

THE BENNETT OFFICE  
1601 FOSHAY TOWER  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

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JAMES G. BENNETT  
THEODORE W. BENNETT

CABLES: RUSSWIN, MINNEAPOLIS

WALLACE F. FERRIS, SECY  
JOHN AURA, AUDITOR

THE RUDDORE COMPANY  
CANDOM INDUSTRIES, LTD.

November 20th, 1944

Dear Harold,

I am enclosing a clipping which may be of interest to you in regard to the selection of a new University president.

I am very sorry I was not in Minneapolis at the time of your visit last summer. I spent most of July and August at my Ranch and also at our oil refinery at Spokane. Both places are busy and take a lot of management. At the Ranch I have increasing numbers of cattle and fewer men for the work. I was riding ten hours a day (sometimes fourteen), pitching hay, repairing tractors, and digging fence-post holes. I enjoy the work and it did me a lot of good physically. I was feeling somewhat run down after a lot of traveling in the East and the disillusionment of official Washington.

Our new and unique manganese process is going strong; this has been both a technical and economic success which is very gratifying. We have had numerous contacts with various government bureaus in this development. Some of these bureaus have been helpful and some have been otherwise.

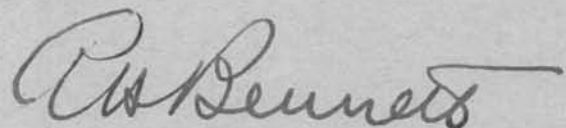
I am quite disappointed in the results of the election. There is this consolation, however, that the Democrats will have to clean up their own mess. It is conceivable that the electorate may four years hence turn gratefully to the Republican party as a rescuer.

I was disappointed with Joe Ball's defection but I am sure he is entirely sincere. He is suffering from a warped perspective.

My brother Jim continues to live in Arizona and I am afraid will never again make Minnesota his home or enter the office here. Ted is coming along fine and helping considerably.

This carries my warm personal regards and best wishes for a safe return. I think often of you in these exciting days and envy very much your position on the fighting front. I suppose I must be content with having had my adventure twenty-six years ago.

Yours cordially,



Commander Harold E. Stassen  
U.S.N.R.  
c/o Staff Commander, Third Fleet  
c/o Fleet Post Office  
San Francisco, California

AIR  
MAIL



STATE OF NEW YORK  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER  
ALBANY

November 20, 1944

Commander H. E. Stassen, USNR,  
Staff, Commander THIRD Fleet,  
c/o Fleet Post Office,  
San Francisco, California.

Dear Commander Stassen:

Governor Dewey is away from Albany and has been since the receipt of your exceedingly nice letter of November 4th. I know the Governor will appreciate your letter indeed and will reply at the earliest opportunity.

In the meantime, all of us who are here send you our best wishes. May your forecast of the ending of the war in the Pacific come true.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Reuben B. Crispell'.

Reuben B. Crispell  
Acting Secretary

RBC:HO

The State Canvas sing Board met at the State Capitol Tuesday, November 21, and released the following official returns in the November 7, general election:

X-Denotes incumbent.

