my suggestion, that the Department of Justice be asked for up-to-date recommendations touching the three judgeships for Kentucky and new places for the holding of terms of court within the State, -- has concluded to "lay on the table," or postpone consideration of the Thatcher bill and the recent Langley bill until the Department of Justice can make a further study and report.

COPY

This will have the effect of putting these matters over until the next Session of Congress. New bill will have to be introduced if the subjects are to be considered.

Some time during the summer, if it may be convenient, I should be very glad to have a conference with Judge Dawson and yourself concerning these matters. I should like to discuss, in detail, with both of you the features involved.

I have no interest except that of trying to work out the best solution of the whole problem and how to do it.

As an original proposition, I would not have placed in my bill all of the places for holding court in the two districts; but the measure commanded the support of all but three or four of our Kentucky members of the House and this support enable me to make a successful fight to prevent the passage of the third district bill. The survey of the situation by the Department of Justice concerning the additional places for holding court in the two districts and its report thereon should help to adjust this feature.

I fail to understand your suggestion that my bill transfers Marion, Adair and Casey counties from the Western district to the eastern district. This is not the case. Seethe measure, H. R. 11638, copy of which was sent you last year.

I believe, as you suggest, that it may be impossible to secure the passage of a bill for a third judge for the state unless there is made some concession for additional places for holding terms of court; and I believe to a reasonable extent the desire for additional courts is justified.

Our friend Mr. Bailey P. Wootton, who at the last Session favored Mrs. Langley's bill for a thrid district, now says he prefers my bill for a third judge, and he has urged me to press same for enactment at the present Session. Also the Hazard Bar Association has recently passed resolutions to the same effect. However because of the action of the House Judiciary Committee, already mentioned, nothing may now be done until next Session.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Judge Dawson for his information.

Mrs. Thatcher joins me in kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

M. H. THATCHER.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
U. S. District Court,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Judge Dawson:

The foregoing is for your information,

3rd Dis

M. H. THATCHER
5TH DISTRICT KENTUCKY

MEMBER
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
500 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PERSONAL. January 12, 1931.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Judge Dawson:

Yours of January 2d was received. Before answering, I have been trying to get certain information. Hence, an earlier acknowledgment has not been made.

I have had several conferences with Judge Graham, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee; some days ago, he referred the new Langley Bill and the Thatcher Bill to the Department of Justice for report and recommendation. I told him that such reference would bring from Judge Cochran and yourself your respective views on the two measures. I suggest, therefore, that you promptly communicate such views to the Department of Justice if the Department has asked you therefor; and if the Department has not asked you for your views, I am suggesting that you at once address a letter to Judge George S. Graham, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, setting forth your views on the new Langley Bill, H.R. 15144, herewith enclosed, and on my Bill, H. R. 11638, introduced last April, copy of which you have. I have introduced no new Bill.

In such letter, you can indicate your renewed approval of the Thatcher Bill touching its provisions for a third Judge for the State, with a statement of your views concerning the places and times for holding Court in the Western District.

You can send the letter for Judge Graham to me, and I can deliver it to him for Committee use. He wants the views of Judge Cochran and yourself, and has assumed that the Department would call on you therefor; but if you are not called on by the Department, I know that he desires me to secure your views in this direct way.

I do not believe you and Judge Cochrane may ever realize the difficult fight I had last Session to prevent the Third District Bill from going through. The introduction of my Bill for Third Judge, together with the support I was able to present to the Committee in support thereof, brought about a strong Minority Report in favor of that measure upon the SubCommittee involved. Hence, while the Third District Bill received a favorable report from the majority of the SubCommittee and full Committee, my Bill also received a strong minority report from the full Committee; and in addition, I was able to enlist for my Bill the support of nearly all the members of our Kentucky House Delegation. This situation enabled me to protect matters before the Rules Committee, and also, on the Unanimous Consent Calendar, from which Calendar the Third District Bill was recently dislodged.

Hence, the proponents of that Bill announced their intention of pressing it no farther.

In preparing my Bill, I sought to meet the strongest arguments presented by Senator Robsion and Mrs. Langley in favor of their Bill. They both earnestly insisted that the Courts "be carried to the people." I fully sympathized with this idea to the extent that the suggestion may be reasonable and practicable, and to meet this phase, I included the additional points for the holding of terms in the Eastern and Western Districts. Congressman Craddock, who desired to support my Bill, was exceedingly anxious for the place in his District- the Fourth Congressional- and suggested Elizabethtown and I accepted his suggestion. Congressman Kincheloe wished that Hopkinsville in his - the Second Congressional District- be named as the place for the Court, and this suggestion I also accepted. The additional places for holding Court in the Eastern District, as provided in my Bill, were those named in the Third District Bill, with the exception of Paintsville. My understanding was that Judge Cochrane would be willing to hold Court wherever Congress thought Court should be held.

The proponents of the Third District Bill, apparently, sought to impress the Committee with the idea that you and Judge Cochran were selfish about the matter, and were willing to subject the general public to great inconvenience and hardship in order that your own comfort and convenience might be served. Even now, I do not believe that you and Judge Cochran should be too exacting touching the matter of new places for the holding of Court. I have said to the Committee that (as you have pointed out) Courts can be cheapened by terms at too many places. However, I believe that undoubtedly Pikeville should be named as a place for the holding of Court and perhaps, Pineville or Somerset.

In the Western District, I have thought there was a fair need for a Court either at Hopkinsville or Madisonville. Madisonville proponents, at the last Session, made a pretty fair case for their city. In my Bill, nevertheless, I permitted Congressman Kincheloe's preference to prevail.

I should like to have your own reaction as to which is the preferable place, Madisonville, or Hopkinsville. I have not talked with Congressman Dorsey about the matter, as I have not had the opportunity as yet. He may insist on one or the other place, or else, he might oppose my Bill.

I have not seen Mr. Craddock, either. I have not seen him for some time, and I do not know whether he is in Washington must now. He has been in Kentucky, I am sure. Unless a substantial agreement may be reached by the Kentucky Delegation in the Two Houses, it will not be possible to secure at this Session an enactment of any measure for a Third Judge. I have talked to Senator Barkley, and have asked his attitude on my Bill. He kept the matter under advisement for several days, and when I again talked with him, he seemed to be in Doubt as to what should be done. He asked me what was the present attitude of Judge Cochran and yourself, and I told him I would undertake to ascertain. Hence, I am sending a copy of this letter to Judge Cochran for his general information, and what I say to you, I am saying to him. If he has not communicated his views recently to the Department of Justice, I want his to write a letter to Judge Graham to be sent to me for delivery - so that these views concerning the new Langley Bill as well as the Thatcher Bill may now be disclosed.

If you and Judge Cochran are indifferent about the creation of a Third Judgship, I am not inclined to push my Bill any farther - at least at this Session.

I had a letter from Mr. Bailey P. Wooton dated the 5th Inst., in which he asks me to push my Bill and he says that he prefers my Bill to the new Langley Bill because my Bill gives his people the relief afforded by the extra Judge. He asks me to push my Bill, and to try to get it enacted at this Session. Of course my Bill as drawn provides for Court to be held at Hazard. I felt inclined to make this concession as to Hazard in the effort to reach a solution of the numberless problems involved.

In Mrs. Langley's old Bill, as proposed under an amendment thereto, suggested bby Congressman Walker, and accepted by Mrs. Langley, Danville would be a place for the holding of Court. In Mrs. Langley's new Bill, only Hazard and Pikeville are added as places for the holding of Court. Also, in that Bill, the two Kentucky Districts maintain, I believe, geographical boundaries the same as now abtain. You can compare and verify.

Probably Congressman Finley will want Court terms for Pineville and Somerset, or at least one of the places. This was his attitude at the last Session.

Please let me hear from you promptly. I am wondering whether you and Judge Cochran might with to come before the House Judiciary Committee, shortly, and be heard. I think you and I had some discussion touching this feature, last fall. Mrs. Langley is actively pushing her new Bill.

Yours very truly,

M. H. Thatcher

Louisville, Ky.,
January 2, 1930.

Hon. John L. Dorsey, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:-

I have your letter of December 30th about the third Judge bill, and thank you for writing me.

Personally, I am very much opposed to the provision in the Thatcher Bill, creating courts at Elizabethtown and Hopkinsville. There is no excuse whatever for establishing these two courts. Neither the business nor the convenience of the litigants demand it.

Otherwise, I favor the bill, except that I agree with Judge Cochran that the provisions in the new measure, establishing courts at Pineville, Danville, Somerset and Hazard, are inadvisable. I understand that the substitute bill also takes Adair, Casey and Marion out of my district and places them in his district. He is opposed to this, and I see no reason why this should be done. Of course, that change was made in order to create an argument for the establishment of a court at Danville.

I wish you would send me a copy of the substitute Thatcher Bill, and after I have seen it, I will write you fully my views. It might not be advisable to make the views expressed in this letter public until I have had an opportunity to study the substitute.

With best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

CID-B

Chas. I. Dawson

Louisville, Ky.,
January 2, 1931.

Hon. M. H. Thatcher, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Thatcher:-

In view of the fact that Mrs. Langley has abandoned her bill, I presume there may be some chance of your bill, creating a third Judge for Kentucky, passing.

Personally, I think we need the relief provided for in your bill, but there is no excuse whatever for a court at Elizabethtown or at Hopkinsville. Any disinterested lawyer in the district will tell you this to be true. The section immediately around Elizabethtown, in the whole time that I have been upon the bench, has not furnished enough business to keep me busy as much as three days, and the establishment of a court at this place, it seems to me, would be thoroughly unjustifiable from any viewpoint whatever. While the section around Hopkinsville has furnished slightly more business than has Elizabethtown, there is no excuse whatever for a court at that place, and the only sentiment back of it is one of local pride of the Hopkinsville people. Owensboro, Bowling Green and Paducah, at which places we already have courts, are sufficiently close to meet all the needs of that section. If there is any chance to pass this bill, I certainly trust that these two proposed courts will be eliminated.

The time of holding courts in my district could, to advantage, be rearranged to some extent, and I would like for you to amend your bill so that the terms of court at Louisville shall be the second Monday in March and the first Monday in October; at Paducah, the third Monday in April and the second Monday in November; at Owensboro, the first Monday in May and the fourth Monday in November; and at Bowling Green, the third Monday in May and the second Monday in December.

I am in receipt of a letter from Judge Cochran, in which he very much opposes the provision of your bill which establishes courts at Hazard, Pineville and Somerset. He also is under the impression that a substitute bill has been proposed for your bill, which, in addition to the places named, establishes a court at Danville and transfers Adair, Casey and Marion Counties from my district to his district. I agree with Judge Cochran in

his contention that there is no necessity for a court at Danville, Pineville, Somerset or at Hazard, and I further agree with him that there is no necessity for transferring the counties of Adair, Casey and Marion to the Eastern District. If your bill has been amended, or if a substitute bill has been prepared, will you please be kind enough to send me a copy of same?

I have no objection whatever to establishing courts at places where there is any real public necessity therefor, and I am sure Judge Cochran has no such objection, but this business of filling the districts with courts, where there is no public necessity therefor, not only adds to the public expense, but it has a tendency to cheapen and belittle Federal Courts.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Chas. I. Dawson

CID-B

Louisville, Ky.,
January 2, 1931.

Judge A. M. J. Cochran,
Maysville, Ky.

Dear Judge:-

I have your letter of December 31st, relative to the Thatcher Bill, providing for another Judge in Kentucky.

