

State Republican Headquarters
Hotel Loraine
Madison, Wisconsin
November 6, 1944.

Commander Harold E. Stassen,
c/o Commander of the Third Fleet,
c/o Fleet Post Office,
San Francisco, California.

Dear Harold:

We have come to the end of this campaign and I am writing you my reaction to it before the results become apparent. Seventy-five per cent of the newspaper columnists at least believe that Roosevelt has the election in the bag right now. The betting odds, such as they are, favor Roosevelt strongly. Despite this, I still believe that Dewey has a very excellent chance to win this election.

It has been a peculiar campaign in which to get the sentiment of the people. Dewey, in my opinion, put on a very excellent campaign. ~~Although it started out very apathetically,~~ following the President's attack on him when the President spoke at the Teamster's meeting, the Dewey campaign has been very hard-hitting. They have certainly kept Roosevelt on the defensive ever since.

I realize that some of our Republicans claim that the Dewey speeches have not been "constructive enough". I don't subscribe to this theory because certainly the New Deal was not constructive in its attacks and Dewey had to fight fire with fire.

The delivery of his speeches has been excellent. He has a marvelous research staff and he has attracted wide audiences. He has learned the political orator's trick of getting his audience to join with him; that is, he asks the rhetorical question and the audience answers back. I have never seen as much enthusiasm on the part of the Republican workers. The campaign has been conducted entirely through the organization. There has been no "side shows". The National Committee dealt in every case with the State Chairman and the National Committeeman in each state. It has been a most efficient headquarters. There have been certain small deviations from efficiency. For example, the Chicago office seems to have accomplished almost nothing. It was largely just a "reception room". We found out early that everything was cleared through New York.

Sam McKelvie was in charge of the Chicago office and undoubtedly tried to do many things there, but in reality we had no Western Office. I do not criticize this too much because I realize

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that in the interest of efficiency there has to be a minimum of directing heads. Probably it would have been better to have taken down to New York a group of 20 or 25 men from the midwest and have them there as a sort of board or committee to pass on procedure and represent the views of the middle west.

Certainly we could pick on some minor things that have been done wrong, but in the main from the standpoint of efficient work a good job was done.

Dewey came to Milwaukee very briefly for a three-hour stop. We had a very great turn-out of people. Although a speech was not scheduled, he did speak from the back of his car informally for about 15 or 20 minutes to a group estimated to be about 10,000 people. All the way to and from the station he was cheered and applauded. We had arranged for station stops at Racine and Kenosha on his way to Chicago, and he again spoke from the back platform. He attracted crowds of 3,000 to 4,000 in each case.

I rode the special train into Chicago and talked with the newspapermen on the train, most of whom I know. They, of course, felt that Dewey had no chance. Nevertheless, they were amazed by the turn-out of crowds.

We arrived at the Northwestern station in Chicago and were met by a tremendous crowd and the streets were jammed all the way to the Stevens Hotel. He spoke that night at the Stadium to 30,000 people which jammed the place and over 10,000 were turned away. Again his audience was wildly enthusiastic for him.

We have taken polls of this state which lead us to believe that our strong labor centers such as Kenosha, Racine, and West Allis are about as strong as ever for Roosevelt, but on the other hand, our farming sections are 75% to 80% against him, and we find labor in some of our smaller towns about evenly divided.

The blow-up by Joe was certainly bad. I don't intend to go into this too much because undoubtedly many people have written you about it, but I do want to make these few statements. When Joe first made the statement that he was going to reserve judgment on both candidates, I could follow him to a certain extent. I believe at that time that Joe was wholly sincere in his feelings, and while I thought he was mistaken in making any kind of a statement, I felt I knew him well enough to know how his mind had worked and I did attribute honesty to his motives. The farther he got into this thing, however, and the more I watched him operate, the more I have become convinced that the reverse is true and the more I believe that Joe did the whole thing deliberately with the view only to his own personal aggrandisement. He saw an opportunity to publicize himself and he took advantage of it.

Commander Harold E. Stassen - 3

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Looking back now over the past year, I could think of several things that happened which now seem to fit into the picture. In the first place, Joe did have a very close association with Arthur Goldsmith in New York. He was responsible for getting our committee mixed up with him in the first place. Arthur Goldsmith to say the least represents F.D.R. supporters and I don't know how much farther he may go. Certainly he is mixed with a lot of left-wing stuff in New York.

I remember also being up to Joe's and Betty's room one time in the Waldorf last spring when they quite gleefully told me that in a straw ballot at Exeter College Joe had received more votes for President than you. They seemed quite happy about it. In fact, Betty told me that many people had told her that Joe should be running for President.

I remember again the press conference that I called in New York at the Commodore Hotel which Joe bawled up very horribly and caused much adverse publicity in connection with the campaign we were trying to wage for you.

All of these things now, of course, come back to my mind. I also look with suspicion on the fact that Joe came back to St. Paul to make a statement and that he made it without consulting with anyone to the best of our knowledge. There are rumors, of course, that he did consult with some of his more intimate friends, but he certainly did not consult with any of the people who have been active in this ~~troubles~~ campaign.

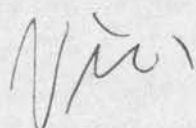
I realize that you have always felt that Joe was a ~~friendly~~ ^{free} agent and that you wanted him to make his own personal way, but I do think very definitely that he had a very great obligation to you which he should have thought of before he caused so much trouble.

I think that Esther's appearance on the platform with Dewey at Minneapolis was a very good thing and I also think that her radio talk was good. Despite this, however, the Republican people still associate you and Joe Ball together and in my opinion you have been hurt a great deal by Joe's actions. For this reason I can find no excuse for Joe and in fact, will not be charitable to him in my opinion.