PRESIDENT:	Roosevelt-Truman (D)	589,864
	Dewey-Bricker (R)	527,416
	Others	8,249
GOVERNOR:	XEdward J. Thye (RO	701,185
	Byron G. Allen (DFL)	430,132
	G. M. York (Ind.govt.)	7,151
Lt.GOVERNOR:	C. Elmer Anderson (R)	641,558
	Frank Murphy (DFL)	462,222
SECY OF STATE:	Mike Holm (R) x	782,424
	Emily Kneubuhl (DFL)	342,342
TREASURER:	xJulius A. Schmahl (R)	684,218
	A. H. Kleffman (DFL)	409,979
ATTORNEY GENERAL:	x J.A.A. Burnquist (R)	649,780
	Erling Swenson (DFL)	437,633
RR & Warehouse:	x Frank W. Matson (R)	628,890
6 Yr Term	Viena Johnson (DFL)	429,544
Term to 1-1-49	Ray P. Chase (R)	594,854
	Arthur N. Cosgrove (DFL)	466,785
<u>SUPREME COURT</u>		
	Chief Justice x Charles Loring (unopposed)	780,101
Associates:	x Harry H. Peterson	629,165 elected
	x C. R. Magney	396,647 elected
	LeRoy E. Matson	458,307 elected
	J. Norman Peterson	366,216
	Allan L. Johnson	361,872
	Clifford E. Enger	307,815
<u>CONGRESSMEN:</u>		
1st District:	August H. Andresen	77,798 elected
	Andrew Meldahl	48,301
2nd District:	Joseph P. O'Hara	91,867 elected
	L. J. Kilbride	29,548
3rd District:	Richard P. Gale	69,277
	Wm. J. Gallagher	71,856 elected
4th District:	Melvin J. Maas	59,994
	Frank T. Starkey	64,434 elected
5th District:	Walter H. Judd	81,798 elected
	Edgar T. Buckley	62,761
6th District:	Harold Knutson	76,421 elected
	Others	41,961
7th District:	H. Carl Andersen	75,315 elected
	Arthur F. Nellerroe	38,949
8th District:	Wm. A. Pittenger	62,600 elected
	Wm. McKinnon	58,131
9th District:	Harold C. Hagen	58,080 elected
	Halvor Langslet	40,018

Total of 1,195,397 Votes Cast At Election.

Aviation Amendment adopted by plurality of 139,392 (based on total vote of 1,195,397 cast: For - 737,091 - Against 264,149.

\*\*\*\*\*

EDITH F. WHITE  
2027 HOLLAND AVENUE  
UTICA, N. Y.

Nov. 21, 1944.

Dear Mr. Stassen,

I am a  
private collector and belong  
to the Utica Hobby Club;  
my hobby being autographs  
of famous people.

I have a  
valuable collection and it  
is now on display at  
the Savings Bank of  
Utica, causing favorable

comment. Have most  
of the big Generals, Ad-  
mirals, President and  
Governors, etc:

Would great-  
ly appreciate yours  
to add to my list. I  
try to get a picture  
of each person to go  
with autograph. Have  
you a newspaper picture?

Very sincerely,  
Mrs. Edith F. White

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November 21, 1944



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Wheel Alignment

Motor Tune Up

Vulcanizing

Recapping



Dear Harold:

No doubt you have heard a great deal about Joe's statements and have come to a conclusion. I am of the opinion that 99% of your informants have judged cruelly and harshly and probably hastily.

I hope that never again will I have to go through the "heat" I have taken. Apparently I am one of the few who have not tried to "crucify" Joe. Because of my relationship with Joe many of the business men, labor leaders, etc. have called to get my reaction. I developed an answer that seemed to open the door to a frank and intelligent discussion with the accusers. My answer is "I hope that Joe is wrong, but I am afraid he is right". This seemed to do the job. From this statement one can lead off on the isolationists, labor batters, etc.

The election results have gone a long way to pour oil on troubled waters. The first reaction after Joe's statements was that Joe had killed your chances in the future. This morning Senator Austin of Maine released for the press a statement that a liberal Republican party will win elections as evidenced by his own re-election and the election of Soltonstall and Wayne Morris.

Enclosed is a clipping from today's Minneapolis Star-Journal which also is indicative of the trend.

Our mutual friend has received word from many responsible, sane labor leaders that they are anxious to go to work on developing a liberal Republican party that recognizes the problems before the country and faces them fearlessly. They hope that this move will help get the nomination and election of a liberal, progressive Republican for some future date.

Another development is taking place in Minnesota. I have been very friendly with labor in our business relationships. They have confidence in me and I have confidence in some of their leaders. Several times a week various organizers drop in and "chat" about politics. Our discussions get around to what can be done to accomplish what we set out to do in Chicago in June. Every man has said we can count them "in" on the next drive. I am going to continue to encourage this to the fullest extent. As a matter of fact I will play for the breaks and see if Joe can't set up for me friendly introductory meetings with various labor leaders in Washington and other places. I would be interested in your reaction and suggestions on this move.

