

January 24, 1934.

Mrs. Katherine W. Halterman,  
Security Building,  
Kansas City, Missouri

Dear Mrs. Halterman:

In your letter of the 12th Instant you expressed the hope that I will become a candidate for the Senate in the event Mr. Howell should not be a candidate for that position. I appreciate your complimentary references and friendly attitude. Obviously, both Mr. Howell and I should not be candidates.

I have received many calls to enter this race, many very influential Democratic leaders have volunteered their support.

There is a strong rapidly growing sentiment that the Senatorial nominee should, firstly, come from Western Missouri and, secondly, that he should come from rural Missouri. It is argued that the cities have one Senator in the person of Bennett Clark and that Rural, Missouri is entitled to their representative in the Senate. This sentiment is very pronounced among the agricultural classes who feel that they are entitled to have a representative who comes from their midst, who speaks their language and who will reflect their views. I believe this sentiment will continue to grow and render impossible the nomination of any city men for Senator in the approaching primary.

I do not want to be understood as claiming that the people in Rural Missouri are holding meetings or passing resolutions demanding that I enter the Senatorial race, but it is a fact that in every county in the State there is a strong sentiment in favor of drafting me for the Senate.

As you know I have been quite active in Democrat politics for forty years and have probably made more Democratic speeches in Missouri than any Democrat, living or dead, because I began making Democratic speeches when I was seventeen years old and I have spoken in nearly every county in the state and in many of the counties very frequently.

My eleven years service in Congress has perhaps contributed in a slight degree at least towards creating a friendly sentiment on the part of the State Democracy towards me.

Candidly, I do not believe that Mr. Howell can be nominated, nor do I think any Kansas City man can win the Senatorial nomination. If Mr. Howell or any other Kansas City man is a candidate, I am not inclined to enter the race, although I believe that my strength in Rural Missouri, plus some strength I will have in St. Louis, would reasonably insure my nomination.

Milligan is seriously considering entering the Senatorial contest and he will probably make his announcement within a week. I am informed that Hirth is planning to enter the race, but if I should announce my candidacy, I do not believe that he would run.

If I am not a candidate and the race is between Hirth, Milligan and a Kansas City man, I believe Milligan would win, as it is generally believed that he will have Senator Clark's support.

If Kansas City does not present a candidate and the Kansas City Democracy supports me, I am quite sure that no one could defeat me for the nomination, but if Kansas City has a candidate and I do not enter the race, it is reasonably certain that Milligan will win the nomination. Unless the Kansas City Democracy is reasonably certain that it can nominate a Kansas City man, it would certainly be poor political strategy to present a candidate and make probable the nomination of some one not friendly to the Kansas City Democratic organization. In other words, in my opinion, the only chance Kansas City has to nominate the next Senator from Missouri is to support an outstate man, and I assume that you Kansas City Democrats will have a choice as between candidate from Rural Missouri.

While the relations between Clark and Milligan are intimate, I do not believe that Clark will fight me, although he declares openly and publicly that he will take the stump and vigorously oppose Howell's nomination. This would precipitate a bitter factional fight that would probably defeat Howell in the general election, if he should win in the primary. It is generally believed that none of the Democratic organizations will be as potential in the next campaign as in 1932. I am also wondering whether the Kansas City primary vote will ever be as large as in the last primary.

It is rumored that Mr. Hirth expects to have the support of the Kansas City organization in the event Mr. Howell is not a candidate, and I have also heard that Mr. Milligan expects to be nominated whether or not he has the support of the Kansas City

organization.

Undeniably, there is a rapidly growing belief that Senator heed cannot be nominated because, it is said, that he does not fit into the present picture and is out of accord with the Administration. No one who opposes the Roosevelt Administration can, in my opinion, win the Senatorial nomination, not-with-standing, objections that may be logically urged against some Rooseveltian formulas. The people still have confidence in Roosevelt although some of them believe that a part of his program is unworkable and probably will be amended.

Here is the situation as I see it: No Kansas City man can be nominated; A candidate from Western Rural Missouri will be the nominee; With Mr. Howell and other receptive Kansas City candidates out of the picture, and with the Kansas City organization supporting me, my nomination would be as certain as anything in the future can be.

I do not know what Mr. Pendergast will do in the event Mr. Howell decides not to be a candidate, although T.J. told me in November 1932 that if Charlie Howell was not a candidate that he would support me as against any other person in the state. Everybody knows that Mr. Pendergast keeps his promises. I know he is my friend and I believe he will support me if Mr. Howell eliminates himself from the Senatorial picture.

Then again, we all know that Shannon will not be a candidate unless he has an understanding with Mr. Pendergast. In other words, no Kansas City aspirant for Senatorial honors will enter the race without having the express or implied approval and sanction of Mr. Pendergast.

In this period of growing opposition to so-called "machine politics", it seems to me that the Kansas City organization could and would tremendously strengthen itself by giving its support to an outstate candidate for the Senate. This would leave a good taste in the political mouths of Rural Democracy and would negative the claims that the Kansas City Democracy wants to monopolize all worth while offices in the State.

I think my nomination in the new Second District is assured, but of course I have had a life long ambition to represent Missouri in the United States Senate, and have made many sacrifices and worked unremitantly to qualify myself for such service, but I am a poor man and cannot afford to gamble with destiny or enter the Senatorial race unless I am reasonably sure of winning the nomination. I have no misgivings as to my vote in

more than 100 rural counties. St. Louis is an unknown quantity although I have considerable strength there. If I enter the Senatorial race I feel that I must have a clear field in Kansas City, the support of the Kansas City organization, and the rest of the State will take care of itself.

If I knew that Kansas City would not present a Senatorial candidate and that I could, with assurance, count on the support of the Kansas City organization I would make my announcement immediately, which I believe would give me a clear field, as with my recognized strength in Rural Missouri and the support of the Kansas City Democracy would insure my nomination beyond the peradventure of a doubt. So, whatever is done should be done quickly. Mr. Howell's withdrawal will not alone solve the problem unless it is accompanied by an assurance that I will have a clear field in Kansas City and the support of the Kansas City organization. What I most fear is that the Kansas City situation will not clear up until some other outstate man has made his contacts and built up an organization that will insure his nomination.

I will be pleased to hear from you at an early date and have your reactions to my analysis of the Senatorial situation.

If you desire, you are at liberty to show this letter to Mr. Howell and ascertain his views in reference to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

M.C.

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