I will write you again after the election is over and give you some more of my views on the campaign in the hope that they may be of some interest to you.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,



VAJohnston/rmk

November 6th, 1944

Dear H.E.S:

I do not have at hand a copy of Judd's speech given last night over nation-wide hookup of the National Broadcasting Company. I am told it included over 112 stations, and took the best program Sunday evening off the air - Manhattan Merry-go Round. It cost approximately \$17,000, of which we will raise \$12,000 or better here. It was sent out over AP that Stassen's and Judd's friends in Minneapolis and St. Paul raised the money. The reports from it are really terrific this morning. I had several calls last night --Boise, Rock Island, etc., saying it was the best campaign speech they had heard. I remembered the warning of Sunday night, but it seemed, under these circumstances, it was OK.

Last evening I talked with Esther. She had heard this speech and thought it very good. I tried to work it to have Charles Evans Hughes introduce Judd, from New York, but was unable to accomplish this, so Ed went over from here and took a minute to introduce him.

This is the last day before the big day, and everybody is pretty tired out and back on their haunches.

I am not going to be surprised if Dewey wins by about 50.5, but in my bones I have the feeling it might be reversed. It is awfully hard to get people to see the advantage of changing, with the war in its present state. We have batted out all the home runs in the 9th inning I can think of to help the Dewey people, and if they don't appreciate it, nothing can be done about it.

It is cold and windy today. Predictions are for rising temperatures, and slightly rainy tomorrow. If it is no worse than today Minnesota should be in the right column.

I am enclosing a Gallup poll which will mean nothing after you receive it, except his best guess on the closing day. Also I am enclosing one regarding the women's vote. It is my sincere opinion the boys in New York didn't give this enough attention, and what attention they gave it I do not believe they thought out very well. I have had several letters from people in the east I know who heard Esther broadcast, and they thought it was wonderful, and about the only break the women had gotten in the campaign.

There has been some criticism, not openly, of Tom not inviting the leaders of the Senate and House in for regular conferences. Perhaps the Joe matter would not have occurred had this been done. On the other hand, from their strategy point of view, there were good reasons why they should not have done this. As I said to you in July, I believe they will lose a lot of borderline votes because they did not hit a happy medium between what Dewey did and what Willkie did.

All Republican Congressmen in Minnesota and all State Senators, should be easily elected. In my mind, the only question at all is Dewey, and I think he will make it. If he does, we are in good position. If he makes it 55-45, we are in excellent position.

I have some rag-tag ends to clean up today, so will close for now, and will write you a complete analysis on the election returns.

I am sure the opposition feel it is very close, based on the kind of speeches the President has given the past four or five days. As nearly as I can figure it out, from what I heard, he promised everybody everything, from the big boys down.

Enclosed is a letter addressed to Senator Ball from a man in Nebraska who was a delegate to the Convention in Chicago. I think it expresses in a fairly representative way, the feelings of those close to the political picture, as of October 24th.

Best regards,

*I know one of largest vote turn outs in
history one big precinct 11 ward had over 10 %
voted by 8:30 - will write you tonight - 6-*

November 6, 1944

Harold E. Stassen
Lieut Comdr, USN
744 Stewart Lane
South St. Paul
Minnesota

Dear Sir,

As the Army notified me that they could not use my services at that time when I wrote to you several years ago in connection with the use of your name as a reference, I did not pursue the matter further.

Since then I have passed the New York Bar examination, and have given the Character Committee a copy of your letter along with numerous other letters and affidavits, taking advantage of your kind offer that I might use your name. Your letter read as follows: "This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of recent date which your father left here while I was away attending the National Governors' Conference in North Carolina. I will have no objection to your using my name as a reference and I wish you the best of luck in your new venture."

They may send you an inquiry which can be answered briefly. I indicated that I had known you since 1924 (the year I entered the University of Minnesota) or before. I am still with the American Law Book Company, and was fortunate in obtaining nice letters from Mr. J.R. Spillane, Vice President, and Mr. M.A. Nelson, Credit and Collection Manager. Mr. J.T.O'Neill, Credit and Collection Manager of the West Publishing Company, and Mr. M. Thomson, Editor in Chief of the Edward Thompson Law Book Company, also gave me letters. Your kindness in answering any inquiry sent by the Character Committee will be greatly appreciated. In view of the letter already submitted, no inquiry may be sent and if so nothing further would be necessary.

Sincerely yours,
Fred H. Holmsten
Fred H. Holmsten
90-8th Avenue, Apt 3C
Brooklyn, 15, New York

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
 EDUCATION AND LABOR

Nov. 6, 1944

PAUL L. BADGER, CLERK

Dear Harold,

Have planned to write and bring you up to date on developments for many weeks, but things have popped so fast, I never had time to write at any length and did not feel like giving you bulletins. Just reread yours of Sept 27. Rather surmise you have been plenty busy since then, and envy you. The Phillipine show and Naval battle there looked from here like a real milestone toward the finish of Japan.

The campaign here has been rather sickening, in view of all that is at stake and the real problems ahead. The latter have received very little honest discussion from either side. Most of the campaign has been charge and counter charge and I think a great many people are thoroly disgusted with both parties. I know yours truly is.

Suppose you have heard by now that I, after first refusing to campaign for Dewey, finally announced for FDR and made a speech for him on the Blue network. I am enclosing a speech I gave back home over KSTP Oct. 4, a statement issued Oct. 12, another Oct. 23, and the speech for FDR Oct. 26 which cover the ground. I'll also add my prediction, for good measure. Unless the Catholic hierarchy, scared on the communist bogey, has passed the word down to defeat FDR, the latter will win substantially, and I think by a bigger majority than in 1940. I frankly don't know the answer on the Catholic vote.

Now for a little background. First, I think the frantic efforts of your friends in Minnesota to read me out of the party and make clear that they were 100 per cent for Dewey have hurt your future political career, about which I think they are more concerned than you are, more than my rebellion. Most of their reaction, violent, both to my first statement and my declaration for FDR, unfortunately was pitched on a personal abuse basis instead of issues, which was a disservice to you. For my part, I was not concerned with your future, but with America's. I do firmly believe that you will go places on the basis of what you stand for, in spite of regular party ~~max~~ and Old guard opposition, and what I say or do will make damn little difference. I have probably weakened ~~my~~ the value of my support within the party but strengthened it after a nomination.

