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AGRICULTURE

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

PERSONAL

Saturday, September 12, 1936.

Dear Lloyd:

Barrett spoke at Marthasville in Warren County this afternoon. I was scheduled to follow him but when he got there he issued an ultimatum to the men in charge of the farm picnic and to me personally that I would speak first or not at all. They gave me 30 minutes and called me off the floor on the dot and then permitted him to speak more than an hour. Just before I began he called me to one side and said he would not discuss national issues and that if I would confine myself to national issues he would confine himself to state issues and would not undertake to answer anything I said.

When he followed me the first thing he said was that I had asked that each be limited to national and state issues respectively (when it was he who made the request) and he immediately criticized in a very unfair way a statement I had made in my speech (when he had agreed to answer nothing I said). It is a way they have. When Caulfield was running for Governor he and I were invited to talk at an MPA picnic held at Warrenton. Both were strictly enjoined in the invitations not to discuss partisan matters and the Chairman of the meeting when he introduced me (first of course) called attention to the understanding that neither speech would be partisan. I did not mention politics in my talk and then Caulfield got up and made the bitterest partisan speech I ever heard in my life.

Thought you might be interest in Barrett's line of talk and give below brief skeleton of his remarks.

The theme song of his discourse was "a government of men and not of law". He closed every attack on the Park administration by saying the reason such things could go on at Jefferson City under this administration was because it was a government of men and not of law.

As he was speaking before a MPA crowd he began by paying compliments to the legislation put through at Jefferson City by the MPA and showing how the Democrats had either ignored these laws or mal administered them. Said a law giving power to the Governor to distinguish in his approval of bills had been exercised by Park for the first time -- first Governor clothed with the power and has prostituted it to partisan purposes. Park's first act was to announce a deliberate intent to exceed the budget. The only reason the State was not in the deepest deficit in the history of the state was that the Democratic administration had used the funds from these dirty little bottle tops pay current expenses. That they had balanced the budget only by diverting vast sums from the sales tax collections to pad the personnel of the Jefferson City government and

this explained why the poor old people of the state had not received their old age pension. It had gone to Democratic politicians and Pendergast henchmen instead of to the purpose for which it was intended and as result thousands of the aged and suffering and infirm had gone to their graves without the old age pension to which they were entitled and for which the people of the sate had paid taxes under the bottle top law.

He said the loose government at Jefferson City was appalling. Said provision had been made for the Chairman of tax board to serve in the preparation and administration of the budget but that the Park administration had deliberately twisted the law and had appointed Charley Carter as "budget director" although where was no legal sanction for any such office or title and Charley had been swelling around over the state and releasing quantities of tiresome matter to the newspapers of the state signing himself as "Budget Director" when as a matter of fact there was no such office. And Charley wouldn't know what it was all about even if there was.

Barrett said the waste and extravagance and worse was so bad at Jefferson City that it was a wonder the people did not go over there with shot guns and clean house without waiting for the election.

For example, he said, they sold some more of the penitentiary bonds the other day. Instead of advertising them and permitting the public to bid on them, they sold them privately to a firm from Kansas City by the name of Stern for 1 3/4% when bankers and brokers were anxious to bid them in at 1% — a saving of 3/4% — if they had been given the opportunity. Said they had already sold some of these bonds in the same way and mulcted the people out of \$25,000 in order to give them to favored buyers and they nicked the people for \$25,000 or so this time and would sell the rest of these bonds in the future and clean up in the some way. Said he didn't know who Stern & Co where but they were from Kansas City and he drew his own conclusions.

He then took up the insurance proposition and said OMalley had retained Jim Ayleward and had promised him a contingent fee of 25% when the amount involved is \$22,000,000 — five and a half million dollars to lawyers. Of course, Aylward was probably worth that much to the State — that he was National Committeeman, Chairman of the State Democratic Committee and Chairman of the Jackson County Democratic Committee. But said when he was Attorney General and the Cor orations of the State refused to pay a corporation tax amounting to \$5,000,000 he went out and collected it and did not

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charge the State a penny — that all it cost the state was \$8.33 a day, the amount of his salary as Attorney General — but t he Democrats under this administration were paying out millions to pet lawyers and fixers.