I am in favor of another Judge for Kentucky, with jurisdiction co-extensive with the two districts, but, like you, I am very much opposed to those provisions of the Thatcher Bill establishing additional places of holding court. For instance, in my district he provides for a court to be held at Elizabethtown and for another at Hopkinsville, neither of which sections will provide enough business to keep me at either place half a day.

I can very readily understand your objection to the establishment of a court at Pineville, Hazard, Danville and Somerset. Personally, I can see no use for the establishment of a single one of these courts. The truth about the matter is, there is no necessity whatever for a court at Richmond. As an original proposition, it would be much more desirable, of course for court to be held at Hazard than at Jackson, and at Pineville than at London; but certainly there is no excuse for holding court both at Jackson and Hazard, nor at London and Pineville, and of course it is out of the question to try to abolish the Jackson and London courts, substituting therefor courts at Hazard and Pineville.

I am writing to the Congressman and to Senator Barkley and Senator Williamson, giving them my views on the subject. Personally, I doubt if the bill will pass. I imagine the Democrats entertain a very lively hope that they can elect the next President, and if so, it is likely that their inclination will be to postpone action, hoping that they may place on the bench a Democrat instead of a Republican.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

CID-B

Chas. I. Dawson

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE'S CHAMBERS
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA
MIAMI, FLORIDA

HALSTED L. RITTER, JUDGE

October 14, 1930.

Honorable Charles I. Dawson,
United States District Judge,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Judge:

I received your first communication with reference to the bills pending in Congress for the increase of District Judges' salaries the day before I left on my vacation. I, however, dictated and sent out to the Senators and Congressmen of Florida a letter in accord with the information you gave me. During my vacation period answers were received from Senators Park Trammell and Duncan U. Fletcher, stating that they would favor the Wagner Bill. Also from Congressmen Tom Yon, Herbert J. Drane and Ruth Bryan Owen, each stating they favored and would support the Wagner Bill.

I thank you for taking an interest in this matter, as naturally I am in accord with your views.

I received yours of September 15th upon my return a few days ago, explaining the present situation. Anything I can further do to assist, please call on me.

Very truly yours,

Halsted L. Ritter

LAW OFFICES OF
ERNST, CASSATT & COTTLE

RICHARD P. ERNST
ALFRED C. CASSATT
FRANK W. COTTLE

FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
CINCINNATI

July 30, 1929

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
United States Court,
Louisville, Ky.

My dear Charlie:

I was glad to see your interesting family at the Phoenix Hotel yesterday. You ought to feel very proud of your wife and children.

I am enclosing a check to the order of Richard for One Hundred Dollars, which, tell him, he must put in his savings bank and keep there until he is twenty-one.

I am also enclosing check for Fifty Dollars payable to Miss _____ Dawson, and I want you to insert your daughter's name. Tell her if she had been named for me she would have received more.

I sincerely hope that you are feeling better.

Sincerely yours,

Richard P. Ernst

Enclosures
RPE/IMS

Louisville, Ky.,
August 1, 1929.

Senator R. P. Ernst,
First National Bank Bldg.,
Cincinnati, O.

My dear Senator Ernst:-

Your letter of July 30th, enclosing checks for Richard and Eleanor, was duly received, and they of course were delighted. I think they have both written you, and I presume you have received their letters by this time. Of course, Mrs. Dawson and I appreciate very much this evidence of your interest.

I sincerely trust that you will continue to enjoy the good health you seemed to be enjoying when we saw you at Lexington the other day.

With best wishes, I am,

Your friend,

CID-B

G. L. DRURY
ATTORNEY
PHONE 275
MORGANFIELD, KY.

April 23rd, 1930

Hon. Charles I. Dawson,
U.S. District Judge,
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Judge:-

It seems that Judge Parker is not going to be confirmed by the Senate and I take this means of suggesting to you my sincere wish that you permit your name to be presented to the President for this appointment and accordingly I have written a friend of yours in Louisville to see you about this matter and I believe that if this movement is started that you will be pleased with the response.

I have always felt that ultimately you would land upon the Supreme bench but the opportunity is not always open and this now seems to me the best time and I am heartily for you and trust that your friends will start this movement.

I want to assure you that I will do all in my power to secure endorsements in this section and know it will take very little effort because everybody would be unanimous. Trusting that this matter may receive your approval and that a movement will be started in which I will be glad to do anything I am called upon, I am

Your friend,

G. L. Drury

GLD/RBB

M. H. THATCHER
5TH DISTRICT KENTUCKY

MEMBER
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

500 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PERSONAL

April 17, 1930.

Judge Chas. I. Dawson,
Custom House, Louisville, Ky.

My dear Judge Dawson--

Today Congressmen Blackburn, Newhall, Kendall, and Craddock joined me in a letter-statement opposing the bills for a third district and urging favorable action on my bill for a third judge, H. R. 11638.

In the face of the showing that we are making before the subcommittee I fail to see how it can favorably report either the Langley or Bachmann bill, though Mrs. Langley seems to be very confident that her bill will be enacted into law. I am sure that her case is not as strong with the subcommittee as it was a few days ago, though she may hope to win them back, and may be relying on some other source of backing or support. Very likely she and Senator Robinson may have sought to enlist the support of the President, and through him, the approval of the Attorney General. Further, the Senator may undertake to get a favorable report on the Sackett bill--identical with the Langley bill--at the hands of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and passage of the measure by the Senate. This would be a very strong start toward securing passage by the House, and approval by the President, of the bill.

I do not understand why the Senator should make such a desperate fight for the third district bill. He seems to think that there is absolutely no need for relief so far as the courts of the Western district are concerned, and that only is there any need for relief in Southeastern Kentucky. If there are any attorneys, or others there, who feel free to communicate with him, and who may urge that there is quite as much need for relief in the Western district as in the Eastern, this might prove helpful. However strong our case may seem to be on the record, nothing should be taken for granted. He and Mrs. Langley seem to think that the political situation absolutely requires the creation of the new district, but I fail to see how this may be the case. Thus far they are altogether unwilling to consider the additional judge proposition, which is manifestly the fair and equitable solution. I regret very much to have to oppose them, but my duty to my district, and to the State itself, as I see it, impels me to pursue the course which I am pursuing.

Yours, very truly,

M. H. Thatcher

M. H. THATCHER
5TH DISTRICT KENTUCKY

MEMBER
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

Answer when he gets back from Paducah

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

500 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 7th, 1930.

PERSONAL

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Custom House,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Judge Dawson:

I appeared before the Sub-Committee today, and opposed the creation of the new judicial district in Kentucky, and urged a third district judge, with some increased places for holding court in South-Eastern Kentucky, as the best solution for congestion of business in the two present districts.

Congressman Blackburn indicated his opposition to the Langley bill and Judge S. M. Wilson and Mr. Yantis of Lexington, Mr. Calvert, attorney of Pineville, and Judge Charles Kerr of Lexington and Washington, also appeared in opposition to the bill. Mrs. Langley Bailey Wooten of Hazard, Kentucky, Mr. Everlin of Hazard, and Senator Robsion appeared in behalf of the measure; also Congressmen Finley and Walker.

In response to the arguments of Mrs. Langley and Senator Robsion that the courtshould be carried to the people of South-Eastern Kentucky, I made the point that the creation of a third judge and the designation of additional court centers in South-Eastern Kentucky would carry the court to the people fully as much as the creation of a new district, and would, at the same time, give substantial relief to the Western district.

I read to the sub-committee your letters of January 28th and April 3d, 1930, and had them placed in the Record. I also emphasized the fact that only by the creation of a third judge could the Western district secure any substantial relief.

Mrs. Langley filed a printed brief with the sub-committee, a copy of which I enclose. From the figures (page 8) it seems that the volume of both civil and criminal business in the Eastern district, very materially exceeds the volume in the Western district.

Members of the sub-committee were inclined to draw the conclusion from these figures, that the Eastern district was pretty badly congested, but that the Western district was not. I assured the sub-committee that your work was heavy, and that civil cases in your court, on the whole, were perhaps, more important than those of the Eastern district; that Louisville as a growing city would bring about a greater and greater increase in the business of your court, and that no geographical allignment could be depended on for material relief.

I also indicated to the Committee that I would prepare and introduce a bill providing for the creation of a third judge, so that the sub-committee and the full committee, would have, squarely before them, both propositions. This measure I hope to introduce shortly. It will take a little time to prepare it.

Mrs. Langley offered an amendment to her bill to change Shelby County from the Eastern to the Western district. She told me privately that this was in accordance with your wishes. This I do not understand. Shelby County would add to the work of the Western district, and the proposed Eastern district will have little enough work to do, if established. Also, Congressman Craddock who expressed no opinion touching the need for a new judicial district, suggested an amendment to the Langley bill to take from the proposed Eastern district Green and Nelson counties, and put them in the Western district, where they now are. If these amendments should prevail, this would leave the proposed Eastern district with a very small percentage of the state's judicial business. This, of course, I pointed out to the sub-committee.

I am very sorry that the Louisville Bar Association and the Bars of other important Western district centers, did not in any formal way, register their opinion on the questions involved. I again filed the printed brief prepared two years ago, in behalf of the Louisville Bar Association; but that brief should have been brought down to date. The failure of any representative of the Louisville Bar Association to appear here today, gave to the sub-committee, I fear, the impression that the Louisville Bar has no special interest in the matter. For this reason, I communicated with you and Mr. Middleton some days ago, with the hope that some such representative should appear here today, with complete data and figures. It would be well, even yet, for the Bars of the principal Western district cities to send, at once, wires, or special delivery letters, to the chariman of the sub-commitee, Hon. Charles A. Christopherson, 469 House Office Building, protesting against the creation of a third district, and advocating the creation of a new judgship with state wide jurisdiction.

Mrs. Langley, Senator Robsion, and the other proponents of the Langley bill are working unceasingly to secure a favorable report on that measure.

I feel that I have not had the proper support from the Western district Bar, if the Western district Bar is opposed to the creation of a new judicial district. I have, however, presented the case for the Western district, to the best of my ability; and I believe that the opponents of the new district proposal made the strongest and best showing before the sub-committee, today, though it remains to be seen how the sub-committee will react to the testimony.

I have written you rather fully so that you, and others there, who may be interested, may have this information.

Sincerely yours,

M H Thatcher

FREDERIC M. SACKETT, KY., CHAIRMAN
FREDERICK HALE, ME. CLAUDE A. SWANSON, VA.
HENRY W. KEYES, N. H. HARRY B. HAWES, MO.
GUY D. GOFF, W. VA.

R. P. GREEN, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

April 29,1929

Judge Chas. I.Dawson,
United States Judge,
Louisville, Ky.

My dear Judge:

Your good letter of April 25th came in this morning. I appreciate all you say about the situation in Kentucky,but there is this to be said: The Courier-Journal and Louisville Times have apparently deliberately gone out to defeat the Republican Party in Kentucky by indicating to the rank and file over the State that there is a serious split in the Party and that Robsion and I are at dagger's point.

I am inclined to think, though I do not know,that they feel that the nomination of Robsion would be bad for them and that they are playing their own game. I know that he made the statement that you refer to. I saw in the paper where I was quoted, but I can say that I have given no interview and have taken no part in the publicity. You can not,however, prevent papers from quoting or pretending to quote, when there isn't any basis for it.

The patronage situation, if it may be called such in Washington, is complicated but it is going to work out properly. We are in nearly the same situation with every State. Nobody has been recognized from a political standpoint as yet and even the State of Michigan which gave him 750,000 has not obtained a single place because the President has certain definite ideas whichhe wants to carry out.