As of course you know, I had no idea I would make this move last August. While we nominated Dewey blind as to his position on issues, I had no thought but that he would at least measure up sufficiently so that in contrast to FDR he could be supported. After his Philadelphia speech, I became worried. That was when he first hit the "bring the boys back home" theme. It was vicious and unscrupulous, and showed a complete lack of understanding of the responsibilities he would face as president. His Louisville speech was better, but very weak, and his playing to every peanut gripe in his swing to the west coast worried me more. On top of that, GOP literature reaching the office was disturbing. Sly anti-semiticism, appeals to hate and prejudice were the rule. The communist bogey was being handled so recklessly as to be dangerous for the future.

I went home convinced I could not speak for Dewey because of these facts, plus the straight isolationist appeals being made by Bricker, Clare Luce, Ev Dirksen and Warren Atherton, all Republican National Committee speakers on national hookups. I had hoped to avoid a direct statement, but Dunn and Jones had needled the press into putting me on the spot and I got off by the statement quoted in Oct. 4 speech.

The reaction was terrific. Ed Thye made a sane statement, Dunn, Jones, Carlson et al went nuts, read me out of the party and the Cowles Ridder ~~xxx~~ papers joined the chorus. ~~Rxxxx~~ I got some pressure, hot to worrisome, but perhaps got a little irked. Anyhow, I made the broadcast, which calmed the boys down a bit.

Then discovered when I returned to Washington the national repercussion and determined to try to force more discussion and commitments on foreign policy, hence Oct. 12 statement. Think I succeeded well in that. Dewey ducked the key third question and FDR answered flat yes. Since then Dewey has publicly indorsed Wiley of Wisconsin and Lyons in Illinois, on top of which Republican National committee bought full page in New York Times for article by Robert Moses taking straight isolationist position on third question. Have no regrets whatever on position and am more convinced than ever Dewey is phoney.

It is my considered conviction that his election would slow end of ~~xxx~~ war three to six months at least and delay international co-operation at least a year, if not kill it for good because of Russian angle. Some day I hope you read a complete file of Dewey's speeches and I know what you will think. He has attempted, instead of presenting a strong program for the future, to prosecute his way to the presidency, and with a dishonest prosecution at that. As you know, I have always had my doubts about him. Now I am convinced he is not only an intellectual peanut, but a very dangerous man whose reckless lust for power is far greater than any other consideration. FDR is not only the less lesser of two evils, but beside Dewey, almost achieves greatness.

I made two mistakes. One was in not letting my friends in Minnesota know beforehand. The other was accepting an invitation thru Hopkins to see FDR Oct. 15. We talked for an hour on Dumbarton Oaks and foreign policy, with no mention of campaign, but the story leaked and gave the smear press a good chance. I should have foreseen that, but was so damned anxious to get one of the two presidential candidates talking on real issues in foreign policy that I forgot it. Needless to say, no one in the Dewey camp ever evinced the slightest interest in my views or position, before or after the statement.

The boys back home put Judd on a national network for a half hour Sunday night obviously in an effort to offset my action. He cracked me, not too badly.

I am very much afraid the new international security organization faces even tougher sledding than the League. That will be the next fight. If the two old parties fumble and botch it in Congress, as may happen, I would not be too surprised to see a third party on that issue in 1946 and 48. Also, yours truly might be in it, I think events will determine whether there is a chance. The issue is big enough if it is made by events.

Incidentally, I took a crack at some of the senatorial contests-- Wis. and Ill. Might as well be hung for a sheep as a goat.

According to the mail, I'm either a hero or a ~~hulk~~ heel. According to me, I'm still the same guy you talked into this job, only considerably more concerned about the future. Best of luck and God save you from your friends, myself included.

As ever,

Joe

P.S. Just a timely reminder of my warning to you at the time you wanted to appoint Joe. He told you I would make a lousy senatorial wife! Just glance at the McCormicks - Hearst papers and you will see my fears justified! Anyhow I still emphatically believe

in both Joe and the Declaration of Independence -
also you - Betty.

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United States Senate

JOHN A. DAWSON

INVESTMENTS

ONE NORTH LA SALLE STREET - STATE 7323

CHICAGO 2

November 6, 1944

Commander Harold E. Stassen
744 Stewart Lane,
St. Paul, Minnesota

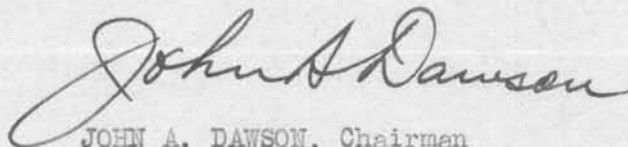
My Dear Commander Stassen:

Last summer I was looking forward to meeting you at our Northern Baptist Assembly at Green Lake, but was disappointed when I heard from Mr. J. L. Kraft that you could not be there.

On the eve of our National election, I am writing to you to say that no matter who our next President will be for the ensuing four years, I want you to know that in 1948 I sincerely hope that you will not only be a Candidate, but that you will become the President of the United States. Anything that I can do or say during the next four years, on your behalf, I wish you would count on me.

With sincerest wishes for your safety and God's watchcare over you and your family until the successful conclusion of this War I am

Cordially yours,



JOHN A. DAWSON, Chairman
"Committee of 15"
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NORTHERN
BAPTIST MEN

JAD:c

11/6/44

C
O
P
Y

Haven't had a chance before to answer your two letters on the political hornets' nest I have stirred up. I was naturally tremendously interested in your reaction and found it valuable as usual.