He said the same kind of graft was practiced when OMalley settled with the Insurance companies on the impounded premiums they had illegally collected from the policyholders of the State. OMalley gave the insurance companies 80% and the policy holders that owned the money got only 20%. But that for that piece of fine work two million dollars was paid lawyers. No one knows who got the two million dollars. Who received it was a locked secret at Jefferson City in the Democratic ring over there and the people of the state who paid the money were not let in on the secret. When he was attorney general of the state every penny was accounted for -- the money was not only spent economically and according to law but every citizen of the state could go and see where the money went.

Then he paid his respects to OMalley. Also said that OMalley came into the last Democratic legislature with a long drawn out law---drawn by whom no body knew —

which would have driven every fraternal insurance association from Missouri. Said he did not know how many men present in the audience held insurance in fraternal associations — Modern Woodmen, Woodmen of the World etc etc but OMalley would have made it impossible for such companies to exist in the State. How he said, OMalley was out with a scheme to collect back taxes which he claimed was due and if he could put it across as he claimed it would bankrupt every fraternal insurance company in the state and render every policy held by any member of the Woodmen etc practically valueless. Said citizens who could not get insurance through any other sources were the victims of OMalley's vindictive desire to get even with all who had criticized the indefensible manner in which he had run his office.

Said the representatives of the fraternal associations had invited him and Stark down to meet with them and announced that if all candidates answered their questions they would have no preferences in the election. He went down and answered at once every question they asked — as any candidate for state office should have done — but Stark came down there with his campaign manager and his publicity man and his political mentor and a shorthand reporter — and when they asked Stark the same questions they asked him Stark said they were trying to put him on the spot and he would not tell them anything. Said the people of Missouri had a right to know what to expect from a man who asked them to elect him Governor of the State for four years — but Stark didn't think so.

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But he said the greatest menace of a Democratic administration was not the millions they were squandering and worse ---- the evils of Democratic Control at Jefferson City were not limited to a appointment of fellows like OMalley who preyed on struggling citizens of the state to feed hangers-on and party hacks — the greatest menace of the Democratic regime in Missouri was its usurpation of power and its steady march towards control of the election machinery of the state -- that it was fast extending its system of

illegal voting and illegal counting of the votes until it was merely a question of a short time until it would have completely superceded the voters of the state in control of their own government.

In Saint Louis the investigation reported by the Post and Globe-Democrat had already unearthed 46,000 ghost voters. That the election lists had been padded by the names of thousands of men who never lived. That the levee district of Saint Louis, now practically abandoned by both business and residence was filled with empty houses which could be seen from the trains -- with windows broken out and doors hanging -- and yet these empty buildings had been registered as the homes of from 50 to 75 voters by the Democratic organization of the city — that where houses had been torn down to save taxes the voters who lived there evidently did not know the building was gone -- for they still gave the address as their homes.

He said that every one of the 46,000 voters were registered by criminals --- that they could not register them without being criminals — that every one connected with these 46,000 votes was a criminal — and when they were voted they were voted by criminals. In other words, he said when the honest, God-fearing people of Warren County and all other counties went to the polls to cast their votes, thoughtfully and conscientiously, every vote they cast was nullified by criminals in Saint Louis and Kansas City who voted ghost men against them -- and always voted for criminal purposes.

He said this system was an octopus extending its tentacles into every corner of the state — that it already had complete and absolute control of Kansas City and was slowly but surely taking Saint Louis and was extending a tentacle up into Saint Joe and and through appointees in the State government from Kansas City was even taking over control of small towns and remote counties throughout Missouri.

When he made his address before the State Convention in the Capitol at Jefferson City last week he told of the way elections were being exploited by these ghost voters

and he happened to look down at the audience before him and he was surprised to see Joe Shannon sitting down there listening to him — Joe Shannon the one time czar

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of Kansas City — and a life long Democratic politician, one of the best known Deocrats in Missouri — and he followed what I said with open and evident enjoyment and approval. When I called attention to the wholesale frauds and outrageous manipulation of the ballots in the last election, Shannon leaned over to the man sitting beside him -- as the man afterwards told me -- and said "Barrett is right about that". When things become so bad that that they disgust and old time partisan like Joe Shannon they must be pretty bad. The Democrats are getting so rotten they can't stand themselves.