I hope our people will have patience and will not be misled by poison propaganda which the Democratic journals are trying their best to spread. As soon as anything develops you will know about it and I am sure will feel that the right thing has been done.

I send you this letter in order that our good friends, whom you see frequently, may know that while we are not landed yet we are sitting pretty and that patience is needed.

With best wishes,

Sincerely Yours,

Frederic M. Dalkatto

Form 1206-A

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		FULL RATE	
DAY LETTER		DEFERRED	
NIGHT MESSAGE		CABLE LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER		WEEK END LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

NO.	CASH OR CHG.
	CHARGE
CHECK	
TIME FILED	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

HONORABLE WILLIAM D. MITCHELL
ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON D C

WITHOUT SUGGESTION OR SOLICITATION FROM ANY PERSON WE DESIRE TO EXPRESS TO YOU AND TO THE PRESIDENT OUR INDORSEMENT OF JUDGE CHARLES I DAWSON FOR SOLICITOR GENERAL STOP HE IS A MAN OF UNQUESTIONED INTEGRITY AND OF GREAT LEGAL ABILITY STOP HIS RECORD AS ATTORNEY GENERAL OF KENTUCKY IS UNEXCELLED AND HE IS HELD IN THE HIGHEST REGARD BY THE CITIZENRY BENCH AND BAR OF THIS STATE STOP WE REGARD HIM AS FULLY QUALIFIED IN EVERY RESPECT TO MAKE AN ABLE SOLICITOR GENERAL

J W CAMMACK
Attorney General of Kentucky
M. B. HOLIFIELD
CLIFFORD E SMITH
SAMUEL B KIRBY JR
S H BROWN
GEORGE H MITCHELL ASST ATTORNEY'S GENERAL of Kentucky.

ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a message should order it repeated, that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this, one-half the unrepeated message rate is charged in addition. Unless otherwise indicated on its face, this is an unrepeated message and paid for as such, in consideration whereof it is agreed between the sender of the message and this company as follows:

1. The company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the unrepeated-message rate beyond the sum of five hundred dollars; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the repeated-message rate beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, *unless specially valued;* nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines; nor for errors in cipher or obscure messages.

2. In any event the company shall not be liable for damages for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of any message, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, at which amount each message is deemed to be valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing by the sender thereof at the time the message is tendered for transmission, and unless the repeated-message rate is paid or agreed to be paid, and an additional charge equal to one-tenth of one percent of the amount by which such valuation shall exceed five thousand dollars.

3. The company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this message over the lines of any other company when necessary to reach its destination.

4. Domestic messages and incoming cable messages will be delivered free within one-half mile of the company's office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or towns. Beyond these limits the company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender's request, as his agent and at his expense, endeavor to contract for him for such delivery at a reasonable price.

5. No responsibility attaches to this company concerning messages until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices; and if a message is sent to such office by one of the company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender.

6. The company will not be liable for damages or statutory penalties in any case where the claim is not presented in writing within sixty days after the message is filed with the company for transmission.

7. It is agreed that in any action by the company to recover the tolls for any message or messages the prompt and correct transmission and delivery thereof shall be presumed, subject to rebuttal by competent evidence.

8. Special terms governing the transmission of messages according to their classes, as enumerated below, shall apply to messages in each of such respective classes in addition to all the foregoing terms.

9. No employee of the company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY
INCORPORATED
NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

CLASSES OF SERVICE

TELEGRAMS

A full-rate expedited service.

NIGHT MESSAGES

Accepted up to 2:00 A.M. at reduced rates to be sent during the night and delivered not earlier than the morning of the ensuing business day.

Night Messages may at the option of the Telegraph Company be mailed at destination to the addressees, and the Company shall be deemed to have discharged its obligation in such cases with respect to delivery by mailing such night messages at destination, postage prepaid.

DAY LETTERS

A deferred day service at rates lower than the standard telegram rates as follows: One and one-half times the standard night letter rate for the transmission of 50 words or less and one-fifth of the initial rates for each additional 10 words or less.

SPECIAL TERMS APPLYING TO DAY LETTERS:

In further consideration of the reduced rate for this special Day Letter service, the following special terms in addition to those enumerated above are hereby agreed to:

A. Day Letters may be forwarded by the Telegraph Company as a deferred service and the transmission and delivery of such Day Letters is, in all respects, subordinate to the priority of transmission and delivery of regular telegrams.

B. This Day Letter is received subject to the express understanding and agreement that the Company does not undertake that a Day Letter shall be delivered on the day of its date absolutely, and at all events; but that the Company's obligation in this respect is subject to the condition that there shall remain sufficient time for the transmission and delivery of such Day Letter on the day of its date during regular office hours, subject to the priority of the transmission of regular telegrams under the conditions named above.

No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

NIGHT LETTERS

Accepted up to 2:00 A.M. for delivery on the morning of the ensuing business day, at rates still lower than standard night message rates, as follows: The standard telegram rate for 10 words shall be charged for the transmission of 50 words or less, and one-fifth of such standard telegram rate for 10 words shall be charged for each additional 10 words or less.

SPECIAL TERMS APPLYING TO NIGHT LETTERS:

In further consideration of the reduced rates for this special Night Letter service, the following special terms in addition to those enumerated above are hereby agreed to:

Night Letters may at the option of the Telegraph Company be mailed at destination to the addressees, and the Company shall be deemed to have discharged its obligation in such cases with respect to delivery by mailing such Night Letters at destination, postage prepaid.

No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

FULL RATE CABLES

An expedited service throughout. Code language permitted.

DEFERRED HALF-RATE CABLES

Half-rate messages are subject to being deferred in favor of full rate messages for not exceeding 24 hours. Must be in language of country of origin or of destination, or in French. This class of service is in effect with most European countries and with various other countries throughout the world. Full particulars supplied on application at any Western Union Office.

CABLE LETTERS

For plain-language communications. The language of the country of destination may be employed, if the Cable Letter service is in operation to that country. Subject to delivery at the convenience of the Company within 24 hours if telegraphic delivery is selected. Delivery by mail beyond London will be made if a full mailing address is given and the words "Post London" are written after the destination. Rate is approximately one-third of the full rate; minimum 20 words.

WEEK-END LETTERS

Similar to Cable Letters except that they are accepted up to midnight Saturday for delivery Monday morning, if telegraphic delivery is selected. Rate is approximately one-quarter of the full rate; minimum 20 words.

C O P Y

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 20, 1929.

Honorable J. W. Cammack,
Attorney General,
Frankfort, Kentucky.

My dear Mr. Attorney General:

I have the telegram of March 18th, signed by you and your assistants endorsing Honorable Charles I Dawson for appointment as Solicitor General, and am glad to have the benefit of your opinion.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM D. MITCHELL,
Attorney General.

JAMES W. CAMMACK
ATTORNEY GENERAL

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE
FRANKFORT, KY.

March 30, 1929.

M. B. HOLIFIELD
FIRST ASSISTANT
JAMES M. GILBERT
SECOND ASSISTANT
CLIFFORD E. SMITH
THIRD ASSISTANT
SAMUEL B. KIRBY, JR.
FOURTH ASSISTANT
S. H. BROWN
FIFTH ASSISTANT
GEO. H. MITCHELL
SIXTH ASSISTANT

Honorable Chas. I. Dawson,
Judge, U. S. District Court
of Western District of Kentucky,
Louisville, Kentucky.

Dear Judge:

I enclose herewith carbon copy of telegram sent by this Department to Honorable William D. Mitchell, Attorney General of the United States, and a copy of letter dated March 20th, received from Mr. Mitchell, in order that you may know exactly what were to Mr. Mitchell.

If there is anything else that we can do that you think will help you in getting the appointment as Solicitor General, please advise.

With very kind regards and best wishes,
I am,

Yours very truly,
Clifford E. Smith
Assistant Attorney General.

CES-CR

The President of the United States

Executive Mansion

Washington, D. C.

Sir:-

I have noticed in the past few days in the daily press the express and repeated mention of Judge Charles I. Dawson's name for Solicitor General of the United States, and if I may, I wish to say in this connection that no man stands higher or is held in greater esteem by the business men of this State than he.

He is finely qualified by exceptional advantages for such a place, and possesses real ability and fitness for large responsibilities. Few men have rendered more conspicuous service and his appointment could not fail to delight his people here and would give universal satisfaction to the entire South.

Assuring you my high regard, I am,

Yours very respectfully,

Eugene E. Hoge

Pres't.

Copy to Attorney General of U.S.

FREDERIC M. SACKETT, KY., CHAIRMAN
FREDERICK HALE, ME. CLAUDE A. SWANSON, VA.
HENRY W. KEYES, N. H. HARRY B. HAWES, MO.
GUY D. GOFF, W. VA.

R. P. GREEN, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

Washington, April 23, 1929

Hon. Charles I. Dawson,
United States Judge,
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Judge Dawson:

I have delayed acknowledgement of your wire of some days past in which you state your attitude in regard to the appointment as Solicitor General. I have been in close touch with Matt Chilton and have followed his lead as he had all the time been in close touch with you, advising me of your position in the matter.

I am sorry that circumstances developed in such a way that you felt it necessary to take the position you did, but in view of the situation as Chilton developed it in our conference with Members of the House I fear it was the wisest course. I hate to have these differences arising as I am sure, if united, we could put across a fine program.

I hope you are not overly disappointed and trust another opportunity will come to me to be of real service.

Most sincerely,

Frederic M. Sackett

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 11, 1929.

Edmund F. Trabue, Esq.,
C/o Messrs. Trabue, Doolan, Helm & Helm,
1210-1225 Inter-Southern Building,
Louisville, Kentucky.

Sir:

On behalf of the Attorney General, I acknowledge your letter of March 5th, written in the interest of Honorable Charles I. Dawson for appointment as Solicitor General of the United States.

You are assured that the Attorney General will give the qualifications of Mr. Dawson careful consideration when he submits his recommendation to the President.

Very truly yours,

John Marshall

John Marshall
Assistant Attorney General.

Feb. 7,1929.

Hon. Fred M. Sackett,
U. S. Senate,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I feel that it is not necessary for me to write you what I think about your offering for another term in the Senate. I think you know that, with present prospective entries, you would get my support. In fact it is my honest opinion that your very excellent record of business service demands an endorsement from the Party throughout the State, and certainly from elements who have heretofore been friendly to you.

I recognize the fact that there is a possibility of so dividing the Party from a geographical standpoint and then injecting other complications inherent in jealousy, ambition or revenge, as to make victory uncertain. But I believe that you have sufficient friends among the Party Leaders to forestall any fight within the Party, in which event proper organization should assure a Party triumph for you.

I am not much of a politician, and therefore not capable to offer suggestions as to the timeliness of your announcement, but it occurs to me that an early entry, with full understanding on the part of your friends, would conduce the elimination of complications.

With best wishes and kindest regards,

Yours very truly,

AYM:F

A. Y. Martin, Atty.

Dear Judge:
Blackburn told me you were desirous of seeing Sackett thru without opposition and I hope you and his other friends will be able to accomplish same. Please keep me advised if I can be of further assistance

J. U. WADE
REFEREE IN BANKRUPTCY
BOWLING GREEN, KY.

February 6, 1929.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Federal Building,
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Judge Dawson:-

I received your letter of the 4th on yesterday and immediately wrote Senator Sacket, a copy of which I enclose herewith. I am very glad to do all I can for the Senator, and sincerely hope we may be able to give him the nomination without opposition.