My business has developed far beyond my expectations and the future should be excellent. This will permit me to have considerable time and finances to quietly go to work on some phase of organizing.

We are entering another phase of political thought. The last few days I have received reaction from those who finance the party. There is a great deal of disfavor towards Roy Dunn's leadership.

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It would not take much to tip that over if we had a good man to put in his place. These men realize it is "time for a change" in our party.

Now that the election is over I'll write whenever I have something of interest.

Good luck to you, Harold. Everything will come out satisfactory and I don't think you need to worry about the future course of events.

Yours truly,

*Les Mackinnon*



OMAHA'S WELCOME TO THE WORLD

HOTEL FONTENELLE-OMAHA

OPERATED BY EPPLEY HOTELS CO.

Tues. Nov. 21.

Dear H.E.S.

Just arrived and reported to J.A.B. dist. 7<sup>th</sup> Service Command Replacement Pool today. Will be here at least several days - most likely weeks. Things were so rushed at home that I do not have thoughts clearly worked out except as stated in the letter which I wrote you.

Saw Julian, Vic, Walt. Talked to Geo. Crosby, Ed, O'Connor and others. Also the flash at length. When all these thoughts have been worked out I will write more fully from here.

Will have time to think here. At Ann Arbor the bod is beating our brains out to digest all the stuff they threw at us. Came through all right - was coostwooster at the Graduation banquet etc. and think that worked out all right.

Will not attempt to analyze at this writing but will write again shortly. Had fine visit with Esther.

John Quinn is coming over from Lincoln to see me. Talked to him today by phone. He won a great victory for the forces of moderation. He apparently managed the liquor wet in campaign and only 3 counties went dry with me. Regards & Belcher

22 November 1944

Dear Harold:

I have not undertaken to add to the large volume of mail which I know you will have by now received in relation both to Joe and the results of the election generally. I have not done so partly because I would probably have very little, if anything, to add, and partly because of the great pressure of work in the office in combination with practicing a little of the science of government.

I will not undertake to offer any analysis or post mortem of the election except to say that it suggests to me, or confirms in my mind, the feeling which has been growing for some time, that the people of the United States, for a very long time at least, will not have a real choice between a conservative president and a liberal president. Until the Republican party nominates a moderate liberal and presents a program which is consistent with the leadership of such a nominee, the elections will go by default to the opposition.

While the power of the P.A.C. in the recent election may have been over-emphasized by some, the fact is that for its first fully organized trial effort in a national election, Labor made a substantial contribution and its future efforts along this line will probably be far more effective especially in the larger cities. As you undoubtedly realize, it was the vote in 18 or 20 large cities which elected Mr. Roosevelt for his fourth term, and it is in these places P.A.C. has and will have the greatest degree of power, even allowing for the decentralization following reconversion.

My own observations about the campaign conducted by Brownell are not very far away from the observations made in our talk at your house last summer. Mr. Dewey conducted a conservative and a prosecutor type of a campaign, and within the scope which he set out to run his campaign, he probably did a very skillful job, but that scope did not include either a strong appeal directed at the young people and independents, or any appeal to labor as such. No labor division was set up or organized by the National Republican Committee in this campaign.

On the matter of Joe's decision, I may be able to add something to the picture which you have already received. On all of these matters I have talked with Walt from day to day, and during the past five weeks almost from hour to hour, and I know in a general way the substance of the information which he has sent to you from time to time. All of us, of course, were aware that

Joe had a great many reservations about Dewey and about his program. Whenever I discussed the matter with him I could detect a very definite and basic lack of confidence in Dewey personally on Joe's part, and I attempted to remind him, from time to time, that it was a choice of alternatives not a choice between a perfect and an imperfect candidate for president, and further that the two-party system required a consistency of support of parties if that system was to survive.

