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Governor Lloyd C. Stark
Jefferson City
Missouri

Attention of Hon. L. H. Forman

Dear Governor Stark:

I suppose you received my telegram primary election night informing you of the result in Jasper County and congratulating you.

Today I was talking with Cowgill Blair, Manager of the Joplin Globe, about Mr. Pendergast and some of his lieutenants, particularly Mr. O'Malley, complaining in interviews about Republicans having voted the Democratic ticket in the primary. I told Cowgill that I had been expecting some one to call to the attention of Mr. Pendergast some Missouri Democratic history about Republicans voting the Democratic ticket in primaries, which he and Mr. O'Malley both seem to have forgotten. Cowgill said he thought I would be doing you a favor if I called your attention to it. I, therefore, telephoned your Secretary, Mr. Forman, talked to him about it, and he thought I should write you this letter.

In order to have a better understanding of the situation which caused the entrance of Republicans into the primary of 1922, I will first briefly give you some 1920 political history in Missouri.

In 1920 former Senator James A. Reed was the first choice of Mr. Pendergast as one of the delegates at large to the Democratic National Convention at San Francisco. Senator Reed had been fighting President Wilson beginning shortly after the time that Mr. Wilson was elected President in 1912. Shortly after Mr. Wilson's election the first time (according to my recollection) Senator Reed nominated Mr. O'Malley to be Postmaster at Kansas City. President Wilson refused to appoint Mr. O'Malley. This is said to have angered Senator Reed. At any rate from that time on Senator Reed and President Wilson did not agree. Mr. O'Malley was then, as he is now, a lieutenant of Mr. Pendergast in Democratic politics in Kansas City. Mr. Pendergast tried very hard to get the Democratic State Convention, held at Joplin, in 1920, to name Senator Reed as a delegate at large to the San Francisco Convention. I was a delegate to the Joplin Convention and was a member of the resolutions committee. I helped write the resolution which read Senator Reed out of the Democratic Party. Senator Reed and I were then, as we are now, personal friends, but I was very bitterly opposed to his opposition to President Wilson. After the convention had turned Senator Reed down by defeating him for delegate at large to the National Convention, the Jackson County delegates elected Senator Reed as one of its district delegates from the Fifth Congressional

Governor Lloyd C. Stark

- 2 -

August 12, 1938

District. The National Convention at San Francisco refused to seat Senator Reed as a delegate. As I recall now, this refusal was based upon the ground that he was not a Democrat. All of this very much angered Mr. Pendergast and Senator Reed.

In 1922 Senator Reed was in no better standing politically in the Democratic Party than he had been in 1920, nevertheless, with the backing of Mr. Pendergast and other friends

throughout the state, Senator Reed announced his candidacy for the nomination for United States Senator in the August primary. At that time the prohibition question was being widely discussed. Naturally Mr, Pendergast was, personally, very much interested. Senator Reed had been one of the leaders in the fight to bring about the repeal of prohibition. His attitude on this question, as well as his fight against President Wilson during the World War and his opposition to the food administrator, Herbert Hoover, who, of course, was the appointee of President Wilson, had made many friends for Senator Reed in the City of St. Louis, particularly in south St. Louis, and in a number of counties west of St. Louis County, which contained a rather large German population, many of whom were not in sympathy with President Wilson's attitude toward Germany during the war. Senator Reed was looked upon by both Democrats and Republicans as the champion of the wet cause and as the leader of the opposition to President Wilson. Senator Reed was very bitter in his denunciation of the League of Nations and of President Wilson for advocating the League. This was the situation which existed when Mr. Reed announced his candidacy for the Senate, subject to the action of the Democratic Primary, in 1922.

According to my recollection, Breckenridge Long, of St. Louis, was the opponent of Senator Reed in that primary. It was recognized by everyone at that time that Senator Reed would not have a chance of being nominated in the primary unless Republicans could be induced by the thousands to vote the Democratic ticket in the primary. Efforts were made by the Pendergast organization, as well as by other friends of Senator Reed, particularly in Kansas City and in the City of St. Louis, and also throughout the state, to get Republicans in large numbers to vote the Democratic ticket in the primary for the purpose of nominating Senator Reed and humiliating the Wilson Democrats. That feat was accomplished. Republicans entered the Democratic primary by the tens of thousands and, as a result, Senator Reed was nominated.

Following Senator Reed's victory no complaint was made by Mr. Pendergast, or any of the other backers of Senator Reed, about Republicans voting the Democratic ticket in the primary. If it was wrong for Republicans to vote the Democratic ticket in the primary

of 1938 in order to assist their Democratic friends in nominating Senator Clark and Judge Douglas, why was it right for the Republicans to vote the Democratic ticket in 1922 to help Mr. Pendergast nominate Mr. Reed for United States Senator? Undoubtedly those same Republicans who voted for the nomination of Senator Reed in the primary of 1922 voted for his election the following November, otherwise he could not have been elected. Undoubtedly Republicans

Governor Lloyd C. Stark

-3-

August 12, 1938

who voted for Senator Bennett Clark and for Judge Douglas in the primary of 1938 will vote for their election in November of this year. However, following the success of Senator Reed in the primary in 1922, a large number of Democrats did give out interviews to the effect that Senator Reed's nomination had been procured by his friends getting Republicans to vote for Senator Reed and there was some organization, particularly among the women Democrats, to defeat Senator Reed in the November Election in November, 1922. According to my recollection Mr. Pendergast was very bitter in his denunciation of these women, among whom were Mrs. Emily Newell Blair and Mrs. Thornton L. Brown, of Joplin, both of whom are now in Washington and both of whom have held positions under the present National Administration. At that time Mr. Pendergast assumed exactly the opposite attitude which he and his lieutenants are now assuming, according to the press, with respect to Republicans voting the Democratic ticket in primary elections.

I hope you are enjoying your vacation. You are certainly entitled to a vacation. You have earned the gratitude of the good people of Missouri by the fearless fight you so successfully waged in our recent primary. With best wishes

Sincerely yours

Haywood Scott

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