I have tried to secure the cooperation of Stark in cleaning up this mess. I have written and telegraphed him asking him to join me in clearing up this shameful condition as reported by the metropolitan papers of the state -- I have asked him to work with me in requesting Roosevelt to send in G-men to meet these conditions. All I ever get from him is a noncommittal statement that he has already committed himself in a radio address to clean elections, and that I am slandering the fair name of Missouri. It is the Democratic Party which by putting over these frauds and then refusing to investigate them have cast a stain on the fair name of Missouri. It is a shame and a scandal and a lawlessness that would shame any State. And it is the Democratic party which is responsible. I am ready to cooperate with them or Stark or anybody else in freeing the great commonwealth of Missouri from these practices which will mark Missouri for years to come.

Barrett then opened up on Pendergastism as he termed it. He gave the life of J. T. Pendergast. Told of his rise from control of his ward to control of the city and then the state etc. Said not a structure in all K.C. could be built without using his ready-mixed cement. That if any one tried to use any other cement they would discover how many

laws there were and how many inspectors there were who could be used to put them out of business. Said that only the oil represented by Pendergast men could be sold in K.C. — that when it came to whiskey he did not even let his lieutenants in on that but that every bottl of liquor sold in any saloon in KC was marked on the label "Bottled by T. J. Pendergast & Co" and let any saloon keeper try to sell any other brand and he would find how many laws there were at the command of the Pendergast machine to close him up — but le him sell Pendergast liquor and he need pay no attention to the laws. Said T. J. Pendergast was the richest man in the State of Missouri. Had a rac ng stable at the Kentucky Derby and a great spring of horses and bet \$600,000 on one race at the last Derby --- while his victims in Missouri were in need of bread.

Barret then told the Biblical story of Belshazzar -- "and a thousand of his lords" Belshazzar was the Pendergast of his time. He had vast stores of gold and silver and precious metals etc, but

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a hand appeared writing on the wall. None of his lords could interpret the writing. Just as now, none of the Pendergast gang can see what is coming. They can not read the unmistakable signs of the time. "You are weighed in the balance and found Wanting etc".

Every where I go Democrats come up and tell me they are not going to stand for control of the state by Pendergast. They are not going to turn over to a Kansas City boss the appointment of Governors and Senators and all state officers and the apportionment of all state patronage. They are still freemen and as I am the only hope of their winning back the franchise for which our fathers fought and died, they tell me they are going to vote for me. I get letters in every mail from Democrats who tell me they are going to vote for me — they are declaring a new Declaration of Independence. The rule of a grasping self-enriching boss in Kansas City is not better than the rule of a potentate across the

sea. Every where Democrats say they are going to vote for me — and I have yet to hear of a single Republican who is going to vote for Stark. The straws show which way the wind blows. The signs of my election are unmistakable and they are on every hand.

A democrat wrote me a letter last week and told me a story I am going to repeat to you. He said two brothers inherited a flock of sheep from their father. They managed them together and the flock increased and prospered. Finally the elder brother proposed to the younger brother that they divide them and he separated them into two flocks. In one he put all the best sheep and the other he put all the culls. But with the culls he put a pet sheep that the younger brother had raised and of which he was very fond. The younger brother looked at both flocks and then he put his arms around his pet lamb and said "You and I have been friends a long time. We have lived together and slept together. But the time has come when we must part". A vast host of Democrats who are better citizens than they are Democrats — who put country above party are saying "We have worked together a long time but the time has come when we must part".

In every town in which I speak I am told that Stark has been there and when I ask how many people were out to hear him they say about 50 -- sometime a hundred — never over 200 people have heard Stark in his speaking campaign. I go to the same town a week or so later and I have an audience of from 1500 to 2500. Even after they drag the WPA women and the CCC boys in tot ry to make a showing they can't get a crowd for Stark. And still some of the lords in the court of Pendergast can't see the shadow of coming events.