Joe told me on November 11 that he had written you so you have his version. He is one of the most completely honest and objective men I know and yet I cannot escape the conclusion that in this decision Joe "went in sideways". By that I mean that I do not believe he foresaw the consequences of his first statement fully. That may seem strange to you since Joe is, or ought to be, something of an expert on appraising the effect of a public statement by a political leader. Nevertheless, I do not believe that he sensed fully the road he was on until it was too late to get off.

I do not mean that he had any doubts on the merits of the issue involved. What I mean is that he made his statement without thinking it through, without adequate consideration as to where it would take him and without consulting anyone. He arrived in town on Friday morning for some speaking engagements and 'phoned me at noon saying he would see me later. He saw Ed at 5:30 and visited until 6:45 without mentioning any plan to state his position except to say that the press had been after him about whether he would speak for Dewey. At about 7:00, Parlin called Joe and told him that in view of his silence on Dewey, he was submitting a series of questions to Joe and would publish the questions and answers and probably speculate on what his silence meant. Joe then told him to come up and he'd give a written statement which he then wrote out within less than one hour from Parlin's call. At about 8:00 p.m. Joe called me at the office where I was working and said if Vera and I were not busy, he and Betty would come out for a visit and to "tell me something".

About 9:45 Joe reached our house, read the statement and asked what I thought. I told him it sounded a little like a resignation and I wasn't sure whether it was from the Republican Party or the Senate. Allowing for the freedom of conscience I tried to analyze with Joe the effect (1) On Dewey (2) On the two-party system (3) The cause he was trying to promote (4) On internal politics in Minnesota (5) On the selection of the 1948 GOP nominee. At the time Joe disagreed with my first thoughts on practically all of these items which made me feel that he hadn't thought

the matter out fully and I so stated. B. of course resented my analysis and conclusions. Joe's attitude was that I was making him more important than he was. I said that coming from a G.O.P. leader his statement was bound to be taken as a repudiation of the ticket. There was some inference that if Dewey didn't regard Joe's support as valuable, Joe's failure to support him should give Dewey no concern. He felt also that I overemphasized the consequences on you, although I have, frankly, never been as wrought up on that phase as most folks here. He said then that if I was correct as to the effect on you, he regarded that as the worst aspect but that he would have to take that risk anyway.

I also told him I thought that his statement failed to reflect his real views as accurately as that could be done since from our conversation it seemed that he wanted to leave the door open to support Dewey. As a result, he talked to the Minneapolis Times-Tribune (Ahlmquist) by 'phone and told him not to "go out on a limb" and interpret the statement as a repudiation of Dewey or an endorsement of Roosevelt. It was then too late to reach Parlin.

At the lowest point when everybody was slugging, throwing dirt and even telephoning Esther, Joe was sad and bewildered but to my knowledge he was not bitter. On the day when all the Party Leaders cut him cold in the lobby of the Saint Paul, he merely shrugged and said to me, "That's the way it is in this business". Joe, of course, has done his share of dishing it out to the Old Guard and they loved a chance to crack him and scream, "I told you so." After Joe left my house the night of the statement I tried to reach Ed and failing, called Earl and he got Jones and Roy to agree to hold off on public statements - a sort of "Count Ten" agreement before striking. From then on, Ed, Walt, Earl and I tried to keep the boat from rocking and to a degree perhaps we helped some.

Walt and Elmer told me of a note they wrote you over my name, and if they were not "ribbing" me, you can see how even in our own group we did not agree on the nature of Joe's act, his motives or the consequences of the move. I can see many more important things about which we ought to get excited and don't.

In view of all this conflict and strife, the balance and calmness shown by Esther was magnificent. She felt as I did, that Joe could be mistaken but not dishonest. You can probably appreciate her dilemma with conflicting counsel from all sides. She knows Walt and me only slightly, and even Walt and I were not fully in accord except on her making the radio talk. I don't want to get

poetic, but Esther reminded me of those early pioneer wives who handled rifles in the stockades when their menfolk were away. Those wives at least had no conflicting advice to select from. They had only one course open to them. In this whole thing, incidentally, Walt was on top and only his propensity to do too much brought us into any disagreement. Every time he tended to move too fast without consultation, we called him "Senator". But I was being greeted politely (and acidly) as "Senator" up and down Fourth Street so we had to drop that title as a barb. (For several weeks the word "Senator" was an epithet and a fighting one at that.)