I agree with you that both the praise and brickbats are to be discounted to a large degree, although unquestionably there will be a determined effort to get rid of me in 1948 - and that I am not worried about. The effect on Harold, I am concerned about, but I am pretty well convinced by the reaction I have seen in our mail and otherwise that in the long run it won't hurt Harold at all seriously. In fact, it may prove to be an asset. While it has perhaps put me out of action, in so far as supporting him for nomination goes, it probably has increased my effectiveness as a campaigner for him once he were nominated.

Whatever the outcome, I have no regrets because more and more I have been convinced that Dewey is a small caliber politician, a clever organizer but not big enough for the top job. I have a hunch that if he were elected, my personal path would be easier because I think he would be thoroughly disliked in sight of four years. However, I still hope Roosevelt makes it because I think Dewey, by his campaign, has seriously handicapped any chance he might have of picking up the international relationships - both war and postwar - without at least a year gap to rebuild confidence.

Best regards,

JULIUS ELLIN, Lt. Colonel,
Commanding Officer,
523rd Quartermaster Group,
APO 502, c/o Postmaster,
San Francisco, California.

Somewhere in the South Pacific
November 7, 1944

Mrs. Wendell Willkie
15 Broad Street
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mrs. Willkie:

I have postponed writing this letter to you until this moment because I am still under the terrible shock. I delayed writing so far because I wanted to spare you receiving another letter to awaken your sorrow; yet I must write you now and send you my condolences and sympathy since out of all the millions sharing this great grief, I feel that I have suffered a definite personal loss along with you.

I am sending this letter through our mutual good friend, Mr. A. D. Lasker, who I am sure will hand it to you at the opportune time. At a time like this, I don't expect you will recall my name off-hand, but I can think of no better introduction than the letter your husband gave me to present to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (a copy of which I am enclosing). That letter I shall cherish as my most prized possession. As busy as your husband was, he kept up a correspondence with me until shortly before he was compelled to go to the hospital.

Often I have written letters of sympathy to the parents and wives of some of my boys who died the death of a hero and many times at their young graves, I spoke in the name of those wives and parents before rendering them our last salute, yet at no time have I ever faltered for a word or hesitated to express my deep feelings, but here in trying to write you my deepest of deep emotions and thoughts I find words too inadequate or meaningless and empty. For if there was ever a soldier, if there was ever a mighty hero in this war, then the greatest of them all is your husband, Wendell Willkie, my friend. In all my time overseas, I kept up as much of my correspondence as I could with my friends back home, and never a single letter left my hand to the powerful men in each party without a repeated plea and prayer in behalf of Wendell Willkie. Only last year, I wrote your husband that I was sure the day would come when I would have the joy of saluting him as our Commander-in-Chief.

No one appreciated your husband's life as thoroughly as Al Lasker when he wrote these words in his last letter to me:

"His overwork was entirely in behalf of his country and the people of the world. He was truly a man dedicated to the noblest ideals of the dignity of every fellow man, regardless of race, creed, color or origin.

Politically I believe it would have been impossible for him ever to achieve office, for the cardinal necessity of any politician is to know when to compromise, even to compromise

principles to which one is deeply dedicated, in order to get something accomplished. But Wendell Willkie was a prisoner to his own high sense of integrity."

Away off here in the South Pacific war zone, we handle and deal with masses of troops who come and go to and from battle and we work with and chat with officers and men of all the sections of America and of all stations of American life - visiting Senators and even strong hopefuls like Harold Stassen, and several state representatives and Senators in uniform - and with them I made it a point to expound on and explain the dream and the plan and the sanity and security of Wendell Willkie, our great leader in a future great America. Well, Mrs. Willkie, we had hoped he would be our Commander-in-Chief; yet our hopes are not entirely dashed since he will be, in a way, more powerful than he dreams. He is the Commander-in-Chief of all the millions of brave men and women who have been tortured and sacrificed in this war, and of the men and women of all nations in the "One World", the World-Union modelled on our own home Union, he so loved. Wendell Willkie, dead, is alive and more powerful than any man of this century or the last. His name will shine with Lincoln's and Wilson's. Believe me, Mrs. Willkie, I know that to you he was the good, beloved husband and great father of your bereaved son, but to America and the One World he was and will always be the Liberator, the Commander-in-Chief of the millions of known and unknown warriors who died on the field of battle for the great cause of liberty and humanity.

I remember it like yesterday, the first time I met your husband. The time was only a few months before the Philadelphia convention. The occasion was a special luncheon in Chicago. Weeks later I had come to Philadelphia as one of the closest advisers of two of the most influential political leaders of our Middle West who somehow in some not too small measure owed their political fortune to me. I had gone there ready to sway my friends towards the other candidate. My good friend, Al Lasker, called me and urged me and my friends to come and "Meet this man, Willkie." I did not know him as yet. We were introduced all around. I listened to him. And I was fascinated.

We walked into his hotel suite. It was a terribly hot day. The convention excited every one. Everything around your husband was like a madhouse until Lasker led us into your husband's bedroom. There he was, 48 hours before the nomination, with no one giving him a chance. His shirt collar hung open. The room was snowed over with piles of all manner of papers. Telephones rang and rang as we entered. Finally we were alone. Lasker introduced us and began the conversation. Soon your husband took over. I couldn't believe my ears. Seasoned, veteran journalist as I am, I expected to hear the usual thing. I was fascinated. Here was a statesman. Indeed a statesman with courage and a conscience. He didn't need any research experts to tell him what to say. He had his own deep-rooted principles. He never wavered. He was blunt. He spoke fearlessly of what was facing America and the world and what was his position. He lashed out against bigotry and prejudice - against the selfish clique that was still blind in America. I couldn't say a word. When he asked, "Any questions, gentlemen?", there was nothing to ask. A dream had come true. The great melting pot of America, as in all great crises, has produced the great leader. When we left your husband's suite around 3:00 or 4:00 o'clock that morning, my mind was made up, and I have remained ever grateful to Lasker for bringing us two together. I became a Willkie

man then and there and never broke faith, and severed all relations with those who did break faith later. And millions and millions of other Americans feel as I do. We shall remain loyal because the only thing we have left out of this great chase is hope for a better world - a better life, which Wendell Willkie wanted for us, which Wendell Willkie's spirit will give us. There was only one way for Willkie to drive his point home. That was to give everything he had, including his life, to make the world and America realize what he loved and now has died for.