I had a talk with Judge Gilliam today. He is for Senator Sackett. In fact, he will be very strong in this section of the State.

I have mailed out all checks in the Kopel Bankruptcy and just as soon as they are all returned, I shall be ready to close the case and report to you.

I have arranged my work so as to be off for two weeks beginning next Sunday and, with your permission, I shall run down to Florida to see my son.

Yours very truly,

J. U. Wade

February 5th, 1929.

Senator Frederic M. Sackett,
United State Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:-

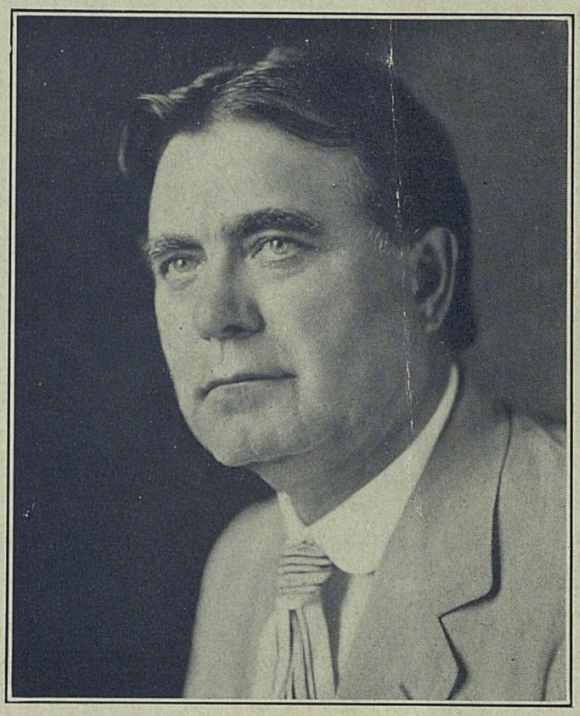
Just a line that you may know that I am for you for re-election and ready to do anything within my power to help you to get the nomination, which I hope may come to you without opposition.

If you need me for any purpose call on me. I shall be glad to go to Logan County for you in the event you should so desire.

With best wishes personally and with the hope that you may be renominated and elected, I am

Most Cordially yours,

J. U. Wade



Hon. William E. Borah

THE REAL REFERENDUM

An Address by

Senator Borah

Citizens Committee of One Thousand
Washington, D. C., January 6, 1927

The Real Referendum

Address by

Hon. William E. Borah

WE ARE going to hold a great national referendum in 1928. This may, or may not, be a matter of comfort to those who have recently disclosed an uncommon interest in certain kinds of referendums. In that year the American people will choose a President; every Member of the House of Representatives, and one-third of the Senate. The great political parties will put forth their platforms and make their appeal to the voters. It is the most impressive exertion of political power upon the part of the people that takes place in any country or under any flag. There is no finer exhibition of popular rule and I doubt if there can be a more accurate survey of public opinion than may be had in the choosing of a Chief Magistrate. If the issues are framed in sincerity and the political parties deal in candor, I know of no better method to test the sentiment or record the judgment of the American people. It is the way contemplated by the framers of our government, it harmonizes with the practice of more than a century, and its accuracy is such that no man need shrink from the test who believes in his principles and has confidence in the intelligence of the people. It is in this way that the great issues of the past have been settled. It was this tribunal which sat in judgment upon the alien and sedition laws, the bank of the United States, the extension of slavery, the preservation of the Union, and all the great problems, the settlement of which is now a matter of history. It is a source of great pride as we look back and of assuring confidence as we look forward that in these great contests the final judgment of the American people has been singularly free from error. Thomas Jefferson, who knew more about politics and people combined than any man of his time, if not all time, was never weary of saying that a free people should return from time to time to the consideration of first principles. It seems to me it would be well to have the judg-

ment of the American people upon some of these first principles in 1928.

I would refer to two of these first principles, two which to my mind are inseparably linked, and you will permit me therefore to somewhat broaden the discussion. The two great evils of free institutions against which all republics have had to contend are the evils of corruption and lawlessness. A lawless nation is inevitably a corrupt nation, and a corrupt nation is inevitably a lawless nation, and we who are interested in law enforcement had better dig down conscientiously to the foundation and see what it is with which we have to contend as a whole.

We are now passing through—I hope we are passing through—a period of unparalleled corruption, direct or consequential, in American politics. The employment of fabulous sums of money for the purpose of controlling elections and the astounding malfeasance in public office have made our days as days of prominence in perverted public service. The conditions are serious enough and our treatment of the evil bids fair to be correspondingly hesitant and ineffective. We seem prepared to say to the American people: We have succeeded in exposing a few individuals who have been guilty of exceptional misconduct and we will punish them as a warning for all men who would tarnish the purity of our politics. It is proper to deal with individuals but it would be nothing less than a surrender in the fight for clean government to stop there. The problem cannot be solved by dealing with individuals alone. The thing with which we have to contend is a system, a sordid system, of politics which if continued will in time seriously affect our whole fabric of government. I maintain our present deplorable and humiliating situation is the legitimate fruit of the practice of the last thirty years—the inevitable harvest of our own deliberate and persistent planting.

A gentleman in Chicago interested in certain lines of business contributes heavily to a friend's campaign who is in public position to serve his interests. This, sir, is fundamentally the basis of all these large campaign contributions. It was, and is, no different, bad as it is and indefensible as it is, from accepting contributions of those vitally concerned with tariff duties, the reduction of income taxes, the enforcement of trust laws, and like matters, as we are constantly doing in

every political campaign. We continue to tolerate this practice because during the last thirty years we have been inured to the program. But it is an insult to the intelligence and a challenge to the sense of decency of the American people to tell them that such a practice does not in the end bend their government in the direction of and to the service of selfish and special interests —bend it to the benefit of the few and to the injury and disparagement of the many.

The man in Pennsylvania who has been singled out for unfavorable comment from one end of the country to the other because of the unusually large sums of money he collected for use in the Pennsylvania primary campaign is the same gentleman who has been selected in many national campaigns to raise large sums of money and from the same people and for exactly the same purpose. I am familiar with his testimony and his work in both capacities and I find he went to the same class of contributors and doubtless with the same pledges in both state and national campaigns. It must have been a matter of some surprise to this veteran of many well-fought campaigns to find that his services were no longer appreciated and that there was a difference in morals and in law, between raising finances in a state for a primary and in a nation for the election of a national ticket. Let us look this matter square in the face. We have got to go farther and dig deeper if we are going to get at the roots of this evil. There is no difference, it seems to me, in morals in taking money from those interested in electing a Senator who, as they believe, will favor their interests, than taking money from the same people for the same purpose to secure the success of a party in national campaigns. I am not nearly so much concerned about direct and specific acts of corruption such as the buying of a vote or the buying of an individual public officer, as I am in that method which in a thousand subtle ways affects legislation and public administration. The people are interested and more permanently effected by the laws which we pass than by the defalcations of an individual. The question of public concern is: Do the laws enacted express the convictions of men free of all bias, obligations, conscious or unconscious, are they framed in the interests of the public, or are they framed in the interests of those who more than all others contribute to the successful

financing of the party? That is the problem which is really here, a problem which I trust is going to receive the consideration of the American people.

It is urged by some, and no doubt with sincerity, that if we repeal the Primary laws this will clean the Augean stables. The thing is not so simple. Is there no corruption in our politics save in the Primary? Have not the most astounding derelictions been elsewhere? One would suppose that the body politic were entirely free from the leprosy of venality save as to the Primary. These Primary expenditures are but items in the general indictment which stands against us. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Primary, its abandonment would not solve, or even start to solve, this problem. As a matter of fact, there never was and never can be a more available and efficient instrument for selfish and sinister politics than the modern political convention. Corruption seeks to concentrate power. It can deal most effectively where it can deal in secret and with a few. You will recall that in 1920 there was a deliberate and well-organized effort to buy the nomination for the Presidency. Those who were in that convention will never efface from their memory its sordid, covetous, atmosphere. We are still dealing with matters which were hatched in that convention. Let the machine be what it will, whether convention or primary, it will do the service of the system. There were no primaries in the days of Walpole, when the cashier is said to have stood in the gangway and paid off the Members of Parliament for their votes. There were no primaries in the days of George III when elections were controlled and Members managed through royal favors and money. No, the primary is not the scape-goat. It may go into the wilderness but our sins will remain. The prevalence of money in our politics springs from a more profound and more persistent cause. Its great underlying cause is the fact that the government is coming more and more to deal with and vitally affect all the private concerns, business and financial, more and more to control and shape the means and methods by which vast wealth may be acquired. Inevitably, under such circumstances there will be found those who seek to control the machinery which is supposed to control them. Inevitably there will be those also who go in that direction

for help and are willing that their campaigns be paid for by those most deeply interested. Men do not buy elections for amusement. They seek to control elections in order that they may control legislation and policies. This is a problem with which we have to deal. It is one of the problems growing out of the times and conditions in which we live. Its solution will go far toward answering the question still unanswered: Will democracy be able to cope with the problem of modern life?

Compared with the problems which these conditions present, compared with the task of insuring to the people of this country clean politics and clean government, of keeping the road to public honor open to merit and character, all other questions seem subordinate. Without a clean ballot and a clean government, there can be no democracy. If the popular will be thwarted through the interposition of the purchasable few, or be betrayed by those who have been trusted, democracy becomes first the tool of the selfish and the unscrupulous and at last the plaything of the mob. Economy, tax reduction, tariff, and kindred subjects, by no means unimportant, are nevertheless incidental to the obligation of keeping the ballot free from the dominance of money. These questions which have of late occupied our attention in campaigns have their place. But we must realize that there is something more. Man cannot live by bread alone. Business initiative and business organization are not to be disparaged but that which makes for stability of institutions, for permanent national wealth and power are clean government, clean politics and impartial administration of justice, and last but not least, law-abiding, clean, incorruptible citizens. We have learned in these days that laws do not of themselves protect property. We have learned that constitutions do not of themselves guarantee liberty or insure justice. We know, or ought to know, that title to property and security to life depend at last upon clean politics, in other words, upon the influence and forces which dominate politics. Political parties are quasi-governmental institutions. It is by means of parties that responsibility is attempted to be fixed for legislation, for administration, and for national policies. It seems a defect in our system to permit such quasi-governmental institutions to go about begging or accepting great gifts and donations, there-

by incurring obligations, expressed or implied—gifts and donations which, if given to an individual in public office, would be denounced as a bribe, as the worst form of corruption. Yet no public officer is more nearly related to the public interests and by no means so powerful in shaping public affairs as a great political organization. It must be a sound maxim of government that institutions which control legislation, direct administration, and sustain or defeat national policies, should not be financed by private capital. It would be infinitely better for the people of this country and it would come back to them a thousand times in the benefits of a clean public service to have these political parties treated as quasi-governmental institutions to the extent at least of the government taking care of the actual legitimate cost of a campaign rather than to encounter the evils of this private financing. When we contemplate the future with its stupendous business organizations and the natural dominancy of wealth, it seems utterly ruinous to consider that our political parties are to continue to be the recipients of the gifts and donations of great business interests. And lest I be misunderstood, I do not regard the business interests more to blame than political parties.