I think Joe made a mistake, not only in what he did, but in the way he did it, and showed some tendency to be "too big for his britches" in a way that gives me real concern for the first time since I've known him. But it was a mistake of a kind which it seems to me a man ought to be allowed to make at least once in a career.

From the outset I have felt that what happens depends not so much on what Joe did but on what Joe does from November 7 on. There is nothing final or fatal about the moves he made, given the basis on which he made them. In other words, if Joe shows that he is constructive and reasonably orthodox on minor matters, his apostasy on Dewey will probably be offset by his usefulness. But some of the tendencies Joe has shown lately worry me some. He has been swamped with invitations to speak and is doing a great deal of it.

In the last stages of the campaign I urged Joe to keep away from discussion of domestic issues and to keep away from further indorsements of Democratic opponents of Republican Isolationists. I felt he would, by those moves, not only further injure his status in the party but more important, they would muddy the picture. He had spoken his mind on a great issue and he should leave it at that.

Now there seems to be a tendency for Joe to speak too often to "leftest" audiences and various "screwball" groups who agree with him on the international issue and see an opportunity to wean one of the leading GOP Liberals away from his own party. I don't know that Joe sees or cares much about that phase of it. At any rate, his activities are such that he isn't giving the Party people much chance to forget - let alone forgive.

Enough of politics - Elvera and Wade join in sending you greetings and best wishes for the future.

Sincerely,

Wander

*You can see from the date I began this letter what life is like on the home front. I'll write soon on subjects of more interest & less moment politically.*

(Blind Copy)  
Commander Harold E. Stassen,

November 22, 1944

Mr. A. A. Beltz,  
Simplex Wire & Cable Co.,  
564 West Monroe Street,  
Chicago, 6, Illinois

Dear Al:

This is to acknowledge yours of November 21st.

I have hardly been in Chicago since June, which is the reason I have not called you.

In my humble opinion, it would be very bad to follow the suggestions as outlined in your letter.

No meetings should be held, and no work should be done at this time, as (1) we have no reason to know that the man to whom you refer would want it done, and (2) things have happened in the past two or three months which must be clarified by him before any group action should even be considered.

In theory, there is no question but what your suggestion is excellent, but, taking into consideration the undefined position of the party at this time, it occurs to me it would be very bad.

I will be in Chicago sometime soon, and will have a visit with you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

WSR/k

M  
C o p y

Nov. 22, 1944.

Mrs. Florence W. Ness,  
1305 N. Taylor Stteet,  
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Ness -

I want to thank you for your kindness  
in writing to me.

I have mailed the articles which you  
sent concerning Senator Ball to my husband,  
as you suggested.

The election results were not as I had  
hoped, but now that the president has been  
re-elected, my sincere hope is that he will  
follow thru on a strong world organization  
for world peace. We must never again permit  
another world tragedy such as the one we are  
engaged in. Your husband, as well as all the  
fighting men, are more convinced of this than  
ever.

My husband has been engaged in the Phil-  
ippine operations. He writes cheerfully and  
has been in good health, for which I am  
indeed thankful. The important thing now is  
to have this tragedy end, and to have our  
loved ones with us again.

Sincerely,

*E. H. Stinson*

Dear Walter:

November 7 is now history and the problem arises as to what, if anything, we supporters of Harold should plan to do in the future.

As you may know, Harold started in January 1937 to build both the Party and himself in the State of Minnesota for the election of 1938. He first started on the basis of trying to offer leadership in opposition to the Farm Labor Party and thus to build the Republican Party, with the idea he would run for Governor, but also with the idea that he would step out of the picture if some natural candidate developed who seemed to have a better opportunity than he in the 1938 election. Relatively few people knew of this effort, and I believe that Jim Bennett was one of those most instrumental in making it effective.