Let me give you a few paragraphs from a letter I received from Mrs. Julius Klein, also a letter from my brother Ernest, another dear friend of your distinguished husband:

Mrs. Klein writes:

"I knew you would be just as shocked as we were when you heard of the untimely death of Willkie. I still can't believe it. Today is the funeral in Indiana. They waited for his only son to come home from convey duty. Sometimes I wonder where Justice is. Hitler-Hirohito-Mussolini - who are surrounded by people who hate them - whose life is in constant danger, still live and such a great man was called without warning. God's doings are strange at times.

I wanted to write you in such a good spirit - and now the shocking news came over the air that our friend Wendell Willkie passed away. Terrible how fate decides the end of a glorious career. A great American died much too early for the good of his country. If he knew that he had to go, it must have been very sad for him to leave this world without knowing what will be the outcome. Oh, he knew that we are going to win the war - but will he know now that we are also going to win the right peace? Just think, a strong and husky man full of fighting spirit - fifty-two years old. It is sad. In spite of the fact that thousands of our boys have to die - much younger - we will single out a man like he was as a great loss, due to his past deeds. I really mourn a great man."

My brother, Ernest L. Klein, writes:

"A great American has passed away. Wendell Willkie was a champion of and an advocate for the cause of the oppressed, persecuted and underprivileged people. He was a ray of hope in the mind of a suffering and desperate world. He died for a cause of which he was the soul and heart. He was the conscience of our political system, and both parties had to make concessions because they respected his leadership. His principles and ideals meant more to him than any personal ambition or aspiration. The nation and the world has sustained a great loss in the untimely passing of Wendell Willkie. His fellow citizens will mourn him, all democracy loving people will mourn him, all those who have known suffering and privation will mourn him. In his soul burned the rare flame of leadership because he loved and fought for the right. Indeed, the prophetic voice of this giant among men will yet be heard when

matters of domestic and international policy are laid upon the peace table. I hope that all the friends of this great American will continue to espouse the high principles and ideals which were his supreme goal. You and I have lost a dear friend."

My little nephew, Charles, only 17 years old, son of an American mother, whose father and uncle had been in a concentration camp in Germany - the uncle murdered there and the father rescued at the last moment. Now this young man who has been in America only five years mourns the loss of Wendell Willkie. But he knows he lives in a better world because Willkie died for that cause. He writes as follows:

"Willkie appeared to me always as the honest soul and the conscience of the parties, and the nations of the world. Neither his nationalism nor his party affiliation ever hindered him in saying what he believed. His death is a great loss to all of us who hope for a better world."

In my command, a humble Catholic priest, Father Lawrence Edward Lynch of Brooklyn, New York, is serving as Chaplain and the Sunday after the death of your husband, Father Lynch gave my men a manly and inspirational eulogy at his three Masses in the local Cathedral. His admiration and praise echoes our hearts when he said:

"This week a great American died. Another Lincoln from the Indiana territory proved to young America the worth and meaning and opportunity that is America. Wendell Willkie is an inspiration to us in uniform, to us nobodies down here in nowhere, unknown and hardly begun to live. Ten years ago with only his decency and hard work and honesty and genius at law and commerce and finance, Willkie came to fabulous New York and built himself a career in commerce and law and finance. Ten years ago, he was a young man like you and because he believed in America, he worked for her and served her and then Americans saw the American miracle of hard work and tough will win esteem for him to be set up as a candidate for the sovereign honor of President of Our United States and only a little margin missed the office but gained a victory of an ordinary, every-day, hard-working, democratic American being chosen Spokesman for freedom around the globe. Ten years ago, Wendell Willkie was unknown, but now all ages and nations know and honor and love him. We soldiers are nobodies now...at least that is how we often feel. Nobodies? Ah, no! I'm sorry. That is incorrect, for as long as you wear that uniform you are somebody, some one very important, you are an American, you represent the great things Willkie thought and said and lived for and what you learn from a great American like Willkie is that it is great to be an American and like him ten years from now you will take your place at the helm of public office. Each of you is important enough to fight for America and you are important to America's tomorrow since you are the future Willkies, the future America, the One Nation indivisible which will bring into reality the "One World" Willkie dreamed of and planned out and lived and died for, the "One World" to

make this earth as nearly as mere mortals can, a "Heaven-on-earth" for all men of all creeds and classes of all times...

Four years ago, our nation almost elected Willkie first citizen and national leader, and last year as international ambassador and man of good will towards all men, all nations unanimously acclaimed him First Citizen of the brave, new "One World", but this year since his name was unlisted on any election roster on earth, Heaven itself voted for him and God elected him to immortality..."

So spoke one of our Army Chaplains here - nearly 10,000 miles away from home. I am sure Rabbi, Priest and Pastor expressed similar sentiments everywhere in this One World where people gathered to pray.

A year ago I wrote a story for my niece entitled, "The Heart of the Coconut Tree", and I sent a copy to your husband and his letter stated that he enjoyed reading same. Even the natives in the jungles knew of Willkie. To them, as to the poor and oppressed peoples of China, Poland, Holland, and Germany and everywhere else, Willkie came as a Messiah. "America has great leaders", they say, America and the world have Roosevelt and Willkie. With them we will be free, and with them to lead us everything will be all right."

Yes, I could go on and on and on. Indeed, Lippman and others call Willkie the conscience of the parties. I, as a humble soldier, call him the real soul of America.

At this moment our country will select the President of the United States in a free election. (Down here we are one day ahead of the States.) I voted my soldier ballot two months ago. I voted then as I know millions will vote tomorrow - true to the principles and ideals of Wendell Willkie. I know and feel what his decision would have been. He is gone - but millions of Americans will signify to the rest how Willkie would have voted, should there be any doubt in anybody's mind, - in mine there isn't.