The people have a right to ask the political parties and the leaders how long we are going to accept locally or nationally contributions from those known to have special interests in or who are directly affected by legislation and the policies of the government. If this policy continues, legislation and administration will more and more record the fact. If we are not willing to change this practice, statutes passed in the interest of clean elections will be but of little avail, and ambassadorships, judgeships, marshalships, tariffs, trust legislation and the enforcement of trust laws will more and more record the influence of the practice. If this system is to be continued, the expelling of a Senator now and then, however thoroughly justified the proceedings of themselves may be, will in the end accomplish nothing more than satisfying for a season the righteous indignation of the people.

What program are the political parties going to present to the people on this important question in 1928? The time has come to deal with it in a national way and with all the moral force of the American people. The people will not be

content, in my judgment, with the dull generalities of the ordinary political platform. When the power of the people over their government is involved, they will not be satisfied with the pious declarations of their candidates denouncing corruption or the usual display of platitudinous hypocrisy that if our party gets in, it will clean out the rascals. This problem cannot be solved by resolutions in a political convention. It can only be solved by the thorough arousing of public opinion and by the absolute renunciation of the practices and policies which have so long obtained and the dreadful consequences which are all about us. It is the one great problem growing out of business and politics, one of the searching questions put up to us in a new form, and in an aggravating way never before experienced by any people. Athens could not solve the problem. The dying Demosthenes sent back his plea from the grave in vain. Rome could not solve the problem—even as Cicero exposed it with its evils and its widespread ramifications the people already infected were paying the forfeiture of their sins. But England has to a marked degree solved the problem. She has done so because of her sturdy and virile citizenship and because the great leaders came finally to understand that political parties had to make the renunciation. We have different elements here to contend with and different factors and all upon a more stupendous scale. But we, too, can solve the problem. We have the sturdy, virile, loyal people and they will respond to the call of duty. I am in favor of testing the judgment of the American people on this, the first principle of democracy.

My friends, may I invite your attention to another "first principle" to which under the admonition of the great political philosopher, Mr. Jefferson, and particularly under the circumstances and conditions now obtaining, we may profitably recur in 1928. We have lawlessness of individuals and enough in this country. It has been a subject of deep interest, if not of alarm, to journalists, and publicists and laymen alike. But the most significant and startling feature of this unwelcome phase in our national life is the proposal to elevate lawlessness into a principle of government and clothe it with all the sanctity of an inalienable right. If we pierce through the metaphysical maze which envelopes this convention, it will be found to amount to simply this:

If I do not like a law, it is my patriotic duty to disregard it, to break it, and to encourage all other people to do likewise.

I am not going to trespass upon your time by going back over the history of the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. Neither do I propose to discuss the wisdom or unwisdom of its adoption. That matter was settled according to our theory of government when it was adopted and cannot be an issue again until it is proposed to repeal it. It does not elucidate the theme which engages me tonight to discuss it. But there the amendment is, a part of the Constitution, the law of the land, binding every individual, every official, state or national, and striking down of its own force all laws in contravention of its terms. So long as it remains unchanged, no one can legally or morally manufacture or sell intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes anywhere within the wide domain of the United States. So long as this remains a government of law, there are only two things to do, enforce it or repeal it. Those who urge its repeal are acting within their undisputed rights, and as for me, I have no desire to criticize the course which they are taking. It is one of the blessings of free government that people have a right to urge the enactment and the repeal of laws.

But there is a different program proposed and to that I am going to direct attention for a brief moment. It is proposed by political leaders and educators to build up public opinion so as to make the Constitution a dead letter, not repeal it but disregard it. It is proposed to let it stand, and notwithstanding it remains a part of the Constitution, to nullify it, trample it under foot, and that it is contended is a wise and patriotic course to pursue and perfectly sound as a principle of free government.

Let me recur to the arguments and quote the language of those who insist upon this policy. I shall quote at random. "He who obeys a law which is wrong contributes by that to the final debacle, the intensity of which is increased because delayed by that obedience." This is an appeal, first, to law-breaking as a correct principle of government, and secondly, a denunciation of obedience to law, the rock foundation upon which republic rests. Who decides that the law is wrong? How do we decide that it is wrong? In a government of order and law that is decided

through the processes pointed out in the Constitution or the frame-work of government. In a government of disorder and violence, it is decided as here proposed, by every man taking the law into his own hands. You will readily recall conditions in countries where this vicious principle prevails. They are countries where property is the luxury of the strong, where the voice of the people is silent, and where security of life may be blown away by any faction coming into power.

"If a large number of citizens are convinced that the national prohibition act compels them to live lives of hypocrisy, cowardice, and servility, they will feel no moral obligation to observe the law. On the contrary, they will develop an esprit and morale in the breaking of it in the name of patriotism." Is this doctrine peculiar to a prohibition law? May it be limited in its effect to a prohibition law? If once the poison is put out, can you circumscribe its spread? If a number of citizens feel that our laws of property force them to live lives of servility and abject dependence, it is clearly their duty under this doctrine to develop an esprit and morale in breaking down such laws and all in the name of patriotism. There are plenty of people in the world, fortunately not many of them here, who think just that, and these same people who preach the above doctrine call upon us to crush them down as a menace to civilization. Break the law in the name of patriotism! The American system is to repeal the law in the name of patriotism. If you love the principles upon which this blessed Republic is founded, you will seek to obey the law until according to the processes of government the people in their wisdom see fit to repeal it. And if it is wrong, the people will repeal it, as the people do not want laws which are wrong in principle. There is no safer judge as to a righteous law than the judgment of the people, that vast mass of intelligence and character upon whom our institutions depend for perpetuity.

"Some people go so far as to say that this nullification of statutes is wrong in practice as well as theory; that the best way to get rid of a law is to enforce it. But the cost of trying to compel obedience to a law which violates the conscience of the considerable minority of the people or the traditional usages and privileges of anything like a majority is usually too great." This is the doctrine put out by a distinguished

educator whose business it is to train and direct the minds of American youth. In plain, unadorned language, this says that if a considerable crowd can be gathered together, they are perfectly justified in breaking the law, in defying the authorities. The learned Professor says nothing about the right and the power of the people to change laws, the right of the people to repeal laws, but assumes that the only way the people can deal with the law is to break it. There is no law upon the statute books which may not be repealed. There is no provision of the Constitution which may not be changed. I want to ask you: What would be the condition of this country in a single fortnight if every law displeasing to a considerable number of people were disregarded, some disregarding one law and some disregarding another? Whose home would be safe? Whose happiness would be secure? How long would we enjoy the blessings of orderly regulated liberty? And why does he speak of a "considerable minority"? If it is good, it is good as a matter of principle, not dependent upon numbers, and just as good for a single individual as for a group.

Again it is said: "The attitude (of those who disbelieve in the law) should be one of acquiescence in and encouragement of the process of nullification." Here is your doctrine. No repeal. No respect for the orderly processes of government, but nullification is the general law-breaking violence. By all means, let's have the judgment of the American people upon this policy. Let's recur to this "first principle" to find what the people think of this doctrine of lawlessness.

But let us turn from these teachings to saner counsel and to somewhat safer leadership. In one of the statements sent out to the country by those who are advocating the doctrine to which I have referred, you will find a sentence to this effect: "The nullification of the fugitive slave law developed men like Abraham Lincoln." This seems to be a clear statement to the effect that Abraham Lincoln, as to the fugitive slave law, advocated nullification. The very reverse is true —he gave his life for the integrity of the Constitution. As far back as in 1858 he declared in a public speech: "I have always hated slavery." I do not believe you will find among all his letters and public addresses the use of this word "hate," save in connection with the institution of slavery. The word seems never to have passed his lips

except when speaking of human bondage. He did hate slavery. But while he hated slavery, he was devoted to our institutions and believed in our Constitution. "I have always hated slavery but I have always been quiet about it until this new era. . . . By the Constitution all assented to it (slavery) in the State where it exists. We have no right to interfere with it because it is in the Constitution and we are by both duty and inclination bound to stick by that Constitution in all its letter and spirit from the beginning to the end."

Speaking of the fugitive slave law, he said: "We must not withhold an efficient fugitive slave law because the Constitution requires us, as I understand it, to withhold such a law." On one of the most notable occasions in his career, he declared: "Our safety, our liberty, depends upon preserving the Constitution of the United States as our fathers made it inviolate."

It does not seem to me quite fair to quote Abraham Lincoln in favor of nullification, for I take it that no severer test could have been placed upon his loyalty to the Constitution than to place slavery upon the one side and the Constitution upon the other and ask him to choose his course. He chose his course and never faltered. He did not belong to that group of political philosophers who think because a law is wrong that you have a right to defy it, and that because a constitutional provision does not suit your view of righteousness that you have a right to nullify it and trample it under foot.

"The basis of our whole political system is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutions of government—but the Constitution which at any time exists until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government." These are the words of one who knew something about Republics, for he, more than any other one man, helped to build the only real Republic that has ever existed upon this earth. He led our Revolutionary army to victory. He presided over the convention which framed the Constitution and he guided our nation through its first perilous years. He has won the right to speak and to speak to us. He speaks, in my judgment, the

true voice of the American people at this hour. He speaks for those principles of government under which we have gathered strength and won glory.

This is an infinitely greater question than the question of wet or dry, important as that may be. This involves the question of popular government, of a Government of law and orderly liberty. If we are unwilling to adopt the processes laid down in the Constitution in one instance, we undoubtedly will be in another. We are today one of the great powers, if not the greatest power upon the face of God's footstool. The influence and the prestige and the leadership and the might of the American people extend to the remotest corners of the earth. How did we get this power? How have we come to exercise the tremendous influence which we now have? Why do all the nations of the earth seek to emulate the American Republic? Because the basic principle of our civilization and the fundamental theory of our Government is obedience to the law as the people have written the law.

If there are those who sincerely believe that it is wise now at this time to engraft upon the doctrine of Washington the doctrine of nullification, the doctrine of personal lawlessness or group lawlessness, let them put forth their platform and name their candidate.

Citizens Committee of One Thousand

Headquarters:

66 Fifth Avenue

New York

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER, PA.
WILLIAM CABELL BRUCE, MD.
JANE DARNALL, CLERK

United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE
ON REVISION OF THE LAWS

March 21, 1927.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Charlie:

I want to thank you for your letter of March18th, enclosing clipping from the Louisville Times, in reference to my work in obtaining the new Code.

I don't hesitate to say that I want my friends to know the part I took in this work. I am responsible for it and am more than gratified that the work was completed during my term of office.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst

E JD

VIRGIL CHAPMAN
7TH DISTRICT KENTUCKY

HOME ADDRESS:
PARIS, KY.

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

COMMITTEES:
CENSUS
ELECTIONS NO. 1
MINES AND MINING

December 11, 1926.

Colonel Robert B. Franklin,
Attorney At Law,
Guaranty Bank Building,
Lexington,
Kentucky.

My dear Colonel Franklin:

I just received your letter, enclosing that of Honorable Robert G. Gordon, appealing for my support of the bill to increase the salaries of Federal Judges. The bill passed the House without a roll call while your letter was enroute to me. I am sure that it is needless for me to tell you that I supported this measure and advocated its passage. In fact, I was one of a rather small minority that voted for immediate consideration and passage of this bill before the adjournment of the long session last summer.

It is always most pleasing to have letters from you and I shall appreciate an expression of your opinion at any time on subjects of public interest.

Please remember me to Mrs. Franklin and Mrs. Feamster when you go home and write to me whenever you are interested in anything here.

Assuring you of my best personal wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Virgil Chapman

VC/FPD

JNO. W. MOORE
3D DIST. KENTUCKY

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

December 9,1926.