It seems to me that the Republican Party in the country as a whole is as much in need of similar leadership and coordination as was the Party in Minnesota of January 1937. It also seems to me that four years is none too long a period in which to start laying the ground work for Harold in 1948.

This raises the question of what we as a group can do. Personally, I think that there is much that can be done and the subject is too broad to be covered in a letter. If there are others of Harold's group who believe similarly that now is the time to start work, I am wondering if it would not be possible to have a meeting in some central place like Chicago some time during the Christmas holiday period, when most of the group will be near or passing through this city. I believe that a thorough discussion of possibilities and ways and means would be helpful to everybody.

If it is possible to get such a group together, I think that most of those who have been close to Harold should be included. I would like to see Jim Bennett brought into the picture if his health would allow it and I would also like to see Dr. Walter Judd in the group as it is my impression that we will need somebody in the House of Representatives in our group.

I had hoped to hear more from you during the last few months, when you were in Chicago. I know you have been busy with the campaign, besides your own business and personal problems. Also I have been out of town a great deal and it is possible that you have tried to reach me when I have not been in the office.

Let me know what you think of this idea.

Sincerely,

(Signed) Al

A. A. Beltz

AAB-NN

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

November 23, 1944

Comdr. Harold Stassen  
Third Fleet Staff  
c/o Fleet Post Office  
San Francisco, California

My dear Harold:

Now that the election is over we can a little better evaluate things. Dewey was not elected because the war is still going on, and a slim majority of people felt that a change right now might in some way delay the final victory, and I think they felt that Mr. Roosevelt's personal contacts with Mr. Stalin and Mr. Churchill were of some special value.

There is no doubt that Mr. Sidney Hillman's PAC played a most powerful part, primarily in organizing migrant workers, getting them registered in the state in which they were working and seeing to it that they got to the polls. We can all see mistakes in a campaign, but I doubt if any kind of a campaign could have overcome the situation with which we were confronted.

Gale and I were defeated for exactly the same reason. We have the bulk of the new war industries in our two districts. The migrant workers, who have been moved in by the thousands to St. Paul and industrial Minneapolis, have been brought in since the last general election. The PAC rounded them up, got them registered and made a personal campaign among them. They had all been organized by the CIO. For the past year or so, Dick's and my votes have been opposite on everything, so it was not our stand either on labor or international matters nor on defense votes. Dick made no campaign, and I made a very vigorous one. I was told that if I had made no campaign I would have been elected. Dick was told that if he had made a campaign he would have been elected.

Some considerable number of people feel that it was my Pearl Harbor speech that caused my defeat. It was not. I got more votes this time than I had two years ago. I simply didn't get the same proportion of the new war workers in my district. Roosevelt carried Ramsey County by 25,000 votes, and I lost it by 5,000.

Joe Ball's actions cost me a great many votes but did not cause my defeat as such. There were several thousand voters who influenced by Joe simply did not vote for either candidate for Congress.

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

Comdr. Harold Stassen

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November 23, 1944

Joe's last minute statement that he could not vote for me, of course, bore some weight with some people.

I am convinced now that everything is calmed down, that Joe Ball's actions have not permanently affected your political future at all. Joe Ball has principally hurt only Joe Ball. He is through in politics in Minnesota, and his actions will not be forgotten even in four years. No one who knew you in Minnesota believed for one minute that you had been party to any deal with Ball, trying to throw the election so that it would be open for you in '48. However, many, many people were very mad at you for having appointed Ball to the Senate in the first place and felt that you should have picked a known Republican and one who would stand hitched. That resentment, of course, will quickly die down. In the East, it is generally believed that you and Joe put over a deal, but they will gradually come to realize that that is not so, but they will forget it anyway.

I am convinced that in '48 the choice for the Republican nomination will be between you and Saltonstall from the present outlook. There are a number of factors that have convinced me that it will be you. I think you will present a greater hope of the Republican party and the country in 1948 than ever.