Our generation is fortunate that we were contemporaries of your distinguished husband. The next generation will be happy because of Wendell Willkie. And I am proud, very, very proud that I had the privilege to call your husband my friend, and in his correspondence with me he honored me always by addressing me by my first name. I can think of no higher decoration or rank insignia on my tunic than to boast to my family that I knew Wendell Willkie, that Wendell Willkie was my friend. Whenever the heroes of America are saluted and remembered, Wendell Willkie will stand out amongst and foremost of our immortal and spiritual Commander-in-Chief, not of the conscience but of the souls of the millions who, like himself, love God, have gladly sacrificed their all for God and country.

May the good Lord bless you and help you carry this heavy burden of sorrow. And may I be privileged some day to meet you personally.

Most respectfully yours,

JULIUS KLIN

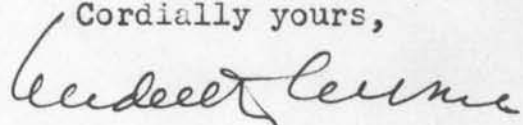
WENDELL L. WILLKIE
15 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK

May 26th, 1943

My dear General:

This letter will introduce to you Colonel Julius Klein. I have known Colonel Klein for many years. He is one of America's leading citizens; a man of growing ability and the finest character. He will respect any confidence you give him.

Cordially yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Wendell L. Willkie".

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

Nov. 7, 1944
Minneapolis Daily Times

Dear Governor--

It is election day 1944, and I was sitting here thinking of election day 1942 when I walked into your office at the Capitol and you said, "Well, Burnett, today is the day to be resolute in defeat or humble in victory," or words to that effect.

This has been a strange campaign, and perhaps one of the strange things about it is that tonight, as election returns come in, your name will not be among the successful candidates.

To me, there are a number of significant things that have come to light, especially in these closing days, about how and why the people of the nation have come to their decisions.

1. The number of Dewey voters who vote for him with reluctance. They hate to vote for him, but take him as a poor preference to the incumbent.

2. The number of people who say they are forced to vote for Roosevelt (many for the first time) because the Republicans have offered them no choice.

3. The increasingly bitter resentment against Dewey for attacks on the president, "failure to be constructive" in his speeches.

4. Accusations that the Republicans have brought the president's crippled condition into the campaign, and resentment about it.

5. A ~~heavy~~ heavy vote. (Apparently-- at 3 p.m. of election day the wires are hot with reports that the vote is exceeding expectations, may run a record 50,000,000.)

6. Democratic success in selling the idea that Republicans were entirely responsible for ~~scuttling~~ U.S. participation in the League of Nations; and would so do again. Allied success of selling the necessity of keeping Roosevelt in to win the war.

7. Extent to which attention focusses on the presidential race and it only--people don't even know who's running for state office.

8. Extent to which Roosevelt has been able to cross normal party lines and gain support for the two ideas mentioned in No. 6, particularly among women. The vote of any given individual or any group of individuals is tremendously more difficult to predict than it ordinarily is.

9. The ability of the president to arouse real, spontaneous enthusiasm (newsreel theaters, etc.) while Dewey seems to have little or no mass appeal.

We have, consequently, all assumed here at the Times that for all practical purposes the election is over.

Much of my information was gathered in a four or five day tour of Wisconsin for Vic, which wound up a bit more than a week ago. A final ~~total~~ total showed 51.7 per cent for Dewey; yet I would not be surprised to see it closer than that or go the other way. The points I enumerated above were brought out to a considerable extent in that tour--which covered most areas north of Milwaukee. (The rest of the state was covered by Joe von Drasek.)

This all supports an earlier conclusion that, at least in this election, the Republicans need a man of your type to win. With you as the candidate, I am more convinced than ever that we could have made the grade. If Dewey, with all his handicaps, comes reasonably close in terms of popular vote, it makes that contention even more sound.

Here-- you could not have been successfully identified as part of the "Hoover trust."

You could not have been successfully linked to the isolationist wing.

You could not have thrown the scare into organized labor that has had them working like trojans since June and which will contribute much more to Roosevelt's victory than it would had they had no "Hoover candidate" to frighten the workers with.

You could have given real enthusiasm, inspiration, and instilled a measure of confidence into the Republican ranks.

(I found, in five days in Wisconsin, in conversations with hundreds of Republicans, not one ~~willing~~ ^{was} willing to predict a Dewey victory, and only some were willing to predict he would carry the state.)

Now Walter Judd has delivered, to my way of thinking, the most successful talks in behalf of the Republican ticket that I have heard, because he begins from unassailable premises and ~~has~~ has the record to back them up.

The most significant lesson of all, for me, in this campaign has been the illustration once more of the president's unsurpassed ~~political~~ political technique. Most people say: Well, he's ~~lost~~ lost a lot of farm support. That's ~~true~~ true. They say, he's lost support in labor ranks. That's true. They say, he's made a lot of people mad at him. That's true. But it is not true, therefore, that he will be defeated.

Those people miss the fact that he is always ahead of the game; that as he loses through deflections, he is selling a new idea that crosses lines and brings new people into the fold. So today, perhaps that final portion of his strength that will put him over will come from people who five years ago, or even three years ago, would not ~~have been~~ have been caught dead voting for that so and so.

That, of course, is a technique with which you are not entirely unfamiliar.

Well, that's about it, I guess. Joe Ball's actions didn't change many votes, as far as I can ~~find~~ find out. What effect his act will have on your future is yet to be determined, although I can't say that I share the view that he has ended your career as a politician for all time, as some would have you believe.

It is true that some Republican politicians, now holding party office, are incensed. But those names change, ~~as~~ as well as do the ideas of those who ~~stay~~ stay in party offices.

For my part, I think that in two or four years, if Joe is not actually vindicated, he will probably be forgotten or forgiven this unprecedented act.