Mr.Coleman Taylor,
Russellville,Ky.

Dear Mr.Taylor:-

Your letter of December 7 has been received. When the bill to increase the salaries of Federal Judges is considered in the House I shall be glad to give it my support.

With best regards, I remain,

Very truly yours,

Jno. W. Moore

MAJORITY MEMBERS
MARTIN B. MADDEN, ILL.,
CHAIRMAN
DANIEL R. ANTHONY, JR., KANS.
WILLIAM S. VARE, PA.
WILLIAM R. WOOD, IND.
LOUIS C. CRAMTON, MICH.
EDWARD H. WASON, N. H.
WALTER W. MAGEE, N. Y.
GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM, MASS.
BURTON L. FRENCH, IDAHO
MILTON W. SHREVE, PA.
L. J. DICKINSON, IOWA
FRANK MURPHY, OHIO
JOHN W. SUMMERS, WASH.
HENRY E. BARBOUR, CALIF.
ERNEST R. ACKERMAN, N. J.
GUY U. HARDY, COLO.
FRANK H. FUNK, ILL.
JOHN TABER, N. Y.
MAURICE H. THATCHER, KY.
FRANK CLAGUE, MINN.
ROBERT G. SIMMONS, NEBR.

MINORITY MEMBERS
JOSEPH W. BYRNS, TENN.
JAMES P. BUCHANAN, TEX.
JAMES A. GALLIVAN, MASS.
GORDON LEE, GA.
BEN JOHNSON, KY.
CHARLES D. CARTER, OKLA.
EDWARD T. TAYLOR, COLO.
WILLIAM B. OLIVER, ALA.
ANTHONY J. GRIFFIN, N. Y.
THOMAS W. HARRISON, VA.
JOHN N. SANDLIN, LA.
WILLIAM A. AYRES, KANS.
THOMAS H. CULLEN, N. Y.
ROSS A. COLLINS, MISS.

MARCELLUS C. SHEILD,
CLERK

JOSEPH W. BYRNS
6TH DIST. TENNESSEE

House of Representatives
Committee on Appropriations
Sixty-Ninth Congress
Washington, D. C.

MRS. MARGARET M. PERRY
SECRETARY

Mr. Joe Laurent,
Louisville,
Kentucky.

My dear Joe:

I am just in receipt of your wire endorsing the increase in salary for federal judges. I am glad to hear from you on this subject and you may be sure that this matter is receiving my most earnest consideration.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely your friend
Joseph W. Byrns

December 8, 1926

M. H. THATCHER
5TH DISTRICT KENTUCKY

MEMBER
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
499-C HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 22, 1926.

Mr. Emile Steinfeld,
Inter-Southern Bldg.,
Louisville, Ky.

My dear Emile:

Yours of the 19th inst., received.

The federal judges salary bill comes up in the House on the 9th of December and my judgment is that it will pass. As you doubtless know, it has already passed the Senate. I expect to support the bill.

Thanks for your words of congratulation. The result was very gratifying.

Mrs. Thatcher joins me in kindest regards for your family and yourself.

Sincerely yours,

M H Thatcher

M. H. THATCHER
5TH DISTRICT KENTUCKY

MEMBER
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
499-C HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 20, 1926.

Mr. John Bryce Baskin,
Inter-Southern Bldg.,
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Baskin:

Your letter of the 18th inst., in regard to the federal judges' salary bill, has been received.

This measure will be considered by the House on December 9th. I feel quite sure the bill will pass the House and I expect to vote for it.

Sincerely yours,

M. H. Thatcher

Dear Dawson:- The American Bar Association is for the bill. The Executive Committee sent circulars to all members, asking them to write to their respective Congressmen to support the measure. The above explains itself.

Yrs. Baskin

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
JAMES E. WATSON, IND. — WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
SAMUEL M. SHORTRIDGE, CALIF. — WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
FRANK L. GREENE, VT. — M. M. NEELY, W. VA.
CHARLES S. DENEEN, ILL. — HUBERT D. STEPHENS, MISS.
GUY D. GOFF, W. VA. — ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, MO. — THADDEUS H. CARAWAY, ARK.
LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

Cincinnati, Ohio,
November 8, 1926.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Charlie:

Thank you for your good letter of November 5th, which has just reached me.

I read your diagnosis of the case with interest. Looking at it from a purely selfish standpoint, I think the crucial blunder was made in insisting on getting out candidates for Congress in the various districts. This made the Democratic candidates work harder than they had in many years, and it is always much easier to get a Democrat to the polls than a Republican. However, seriously, I am not complaining nor worrying and have not the slightest regret. Everything was done for the best, and while the result was not what we had reason to believe, we should not let it discourage us.

I am going away for a little while, but will be home the latter part of November and the first day or two of December.

Sincerely yours,

Richard P. Ernst

RPE/f

M. H. THATCHER
5TH DISTRICT KENTUCKY

MEMBER
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

499-C HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 3, 1926.

Hon. J. M. Chilton,
Inter-Southern Bldg.,
Louisville, Ky.

Personal

My dear Chilton:

As I wired you yesterday a motion to defer action on the judges increase of salary bill was postponed until December 9th by a vote of 149 to 115 on yesterday. A motion to postpone action was made by Congressman Williams, of Illinois, Republican, but an ardent advocate of farm legislation. He made the plea for postponement on the ground that since Congress had not passed any substantial farm relief legislation the bill to substantially increase the salaries of federal judges should not be acted on at this session. He was supported by middle west and western Republicans and by the Democratic side of the House. I voted against the postponement, but in all probability had the postponement not been taken, and had the bill been voted on it would have been defeated, such was the temper of the farm group and the Southern Democratic members. The bill came up under a special rule. It is believed that the bill will pass when it is reached at the next session. Elections will then be over and some of the members who yesterday opposed the bill will doubtless be disinclined to oppose it further.

I expect to remain in Washington for a few days yet as I have a lot of matters to straighten out and then I will drive thru to Louisville to be there for the summer.

Sincerely yours,

M H Thatcher

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
JAMES E. WATSON, IND. — WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
SAMUEL M. SHORTRIDGE, CALIF. — WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
FRANK L. GREENE, VT. — M. M. NEELY, W. VA.
CHARLES S. DENEEN, ILL. — HUBERT D. STEPHENS, MISS.
GUY D. GOFF, W. VA. — ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, MO. — THADDEUS H. CARAWAY, ARK.
LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

April 28, 1926.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Charlie:

Your letter of April 26th, just at hand with enclosures.

Jim Reed has been anxious to get his own bill enacted into law. He has been advised by those who control the House that unless the amounts are reduced to $10,000 for the District Judges and $12,500 for the Circuit Judges, the bill will not be permitted to pass the House.

I think in my last conversation with him, I got him into that condition of mind where he is willing to accept the position taken by the House and get favorable action, otherwise nothing whatever will be done.

I wish to say to you that the Committee of lawyers having this bill in charge, consulted with me and are wholly of my opinion, namely, that the original amounts in the bill should not be insisted upon but that the bill should be changed as desired in the House.

I am still hopeful of favorable action and am working hard to bring it about. I not only want to see you continue as Judge, but to have a salary that, at least, will assist in defraying expenses.

Sincerely yours,

Richard P. Ernst

E JD

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
JAMES E. WATSON, IND. — WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
SAMUEL M. SHORTRIDGE, CALIF. — WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
FRANK L. GREENE, VT. — M. M. NEELY, W. VA.
CHARLES S. DENEEN, ILL. — HUBERT D. STEPHENS, MISS.
GUY D. GOFF, W. VA. — ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, MO. — THADDEUS H. CARAWAY, ARK.
LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

April 20, 1926.

STRICTLY PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Charlie:

I don't think you ought to be hard on any man who simply keeps a little medicine in his possession for indigestion.

The enclosed letter has just reached me. I thought it so rich that you would enjoy it. After reading, kindly return.

The writer does not know I am sending this to you and the letter itself contains all the information I have about the writer. Never heard of him before. It is rich and rare.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst.

E JD
Enclosure

M. H. THATCHER
5TH DISTRICT KENTUCKY

MEMBER
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 27, 1926.

Hon. J. M. Chilton,
Inter Southern Building,
Louisville, Ky.

My dear Chilton:

Your letter of the 18th received.

I shall, of course, oppose any attempt to differeniate in the salaries of judges in different districts and I hardly believe any such an attempt will prevail.

Because of the tremendous slashes made by the Senate in the Tax Reduction Bill the President is fearful that there may result, in the next fiscal year, a Treasury deficit, and he is now conferring with Congressional leaders, and through them is urging Congress most earnestly to cut all appropriation bills to the bone, and to the utmost extent possible, to sideback or reduce authorized appropriations in pending bills carrying new or increased expenditures of the government. It is evident that he is going to do all in his power to prevent a deficit, for the reason that a deficit would require an increase in taxes, and both the political and financial situation which would thus be presented would be a most unfortunate one. I do not believe that all this will prevent Congress voting increased compensation to Federal Judges, although it may cause some scaling of the full amounts carried in the pending measures. I have conferred with some of our leading members in the House and they seem thus to regard the situation.

Please show this letter to Nat Cureton who has, also, written me about this subject.

Sincerely yours,

M H Thatcher

D. H. KINCHELOE
2D DIST. KENTUCKY

MEMBER OF
COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES U. S.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

P.

February 25th
1926

Hon. James Breathitt, Jr.
Hopkinsville
Kentucky

Dear Jim:

I received your letter of February 22nd in behalf of H.R. 7907, a bill to increase the salaries of the various Federal Judges.

This bill has been reported to the House by the Judiciary Committee, but I am frank to say that owing to my official duties here in other matters I have not had an opportunity to read carefully this bill and the report, but when it comes up for consideration you may be assured I shall be glad to give it my careful attention, and especially in view of your interest in it.

I heartily agree with you that the salaries of some of the Federal Judges should be increased, but I do not know whether this is a well balanced and uniform bill. I also agree with you that the salary for a Judge who has a life tenure should be ample to support himself and family and to educate his children, thereby taking all temptation away from him. I do not mean to say that this should not apply to elective Judges.

I am glad to hear from you and to know that you will be in Washington within a short time, and when you come make my office headquarters.

With best wishes,

Your sincere friend,

D. H. Kincheloe

JNO. W. MOORE
3D DIST. KENTUCKY

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

February 22,1926.

Mr.Coleman Taylor,
Russellville,Kentucky.

Dear Mr.Taylor:

Your letter of February 18,relative to proposed legislation providing for the increase in salaries of federal court judges, has been received. I feel now as if I will support the bill to which you refer.

Very truly yours,

Jno. W. Moore

JNO. W. MOORE
3D DIST. KENTUCKY

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

February 22,1926.

Mr.E.J.Felts,
Russellville,Kentucky.

Dear Sir:-

Your letter of February 19, requesting my support of bill, H.R. 7907, has been received. It seems to me as though the federal judges ought to be properly compensated for the services they render, and at this time I feel as though I will support the bill to which you refer.

Very truly yours,

Jno. W. Moore

JNO. W. MOORE
3D DIST. KENTUCKY

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

February 22, 1926.

Messrs. Rodes & Harlin,
Bowling Green, Kentucky.

Gentlemen:-

The petition signed by yourselves and a number of members of the Bowling Green (Kentucky) bar, urging my support of of measures pending in Congress to increase the salaries of judges of federal courts, has been received. I feel now as though I will give my support to a measure of this kind.