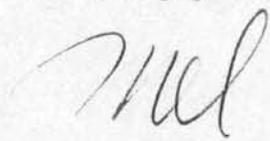
Incidentally, the Republicans of the Senate are being smart, and they are not trying to read Joe out of the party. They are going to let him die on the vine. Joe is all through in the Republican party, however, and will never get anywhere with the Democrats, because, while they very gleefully made a great deal out of his defection, they will never take him up because they all feel that they could not trust him from pulling the same thing on them sometime. As you probably know, Joe did not start out to go all the way at all but was pushed step by step by Betty.

I do not feel badly about being defeated, and in fact rather welcome a vacation from Congress--and I rather think maybe that's all it will be. In view of the way the House went, and the Presidency, I am actually glad to be out of it for the next two years, more particularly as I expect to be out there with you this winter.

Best wishes.

Cordially yours,

M:c



Minneapolis 15  
November 24  
1944

Dear Harold:

I am especially appreciative of your letter of November 11th. Of course I knew the circumstances were such that it was practically impossible for you to have had advance notice or consultation respecting Senator Ball's action but I am nevertheless glad to have your assurances that this was so for two reasons - first, because it was quite freely charged during the final days of the presidential campaign that you did have prior knowledge of and approved Senator Ball's action, and second, because there is still some disposition on the part of some people to "tag" you with such knowledge and approval. I am glad to be able to give you the assurance that the Dewey people in the National Republican Organization have been completely convinced that you did not have knowledge of Joe's intended action and that it never did have your approval.

Probably you are fully aware of the circumstances which I am about to summarize but I think for the benefit of the future you should always have them in mind.

I am convinced that Joe's action was not the result of any sudden whim or determination. He had had it under contemplation for a considerable period of time. He was convinced that the leadership of the Republican Party was entirely reactionary and that Dewey's administration, if he were successful, would be reactionary not only in domestic but in international affairs. I know that he had been in more or less constant conference with important democrats in Washington and that his final decision was arrived at after consultation not only with Mr. Hopkins but with the President himself. I believe that it was inspired not alone by a conscientious belief in his own position in respect to world peace but because he had received some assurances not only from Mr. Hopkins but directly from the President himself to the effect he would not suffer by reason of taking the position which he took. What I am saying is I do not personally believe Joe's action was wholly governed by an unselfish and courageous interest in a particular form of world organization for permanent peace but that his position was arrived at after quite definite assurances that his political and personal future would not suffer by reason of it.

I do not think you should blame yourself for Joe's action. Certainly it was a disappointment to all of us but we all knew it was in no way inspired or approved by you and that there was nothing in the attitude which you have taken in the past which furnished any warrant for it. So far as I am personally concerned, if I had thought that it was merely a political difference of opinion or a case of bad judgment arising from the lack of political experience or for other reasons, I would have been willing to accept it as such and let it go at that but the very fact I know that Joe had had it under contemplation for a long time, that he deliberately determined to cast his lot with the Democrats not only as respects the issue of international peace but as respects the election contest between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Dewey and deliberately refrained from giving his friends in the Republican Party an opportunity to convince him of the

contrary is a breach of good faith which it is not only difficult to justify but which makes it impossible for one to support Joe in the future with any confidence in his political integrity.

So much for that.

I have not had an opportunity to analyze the election returns but I think it is possible to determine with reasonable accuracy what happened and why. I should like to start with the statement that I had great difficulty in believing that Mr. Dewey had the strength which the polls credited him with even before the Republican convention. Dewey's strength in Wisconsin and the persistence of his strength in the polls thereafter convinced me that while I could not find reasons completely satisfactory to myself for it, he nevertheless had the strength which the polls credited him with.

I think that up to the last two weeks of the election Dewey was making slow but definite progress. He was, on the one hand, breaking down the strength of the President on domestic issues and at the same time creating positive strength for himself. It was nevertheless obvious two weeks before election that the Dewey strength as a whole was not sufficient to elect him and unless there appeared a definite trend in his favor he would not be elected. That definite trend did not materialize. On the contrary, if anything there was a slight recession. This, in my opinion, was largely due to the fact that during this last two weeks Dewey had nothing much new to propose and also because of the vigorous and effective campaign which I think the President made for himself.