And look at the travesty --- the mess --- the tragedy of broken hopes — of pitiable disappointments — for the aged and

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infirm who should have had their old age pensions. Out of 88,000 who should have received their pensions only 15,000 had been granted pensions up to a short time ago and instead of \$30 they are receiving a maximum of \$12. In fact the average old age pension paid by the administration from Kansas City is only \$8.69

Who is this man Thompson who has been placed in charge of the old age pension administration. He is a little henchman of T. J. Pendergast. What special qualifications did he have for the job. None. (And a long discussion of Thompson). Is it any wonder that out of the few pensions paid more of them have been allowed in Kansas City than anywhere else — more than in Saint Louis although Saint Louis is twice as large as Kansas City. Kansas City gets the lions share of everything. Got far more than her share of relief funds; more than her due of WPA funds; more than her share of road funds; more than her share of patronage; and Thompson is just one of the Kansas City administration. I wrote to him and demanded that the waiting and suffering aged who were entitled to pensions be given what had been provided for them. I got no direct reply from him. But within three days after I wrote to him demanding justice for the old age pensioners he gave an announcer to the press saying he was immediately putting on 30,000 more pensioners. So I was able to do that much for the old and helpless of the state.

They report from Thompson's office that they have paid out two and a half million dollars in old age pensions up to date. That is not true. They have paid out altogether less than a million dollars. The rest of the fund that has been spent so far has been spent for jobs and friends of Pendergast and the Democratic administration — white collar workers — in getting this less than a million dollars to the pensioners. They are eating it all up from the inside.

Is it any wonder that good men and women pray beside their beds every night asking God to deliver Missouri from the curse of Pendergastism!

I am answering that prayer. When I go to Jefferson City as Governof the State next Ja
uary I am going to kick every Pendergast man out of his job and restore the government
of the state to the people where it belongs and from whom it has been stolen.

But when I say I am going to kick them out of their jobs I don't necessarily mean that I
am going to kick them out of Jefferson City. There is another institution in Jefferson city
beside the Capitol -- the penitentiary and I am going to make it my business to see that
every one of them I can get my hands on goes over there and stays there, where they
belong and where the interests of the people

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demand that they be put.

Some time ago some one said "Don't sell America short". That was good advise. Not
to be discouraged by misfortune but to fight to win back out prosperity and our national
heritage. And I want to say to you this afternoon. "Have faith in Missouri" The forces of
corruption may by their devious methods gain the ascendancy for a time but they can not
permanently enslave a free people. Have faith in Missouri.

This is a very brief and fragmentary report of Barrett's speech and is delivered from
memory and of course is not a verbatim quotation of the language he used. I have merely
sketched as I recall the general trend of his talk and for that reason this version is not a
word for word transcription of his remarks. But it is in general the idea that he wanted to
put across to his audience.

The crowd at Marthasville is from the strongest Republican precinct in the

Congressional District and for that reason it was impossible to gauge the effect of his remarks on an average Missouri audience. Of course they cheered everything he said and swarmed up to shake hands with him after the meeting, but they would have given the same approval and welcome to any Republican speaker.

He was wise in refusing to let me speak after he talked as he left himself wide open for attack at nearly every point in his address. I hope he and I will talk from the same platform at least one more time in the district before the campaign closes and the next time I will talk last.

So far as his claim that Democrats are going to vote for him is concerned I have not yet heard a single Democrat say he would vote for Barrett. And while I have not heard Republicans say specifically he would vote against him, the woods down here are full of Republican farmers who say they are going to vote the Democratic ticket this fall.

I take for granted you have a check on what Barrett is putting out already -- but thought you might be interested in what he is saying to his country audiences, and so am passing along these excerpts from his Marthasville speech.

If you have any suggestions as to how I can cooperate in the campaign here in the Ninth District let me know.

Clarence.

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9-17-36

Major Stark:

I am enclosing copies of Mr. Cannon's letter for Mr. Ledbetter, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Jim

Pendergast, Mr. Aylward and Mr. Bill Harvey, and am also enclosing 2 copys for you.

On Mr. Cannon's last page there are six paragraphs to you personally. I copied them on separate sheets so if you do not care to send it to Mr. Aylward, Mr. Harvey, Mr. Pendergast, etc., you can hold it out. I would have mailed them out from here, if it had not been for that last page.

SALLYE W. POWELL