Very truly yours,

Jno. W. Moore

I hope he continues in this frame of mind — M —

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
JAMES E. WATSON, IND. — WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
SAMUEL M. SHORTRIDGE, CALIF. — WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
FRANK L. GREENE, VT. — M. M. NEELY, W. VA.
CHARLES S. DENEEN, ILL. — HUBERT D. STEPHENS, MISS.
GUY D. GOFF, W. VA. — ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, MO. — THADDEUS H. CARAWAY, ARK.
LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

February 19, 1926.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,

Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Charlie:

Your letter of February 17th just at hand in reference to House Bill 7907, fixing the salaries of Federal Judges.

I am sorry to hear that Thatcher and Robsion are thinking of opposing this bill. I will write them both and request Sackett to do the same. Don't you know some good friends in your own district that you can get to write Robsion? I think it would not only be not out of place but entirely proper for you to write some of the influential lawyers in the Eleventh District to present to Robsion the justice of voting for this bill.

You can certainly have a large number of the Louisville Bar do the same. Lawyers, both Republican and Democratic, will, I believe, be glad to write such letters to Thatcher. The lawyers throughout the country are getting busy and writing to their Representatives and Senators. Kentucky should do the same and you are in a good place to get it started. Get busy.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst

E EH

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
JAMES E. WATSON, IND. — WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
SAMUEL M. SHORTRIDGE, CALIF. — WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
FRANK L. GREENE, VT. — M. M. NEELY, W. VA.
CHARLES S. DENEEN, ILL. — HUBERT D. STEPHENS, MISS.
GUY D. GOFF, W. VA. — ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, MO. — THADDEUS H. CARAWAY, ARK.
LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

February 18, 1926.

PERSONAL

Judge Charles I. Dawson,

Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Charles:

Your letter of the 16th at hand. I note carefully what you say.

Will try and reach Louisville in advance of the convention so we may have a talk together.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst

E EH

M. H. THATCHER
5TH DISTRICT KENTUCKY

MEMBER
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 17, 1926.

Mr. D. A. Sachs, Jr.,
Inter-Southern Building,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Dave:-

I am glad to have your views concerning the bill introduced by Representative George S. Graham, proposing to incr increse the salaries of Federal Judges.

Speaking generally, I may say that I favor increased compensation to the Federal Judges, although I do not know what increase may be ultimately granted by Congress. Many branches of the Federal Service are endeavoring to secure increases of compensation, and the whole subject with which Congress in thus confronted is a difficult one.

Yours very truly,

M H Thatcher

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
JAMES E. WATSON, IND. — WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
SAMUEL M. SHORTRIDGE, CALIF. — WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
FRANK L. GREENE, VT. — M. M. NEELY, W. VA.
CHARLES S. DENEEN, ILL. — HUBERT D. STEPHENS, MISS.
GUY D. GOFF, W. VA. — ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, MO. — THADDEUS H. CARAWAY, ARK.
LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

December 6, 1926.

Judge Charles I Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Dawson:

Mr. Edward F. Colladay of Washington, will be in your Court in a short while to argue a case before you.

Mr. Edward Clifford, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and a friend of mine, requested me to write you a letter, advising you that Colladay is a man of high character. He is a member of the National Committee of the Republican Party from the District of Columbia.

I will appreciate any courtesy you may be able to extend to Mr. Colladay.

With best wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst

E JD

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE W. NORRIS, NEBR. ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
WILLIAM M. BUTLER, MASS. EDWIN S. BROUSSARD, LA.
JESSE H METCALF, R. I.
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

Cincinnati, July 12, 1926.

STRICTLY PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL.

Hon. Charles I. Dawson,
U. S. District Court,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Dawson:

I am enclosing letter addressed to me by H. E. James, dated Cheyenne, Wyoming, July 5th, which has but recently reached me. I thought that you should see it.

I want to arrange so that we can have James in Kentucky about election time. Do you know of anything that we can get for him other than the place he has?

After reading this letter, please return.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst

Enclosure

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN.
GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER, PA.
NATHANIEL B. DIAL, S. C.
JANE DARNALL, CLERK.

United States Senate,

SELECT COMMITTEE
ON REVISION OF THE LAWS.

January 22, 1926.

File as per letter to Senator Ernst

PERSONAL

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Judge:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed letter from R. L. Myre, which, after reading, you will please return.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst

E JD
Enclosure

G.
P.
O.

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN.
GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER, PA.
NATHANIEL B. DIAL, S. C.
JANE DARNALL, CLERK.

United States Senate,

SELECT COMMITTEE
ON REVISION OF THE LAWS.

January 14, 1926.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Charlie:

I am just in receipt of your letter, dated Louisville, January 12th, returning the letter of R. L. Myre.

I simply wanted you to have all of the information that has come to me on this subject.

I am very happy to read your statement that the reaction which you have gotten from that appointment satisfies you that you have made no mistake. You are where you can get at the truth and I could not possibly know the situation at this distance.

The meeting at Covington really was a very remarkable meeting. I have never seen so large a body of representative republicans gathered together, except at a convention. We had a fine representation from every Congressional District.

I think you are absolutely right that the nomination must be made and the actual organization work be started early in the spring. Tell Bob Lucas to report to you what we had in mind. The organization is thinking of putting some good men to work quietly February 1st.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst

E JD

G.
P.
O.

VIRGIL CHAPMAN
7TH DISTRICT KENTUCKY

HOME ADDRESS:
PARIS, KY.

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

January 14th, 1926.

Hon. Robert R. Friend,
Attorney at Law,
Irvine, Kentucky.

Dear Mr. Friend:

I just received your letter concerning the proposed increase in the salary of United States Judges, and want to thank you for giving me your views on this subject. I shall be glad at any time to hear from you concerning any legislation pertaining to the legal profession and the judiciary.

I have long believed that both State and Federal Judges are not receiving sufficient compensation, and I am in favor of a reasonable increase in their salaries.

I have not seen this bill and do not know what its provisions are, but I am inclined to favor any legislation the result of which would be to uphold the standard of the judiciary and preserve the dignity and integrity of the Courts.

Thanking you for your opinion on this or on any other public question in which you may be interested, and with my best personal wishes, I am

Very sincerely,

VC:AM.

Virgil Chapman.

FREDERIC M. SACKETT
KENTUCKY

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 14, 1926

Mr. Robert R. Friend,

Williams Building,

Irvine, Ky.

Dear Mr. Friend:

I was very glad indeed to have your letter of the 12th, giving me your views on the increase of salaries for the Federal Judges. You can rest assured that I shall do everything within my power to assist in bringing about the increases.

Thanking you very much for writing me, and with kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frederic M. Sackett

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE W. NORRIS, NEBR. ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
WILLIAM M. BUTLER, MASS. EDWIN S. BROUSSARD, LA.
JESSE H METCALF, R. I.
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.
LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

January 7th, 1926.

STRICTLY PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Judge Dawson:

I am enclosing herewith letter just received from Mr. R.L. Myre, Paducah, Kentucky, dated January 5th, with enclosures.

After reading you will kindly return.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst

E*es
Encls. (3)

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE W. NORRIS, NEBR. ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
WILLIAM M. BUTLER, MASS. EDWIN S. BROUSSARD, LA.
JESSE H METCALF, R. I.
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

Cincinnati, October 1, 1925.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Dawson:

Your favor of September 25th, but postmarked September 28th, and addressed to me at Washington, has just reached me here.

I am very glad to hear from you on the subject. It's a strong letter.

Within a week or ten days, in any event soon after my reaching Washington, you will receive a letter from myself as Chairman of the Subcommittee appointed by the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and Senator James A. Reed, of Missouri, the other member, asking for information on the subject of salaries of Federal Judges. Such letter will be sent to every Federal Judge in the United States. I want you to write me a good letter, one that can be published.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst.

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE W. NORRIS, NEBR. ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
WILLIAM M. BUTLER, MASS. EDWIN S. BROUSSARD, LA.
JESSE H METCALF, R. I.
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

Cincinnati, Ohio,
September 25, 1925.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
United States District Court,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Charlie:

Your letter of September 23rd arrived yesterday while I was in Yellow Springs, Ohio. I am glad to hear from you, and note carefully what you say.

We shall have to get together before I return to Washington, and go over the situation carefully. Of course I understand the spirit in which you are making these suggestions and know the main purpose that you have in mind and which will control your actions.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst

RPE/f

September 23, 1925.

Senator Richard P. Ernst,
Covington, Ky.

My dear Senator:-

I have your letter of September 21st, and I sincerely trust that I will have an opportunity to see you before you return to Washington. I am in the midst of court now, and it will be impossible for me to get out of Louisville. However, if you are in Louisville on this visit, be sure to let me know.

I received a copy of the letter of Mrs. Kinsolving, of Paducah, Ky. I am entirely satisfied that this letter was written at the suggestion of Mr. Hazelip. The clerk she referred to was Walter Blackburn. I do not know whether you realize the real situation in the First District or not. When you are here, however, I think it would be a good plan, if possible, for you and Senator Sackett and myself to go over this matter. I really fear that a great many of the Republicans in the district have gotten to the point where they do not propose for Mr. Hazelip to control the entire situation in the way of appointments. Personally, it does not mean anything to me except to the extent that it may affect you. For this reason, I really think it would be a misfortune for the Republicans of the First District to be made to realize that no person can hold office or receive an appointment to whom Tom objects. I am writing you this in the strictest confidence, because you know I have the kindest feeling toward Hazelip, but his plan of making loyalty to him a test of party loyalty in the First District will not do.

With best wishes, I am,

Your friend,

CID-B

RICHARD P. ERNST,
KENTUCKY.

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

September 21, 1925.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
U. S. District Court,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Charlie:

I expect to leave Washington tomorrow night for home and will meet Sam Collins at my office Wednesday morning. I will get in touch with you before I return to Washington.

I am just in receipt of a letter from Mrs. B. Kinsolving, Member of the State Central Committee, Paducah, Kentucky, dated September 19th, and from the manner in which the letter is written, I imagine a copy also went to you.

Who is that democratic deputy clerk that you ought to get rid of and haven't?

Trusting you are well and prospering, I am

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst.

E JD

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE W. NORRIS, NEBR. ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
WILLIAM M. BUTLER, MASS. EDWIN S. BROUSSARD, LA.
JESSE H METCALF, R. I.
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

April 29, 1925.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Federal Building,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Charlie:

I am just in receipt of your letter of the 27th instant.

I have already butted in on the situation so as to keep our good friend, Green Miller, in Kentucky, and I don't like to take any further steps at the present time. It might not work any great injury if Leigh were sent elsewhere for the present and permitted to return later.

I am obliged to you, however, for calling my attention to it and you may be very certain that I understand and appreciate the interest which prompted it.

Are there any developments in reference to the investigation now going on? If so, write me, marking your letter personal and confidential.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst.

E EH

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE W. NORRIS, NEBR. ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
WILLIAM M. BUTLER, MASS. AUGUSTUS O. STANLEY, KY.
JESSE H. METCALF, R. I. EDWIN S. BROUSSARD, LA.
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

March 30, 1925.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Dawson:

Did you ever receive the copy of the Constitution which I sent you?

If it has gone astray, I want to trace it.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst

E JD

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE W. NORRIS, NEBR. ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
WILLIAM M. BUTLER, MASS. AUGUSTUS O. STANLEY, KY.
JESSE H. METCALF, R. I. EDWIN S. BROUSSARD, LA.
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

March 6, 1925.

Judge Charles I. Dawson,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Charlie:

I am sending you under separate cover, copy of Senate Document 154, the Annotated Constitution. I believe you will find this valuable.