I share Judd's spoken view; that more harm was done by the intemperate name calling of Republican politicians following his statement than was done by the statement itself.

The little fellow returns Friday night late for a leave the length of which has not been determined. We look forward to seeing him.

Grant, in a short note received today, tells of fueling your ship and talking with you on the ship to ship 'phone. We share his and your satisfaction with the surprisingly good progress you are making in your big task in the Pacific, of course.

As for myself, in view of all circumstances, I am satisfied that I made the right decision in coming with the Times, and continue to enjoy my work. The paper is apparently well satisfied with ~~it~~ it.

Continued good luck to you.

Burnett

November 9, 1944.

Dear Harold:

The clipping that I am enclosing regarding Joe, corresponds with the discussion of his moves here in the State. This feeling is quite general. I outlined my thoughts on this in my previous letter.

I am also enclosing clippings covering incomplete returns on the election. Roosevelt's victory can be attributed to the war and also the effective work done by the P.A.C. here in the State.

Maas's defeat shook up the party leaders here. As I did not pay much attention to this race, I did not anticipate that he would have any trouble. The party leaders sensed it shortly after the talk he gave here when he returned from Washington and became alarmed. Apparently the damage he did could not be overcome.

P. J.

St. Paul Dispatch

St. Paul Pioneer Press

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

St. Paul 1, Minnesota
November 9, 1944

Harold E. Stassen
Lt. Commander, USNR
c/o Staff Commander South Pacific Force
Fleet Post Office
San Francisco, California

Dear Harold:

I got back from England a day or two before election. The only surprise in the results, for me, was the defeat of Maas. If ever a man talked himself out of a sure thing, it was Mel. He fought Roosevelt instead of Starkey in a town that was certain to go heavily for Roosevelt, and, to make it worse, he brought the most fantastic charges against the President. Joe Ball is in town today and I hope to see him. I don't know how you feel about it, but I think he should have been given credit for great sincerity and courage, but the Republicans hereabouts seemed to be too emotional about it to do him justice. Whether he did a wise thing from the practical point of view is another matter. My own opinion is that Republicans from Maine to California will be on their knees during the next four years, begging for your kind of leadership and, for that matter, eating out of Joe's hand.

I am very glad to have been in England during the war. I don't suppose I learned anything I didn't know, intellectually at least, before, but I have the feeling of possessing and being aware of these things with all the vividness of first hand observation. All we are going to win by this war is a chance to fight and work for the kind of a world you and I believe in. We are gaining a period of from twenty to fifty years in which to win the real victory that will follow the military victory. There are no isolationists among the men who have been on the European front. They will follow good leadership any distance. They do not have any clear cut ideas, but they are determined that whatever needs to be done shall be done. There are a surprisingly large number, especially in the Air Force, who will stay in the Army if given a satisfactory status. I was also very pleased, in talking with perhaps three or four hundred enlisted men whenever I could strike up a conversation, to find that they almost all, without exception, know about you and are anxious for information about you. I have come back with an opinion about what you should do after the war. It seems to me that you should take the leadership of the war veterans and see that their influence, this time, counts for more and better things in public policy than did that of my generation of war veterans.

Al Crocker is soon to leave for the Pacific. He is going to try to get assigned to Halsey's command. Please keep your eyes open for him. He should be leaving this country by the middle of December, if not earlier.

With my best,

Herb
HERBERT LEWIS
Managing Editor

November 9, 1944

Dear H.E.S.:

The election is over. Final returns are about in. In my opinion there are three outstanding reasons why the election went as it did:

1. Commander-in-Chief. Many women voted the Democrat ticket feeling their sons would be returned earlier, thinking if there was a change in the presidency the war would be prolonged, and there would be general confusion. I believe in many precincts in Minnesota the women vote offset the men vote.

2. The Independent vote was not cultivated properly. In July, I made the prediction that Dewey might not win if they took the opposite extreme from the Willkie campaign, and that I believe they did almost 100%, except for such things as the Judd National Hook-up.

3. I think the way the Convention was handled in June had a great effect on the outcome. It was always my feeling that we should have had an open convention in Chicago with a little hair pulling, so the people would not think it was just a well oiled machine which had been laid out and planned in advance by a few big-shots in the Republican party. Dewey came out of that Convention with the reputation that Hoover and a few others had manipulated the whole affair.

I still believe it would have been a better fight if Bricker, and others, had been nominated; but that is all over the dam, and this is only my reasoning.

We probably will get a complete report on Minnesota this afternoon, which I will send you. Both Ramsey and Hennepin went for Thye, approximately 12,000 Ramsey and 22,000 Hennepin. I would not be surprised if St. Louis also goes for Thye. He will probably lose two or three outlying counties.

It was felt by the Republican people that there would be a cut in the pluralities over 1940, in Ramsey from 22,000 to 17,000 this time, in Hennepin from 22,000 to 17,000, and St. Louis from 25,000 to 20,000. This, of course, did not happen. Ramsey and Hennepin had even greater pluralities, and we did not begin to get the offset in the farm vote we thought we would. You will note from the Iowa statistics it just barely went over the line for Dewey, whereas it was thought it would be 67-50 for Dewey. That was also true of Wisconsin, which just barely made the grade.

(I just talked to our good friend Groner, who wanted a little spending money to go to the National Convention November 18th to November 1st at New Orleans. I expect to spend a day or two down there. He says there never was a Labor Committee formed, and as far as he knows labor was not approached. He further states that Tom answered the Committee's questions(--the Committee being a group of labor men he got together to meet Tom when he was here), but he had a sternness back of his pleasant smile that rather frightened most of them. He still thinks you are the "guy", in spite of my argument to the contrary!!!)

Joe will be here tomorrow. I probably will not see him. Warren probably will. The writers will probably give him a fair break. The terrible vindictiveness has left. Some people are saying Joe was smart, that he knew what the outcome was going to be and that he was simply getting on the right side of the fence. Others accuse him of a deal whereby he will be the Democrat candidate in 1948. I question this, as does Warren. Maybe the better half can put more pressure on than we realize.