You are well acquainted with the elements which in the end result in an office-holders defeat. There is an accumulation of dissatisfaction and opposition which finally rolls up to over-balance the good points which the candidate may urge. I think that this factor would have been sufficient to defeat Mr. Roosevelt had it not been for (1) the tremendous and effective campaign which PAC made for the registration of voters in the large cities, a preponderance of whom were known to be for the Administration, (2) the enormous amount of money which the Administration had to spend for war purposes and which it was able to put to work politically not only for these purposes but among the agricultural and other populations for the normal purposes of increasing production, (3) because in the by and large labor had benefited greatly by the Administration's policies both as respects wage levels and as respects overtime and overtime payments, and finally, because in the last two weeks of the campaign Roosevelt was able to do what he had done before. Of course there is also the influence of the war and the possible effect of a change of Administration upon the time and conditions, the conduct of the war and the return of soldiers to civilian life, and as I have indicated we must recognize Mr. Roosevelt's consummate ability as a politician and as a political orator.

It can all be summed up in the fact that Mr. Dewey's fight was an uphill fight in which he could not command the assets available to the Administration.

Ed Thye's tremendous majority was a great satisfaction to all of us but there are some "bugs" in this ointment notwithstanding the Roosevelt party does not enjoy the standing with labor which Governor Thye inherited

To make a change

which

from you and which he built up for himself. A number of Republican office-holders are well past the usual age of retirement and the party needs new blood both inside and out. There are a number of factions who feel they are not presently included in the party councils. We have no very outstanding backstops for Governor or other political offices and under certain conditions which may easily be envisaged Hubert Humphrey or some other Democratic-Farmer-Labor candidate might be elected Mayor of Minneapolis and two years from now be a formidable candidate against Governor Thye or whoever might be the nominee of the Republicans.

I think George Jones did a good job but we still do not have effective and militant county organizations which we should have. We are still very weak in the populous counties like Hennepin, Ramsey and St. Louis. We still have what I think is a liability represented by Roy Dunn and the personal organization which he has built. He has fewer supporters among the so-called "B Committee" than previously but he is still a formidable figure in state politics. All of which I think means there is still a distinct need of leadership in Minnesota and for the setting up of effective machinery to deal with the state political situation. Some of these are at least in the process of being thought through, if indeed they are not in the formative stage.

I think we can rely upon Governor Thye's full support of any well considered program but I have cautioned those with whom I have discussed this matter that we must be prepared to suggest to him a step by step program which can be formulated and carried out under his direction. This is about all that I can offer on the future political scene.

I agree with you completely about Esther's attitude during the campaign. When I knew that it was contemplated she would make some kind of a statement over the radio, I discussed the proposal with Mrs. Anderson who was very much against it. Later, after she heard Mrs. Stassen on the radio, she was as enthusiastically for it as she had been the other way. Certainly Mrs. Stassen's attitude could not have been more correct or more helpful under any circumstances and we are all grateful for her attitude as well as her help.

Your citation was published in the papers yesterday and we are, of course, very much pleased about it. It is certainly not only a gratifying but a unique recognition of the kind of services which we have all been convinced you could and would render.

My son Alan is and has been with Patton's army in and around Metz for several weeks. Our last letter from him was dated November 4th and we are grateful that so far he is all right. The "dope" sheets continue to indicate the possibility of a German collapse prior to Christmas but I imagine this is in large measure dependent upon good weather, of which there has been practically none at all up to now.

I have a notion that in general, at least for sometime to come, the attitude of the Administration will be somewhat on the conservative side although the composition of the people who make it up is not yet such as to warrant too much confidence on this score.

I hope you will not let the Joe Ball incident disturb you too much. After all, there is nothing any of us can do about it at the moment. In a way I am sorry the break, so far as I am concerned, is as complete as it was but the circumstances do not permit the existence of confidence which must of necessity be the basis of continued support.

Kindest regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Sydney" or similar, with a stylized, sweeping flourish underneath.



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