It has just been issued and is up-to-date.

Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst

E JD

MARYLAND LITH. CO. BALTO.

CABLE ADDRESS
"RALEIGH, WASHINGTON."



L. G. SIZER, MANAGER

THE RALEIGH

EUROPEAN PLAN.

ABSOLUTELY FIREPROOF.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

Jan 27 1925

Judge Chas. I. Dawson,
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Judge:

I am waiting and wearing out my patience here and spending lots of useful time and money and I have been unable to get any action - don't know whether I ever will or not, and then, it may be unsatisfactory, because it seems there are two other applicants for this place and probably the position has been offered and the department is simply marking time to see if they will accept, altho they told Senator Ernst and me that my

MARYLAND LITH. CO. BALTO.



L. G. SIZER, MANAGER

CABLE ADDRESS
"RALEIGH, WASHINGTON."

THE RALEIGH

EUROPEAN PLAN.

ABSOLUTELY FIREPROOF.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

2

indorsements are highly satisfactory and they are very favorably impressed with me. Now, I am writing you To ask that you consider me in connection with your appointment as Commissioner — Of course you will have many applications many of them will be unworthy from every standpoint, and I know you will realize that I am both capable and worthy from every political consideration, and it would be the one big incident in my life

MARYLAND LITH. CO. BALTO.

CABLE ADDRESS.
"RALEIGH, WASHINGTON."



THE RALEIGH

EUROPEAN PLAN.

ABSOLUTELY FIREPROOF.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

L. G. SIZER, MANAGER

3

to have this place, even if it were only for a half term in order to get identified with the public in Louisville and get established and aquainted - Do you see how much it would mean to my future in Kentucky to have this chance, which is in your power to give me -

Think it over in every way, and see if you can't help me with this very earnest request and make me happy and forever grateful -

With best wishes -

Your friend

Thurman B. Dixon

THE LOUISVILLE NATIONAL BANK

ESTABLISHED 1861

LOUISVILLE, KY.

RICHARD BEAN, PRESIDENT

THRUSTON BALLARD, VICE PRESIDENT
BEN J. METCALFE, V. P. & CASHIER
DUDLEY WINSTON, VICE PRESIDENT
B. A. DUERSON, ASSISTANT CASHIER
C. F. LEATHERS, ASSISTANT CASHIER
J. W. WATKINS, ASSISTANT CASHIER
JOHN V. COLLIS, MANAGER
BOND INVESTMENT DEPARTMENT

January 16, 1925.

Mr C.I.Dawson,
Inter-Southern Building,
Louisville, Kentucky.

My dear Mr. Dawson:

Mr. Winston has told me of the very nice talk he had with you the other day and of course all of us hope that it will result in your designating our bank as one of the depositories for your Court.

I believe the banking service rendered you would be satisfactory and I know any favor shown us would be deeply appreciated.

Yours very truly,

Richard Bean

RB/AB

President.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH – COMMERCIAL CABLES

CLARENCE H. MACKAY, PRESIDENT.

RECEIVED AT MAIN OFFICE
MARKET AT FOURTH ST.
LOUISVILLE, KY.
Phone City or Main 700. Always open

TELEGRAM

DELIVERY NO. M 750
E 1804

This is a fast Telegram unless otherwise indicated by signal after the number of words:—"Blue" (Day Letter) "N.L." (Night Letter) or "Nite" (Night Telegram) || 16—95881

STANDARD TIME INDICATED ON THIS MESSAGE.

~~281BMA~~ 625P 5 GVT

HB WASHINGTON DC JAN 13 25

1925 JAN 13 PM 6 30

HON ECHARLES I DAWSON

551 In So. Bldg

WOODWARD WARFIELD AND DAWSON LOUISVILLE KY

NOMINATION CONFIRMED AT SIX OCLOCK

RICHARD P ERNST

Da. 6 35 P.M.
Da. 6 40 P.M.
Da 7 00 P.M.

DUPLICATE OF MESSAGE
TELEPHONED
SENT BY A.B.
RECEIVED BY Hon Chas I Dawson.
TIME 8 45 P.M.

1925 JAN 13 PM 6 31

J. J. MOORE
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR
PIKEVILLE NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
PIKEVILLE, KENTUCKY

January 8, 1925.

Honorable Charles I. Dawson,
Inter-Southern Building,
Louisville, Kentucky.

Dear Charlie:

I note your appointment as United States District Judge for the Western District of Kentucky, with a great deal of pleasure, and want to extend to you my heartiest congratulations. The President is to be congratulated on the selection he has made. I have always felt that Judge Moorman was the logical man for the Circuit Court.

I hope that you will enjoy the work that is before you and I am sure your appointment will meet with approval of the Bar and the people generally of your district.

With best wishes for the new year, I am

Yours friend,

J. J. Moore

JJM:CCC

JUDGE'S CHAMBERS
TWENTY-SECOND JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY
LEXINGTON

RICHARD C. STOLL
CIRCUIT JUDGE

Jany 6. 1925

Dear Charlie! -

It makes me very happy to know that you are on the bench. I know that you will preside with a great knowledge of the Law and with a greater knowledge Common sense which I believe is the greatest kind of sense a judge can have.

Mrs Stoll and my boy are just as happy as I am.

Yours

Dick



Louisville, Jan 6th 1900

My dear Judge:-

I have been trying to get out to see you to tender my congratulations in person, but have been so busy that I have not found the time. I have the greatest confidence in your ability and integrity and I am delighted that you have been appointed to this important post. My best wishes will attend

you at all times, for
I have from the time
I first met you never
ceased to believe in you
and in your ability.

With kind personal
regards.

Cordially yours,

Marvin S. Lewis

Judge Chas. I. Dawson,
Louisville, Ky.

FRANK B. BRANDEGEE, CONN., CHAIRMAN.
WILLIAM E. BORAH, IDAHO.
ALBERT B. CUMMINS, IOWA.
LEBARON B. COLT, R. I.
THOMAS STERLING, S. DAK.
GEORGE W. NORRIS, NEBR.
RICHARD P. ERNST, KY.
SAMUEL M. SHORTRIDGE, CALIF.
SELDEN P. SPENCER, MO.
LEE S. OVERMAN, N. C.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
HENRY F. ASHURST, ARIZ.
JOHN K. SHIELDS, TENN.
THOMAS J. WALSH, MONT.
AUGUSTUS O. STANLEY, KY.
THADDEUS H. CARAWAY, ARK.
W. DON LUNDY, CLERK.
GEORGE GORDON PAYNE, ASST. CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY.

January 3, 1925.

Hon. C. H. Morris,
Frankfort,
Kentucky.

My dear Charlie:

Your wire just to hand. I shall be more than pleased to render every possible assistance in securing confirmation of judicial appointments for Kentucky.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Most cordially yours,

A. O. Stanley

AOS. LL

GPO

SIMEON S. WILLIS
ATTORNEY AT LAW
ASHLAND, KENTUCKY

January 3, 1925

Hon. Charles I. Dawson
Inter-Southern Building
Louisville, Kentucky

My dear Charley,

I am hastening to write this letter so that I can address you once more as "Dear Charley", as hereafter it will have to be "Dear Judge." I congratulate you sincerely upon your appointment to be federal judge for the Western District of Kentucky. I know you will make a great judge, and I feel sure you will enjoy the work. While the compensation is probably not anything like your earnings in private practice would be, yet there are other compensations in public service not measured by money, and I am sure you will realize the satisfaction that comesfrom a consciousness of duty well done.

Wishing you a long life and happiness, I remain,

Very truly yours,

S. S. Willis

W-Mc

RICHARD P. ERNST, KY., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE W. NORRIS, NEBR. ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
FRANK B. BRANDEGEE, CONN. AUGUSTUS O. STANLEY, KY.
LEBARON B. COLT, R. I. EDWIN S. BROUSSARD, LA.
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

LEE LAMAR ROBINSON, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PATENTS

December 27, 1924.

Hon. Thomas B. McGregor,

Frankfort, Kentucky.

My dear McGregor:

I am just in receipt of your good letter of the 24th and note with great interest what you have to say about Dawson and Moorman. You have doubtless read with pleasure an Associated Press telegram from Washington, which I suppose will be found in this morning's Courier Journal.

Wishing you the compliments of the season, I am,

Yours very truly,

Richard P. Ernst

E EH

G.
P.
O.

JOHN T. METCALF
ATTORNEY AT LAW
WINCHESTER, KY.

December 27th, 1924.

Hon. Charles I. Dawson,

Louisville, Ky.

Dear Mr. Dawson:

I note in the morning papers that you have been appointed Federal Judge for the Western District of Kentucky, and I wanted to tell you that from the bottom of my heart I am one of your many friends who will be glad to hear of the appointment. While our different view-point along political lines has prevented me from supporting you as a man would like to have his friends support him when he needs votes, I have always had the highest regard for your ability, and wanted you to know that I rejoice in your appointment, and I am sure that this expresses the feeling of our entire family.

Yours sincerely,

JTM/J.

J. T. Metcalf

509 Federal Building,
Louisville, Ky.,
December 23, 1924.

Personal and Confidential.

Mr. R. A. Haynes,
Prohibition Commissioner,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Haynes:

As you remember, when Director Sam Collins and I were in Washington the latter part of November, you asked us our opinion of Mr. Charles I. Dawson, Louisville, Ky., as successor to Honorable Charles H. Moorman, Federal Judge, Western District of Kentucky, it being generally understood at that time that Judge Moorman would be promoted to the Sixth Appellate bench.

Within the last few days information has reached me that a fight is being made to prevent the promotion of Judge Moorman. This, I think, is a mistake. You very well know the esteem and regard I have for Judge Moorman, and while I, as well as all people regardless of politics or race, regret to lose him as our judge, yet his promotion is one well deserved and one no man could refuse, and I feel that it should be made.

Should Judge Moorman's promotion be made, Mr. Dawson, of course, is mentioned as his successor. I have known him for a number of years; knew him when he was prosecuting attorney in the eastern part of the state, and knew him intimately while he was Attorney General for the State, and personally know that he made us the best attorney general Kentucky has ever had. Since his term of office as Attorney General expired, he has been practicing law here, where he has acquired the most lucrative clientele. I know of no man in Kentucky who is better qualified to fill Judge Moorman's place than Mr. Dawson, and I earnestly request that you use all of your influence in behalf of both Judge Moorman and Mr. Dawson, as this promotion and appointment are steps forward for law enforcement.

With highest regards and the compliments of the Season, I am

Sincerely yours,

P. Green Miller, Division Chief,
General Prohibition Agents.

PGM/gm

WALKER WILKINS
CENTRAL CITY, KY.

WILKINS & SPARKS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
CENTRAL CITY, KY.
AND
GREENVILLE, KY.

T. J. SPARKS
GREENVILLE, KY.

Central City, Ky., Dec. 5, 1924.

Honorable R. P. Ernst,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

We want Chas. I. Dawson of Louisville, to succeed Judge Moorman as United States District Judge in this district, if there is a vacancy in that office, and hope you will do all you can to see that Mr. Dawson is appointed.

He is capable in every respect and his appointment will meet with the approval of the lawyers and the people generally in this community.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours respectfully,

Charlie:
This is a copy of letter I have just written and mailed to Sen. Ernst. I have called Sparks and asked him to write a letter to Ernst. If I can be help you in any other way say so. I want to see you get this appointment. Sincerely kindest personal regard. I am yours.
Wilkins