(Groner just told me that Thye will lose St. Louis by about 1500,) (but they worked terribly hard to put him over in that County)

Cahill, Lt. Governor of Massachusetts was licked by Tobin. Mayor Lausche of Cleveland beat Stewart, Mayor of Cincinnati. Lausche is a Democrat, and the kind that has really impressed me. Saltonstall went in by a big majority. Clare Luce was reelected, but Dannaher was whipped. Moses whipped Nye in North Dakota, and North Dakota got a Republican governor. Missouri got a Democrat governor but Donnelly made the grade as senator. I have seen nothing to the contrary about Joe Martin, so assume he went in, but he spent no time in the National because he had such a tough race of his own.

Groner just told me a Labor Committee waited on Maas and he told them he would "do as he damn pleased in Washington", and Groner says the boys were out to get him. He admits it was unfortunate they did not have a higher caliber fellow running to win the first DFL elective office. As I have written you, Mrs. Horace Irvine, Adelaide Enright, Chris Turk, George Morgan, etc., supported Starkey, which of course hurt particularly in the 7th and 11th Wards.

Ohio barely went Republican, except for the governorship, and Bob Taft almost lost out. I imagine the last returns will give him a plurality of about 20,000.

Dewey may lose Michigan. Last report is that he had a 12,000 lead, and there were a good many precincts out in Wayne County still to come in, which is almost solid Democratic.

I just had a long talk with Stanley High on the phone. I may see him Saturday on his way to Palm Springs for a two weeks rest. He will stop here two days and stay with me and I will have the right people at two or three gatherings for him. He is having lunch this noon with Brownell and listening to the returns with Tom and Herb. By the way, he agrees in general with the three points I made at the beginning of this letter. Beyond any question of doubt the Democrats will control Congress by twenty seats, and will pick up from one to three in the Senate, and will have a net gain of three governorships.

I believe I told you that Ray Bradshaw and Clare Luce are in, but Dannaher, the Senator, lost out.

I have not seen the tabulation on our Legislature here, but it runs about as usual.

Warren and I will do a lot of talking in the next sixty days about the State. I am meeting with Ed as often as possible. His plurality should run around 250,000, maybe a little less. I do not believe Dewey will lose the State, when the net figures are in, by over 30,000, which will be 17,000 improvement over 1940 and once again I do believe he could have carried the State if they had set up independent Dewey groups under the guidance and direction of the Republican Party behind the scenes.

I saw Don Dickey the night of the election, and have had many fine reports on the good job he did in Chicago with what he had to work with. Vic Johnson did a swell job in Wisconsin. His father died a week ago Saturday.

ER is in Michigan. Due home this week. Esther's speech got a tremendous reception. I have heard from many personal friends around the country about the fine job she did, and the wonderful address she gave. Of course that is not surprising, because Warren and I worked with her on it!!!

Briefly, in Minnesota we did this:

1. Raised a substantial amount of money to carry on the State and National campaign.
2. Paid for a great deal of literature the National sent in here.
3. Ed Thye almost killed himself making speeches for Dewey and lost a tremendous number of votes for himself by doing so.
4. Everybody in our crowd did everything in his power to help.
5. I sent (for several here) three thousand to the National Committee.
6. Had Judd on the National hook-up from 8:00 to 8:30, our time, Sunday Night, the 5th. We will pay \$12,000 of the \$17,000 that it cost. It was re-broadcast Monday night and we raised \$5,000 of the \$10,000 which it cost to re-broadcast over Mutual. The first broadcast was over National with 112 stations. The reception these broadcasts got was tremendous.

As I told you, from time to time we offered to do anything they wanted us to do. We got out the letter, copy of which we sent you and we came darn close to over-doing it, but I don't believe we did, under the circumstances.

As far as I know, there was no hidden meaning, or any particular set of circumstances, that made Joe do what he did. He has never personally liked Tom, via his wife to a very large degree, and I believe he was sincere when he said he thought we would get further in the direction of foreign policy with Roosevelt than we would with Tom, and I think he made his decision purely on this basis.

I believe I wrote you that Joe did not see Tom from the time you saw him, on. I do think the New York crowd might have been smart to have called together five or six leaders of both houses for a joint two-day session. If this had been done, Joe would have had a chance to get it out of his system, and would have felt much better; but there were good reasons why this was not the best thing to do.

I am telling all our crowd to be quiet, to say nothing about you, and let time take its course for the next few months. However, Warren and I will get together a great deal, as we have been. Our wives are good friends, and it is easy for Warren to get together to do a lot of talking and thinking.

Believe I forgot to mention that Langlie lost out in Washington. Washington went practically solid Democratic. Dean Morris won the Senate seat from Oregon, with CIO backing him. Oregon went for Roosevelt.

Roy has done nothing in particular the past few weeks except to add a little around the waist line. He almost has to hold it up now when he sits on the platform. George is as jittery as every. I still think he wants to be Governor some day, but the years are slipping away pretty fast on him. I hope he will be interested in giving up the State Chairmanship within two years. I believe Mrs. Chris pretty well wrote herself off in this campaign. She certainly has as far as our crowd is concerned. Rose did a good job, but she is not too good an organizer.

Earl Christmas and Blanche literally ran the campaign. I had sixteen prominent businessmen for dinner with Maas two weeks ago, and I asked Earl to come along. Toward the end I got up and said that I believed very few of them had met Earl and wanted to go on record that whether the campaign was run well or poorly, Christmas was the man they could thank for doing the work, and that he deserved a real hand and their appreciation, which of course he got, and I know it meant a lot to him just at that psychological moment. It is my sincere opinion that while others were building themselves, personally, for the future, Earl and Blanche were actually doing the work eighteen hours a day. One day they had to literally carry Blanche down stairs to eat.



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