

In reading and correcting this (11/19) I realized that those who read it and have not seen my earlier memos of recollections will not know that I was subpoenaed by the Dies committee but because it had resorted to an illegal subpoena, to compel my "forthwith" appearance, I had declined to appear until I had counsel. A full account is in other memos and in records relating to my getting a Dies agent, David Wayne, indicted when he entrapped me for the committee. There was a grand-jury proceeding. It refused to indict me or my associate and did indict Wayne. The session in Rayburn's hide-away was obviously well prepared because of the large number of Dies' people there. Caro refers to the furniture in this hide-away. It is my collection that it was over-furnished with sofas and armchairs and that there were so many Dies people there some sat on the arms of the furniture and some stood.

John Hance Garner ran with FDR and became vice president. As vice president he continued his "Board of Education" in his Senate Office Building office. What liquor he seems to have served and the only liquor I know he served was West Virginia bootleg whiskey, known, among other things, as "white nule". To my knowledge (I then looked for the Senate) he sent his uniformed chauffeur to get this whiskey. He and his guests were careless in handling the jugs because they left rings on the shelves of the open bookcase on which Garner kept them. I know this because when I was a Senate editor and needed a set of bookshelves I was offered that one and accepted it. Garner was and liked "good ol' boys" and he was quite democratic in this. Once when I had so much work to do I borrowed a proofreader from the Government Printing Office, it loaned me an amiable older man named Jerr Burnett, from Independence, Mo.. After a while he started coming back from lunch late and increasingly drunk. He was tipping with Garner in Garner's office. I think I've gone into this in more detail in other memos. I had to return Jeff to the GPO.

In reading farther in the book I came to wonder why, because from the beginning of LBJ's career, Welly Hopkins was so close to him, he was not offered a better government job that as an assistant to the assistant attorney general in charge of the Department of Justice Criminal Division. In other memos I report this that when John W. Lewis asked for my recommendation of the department lawyers with whom I'd worked in the "bloody Harlan" prosecution in 1938 I recommended Hopkins. I knew he was conservative but I did not know that he was as extremely conservative as Caro says. Nor did I see anything that would have led me to believe that he would have participated in some of LBJ's hijinks when he was a young man.

If then or later Johnson had wanted to he could have given Welly a more important and prestigious job in the government or gotten him one in private life. So I wonder why he didn't and why Hopkins remained United Mine Workers general counsel.

He helped them. On the day, May 13, on which he had arrived in Washington as a newly elected Congressman, the first office he had visited had been that of the newly elected Majority Leader, and in that office he stooped down and kissed a bald head, and the grim face beneath it had broken into a smile. Sam Rayburn was very glad to see Lyndon Johnson back in Washington. When Johnson asked him to stand beside him at his swearing-in in the well of the House, as his sponsor, he was very touched. The furniture in the Johnsons' apartment was a little worn from use by previous occupants, but, starting on the very next Sunday, their apartment was frequently adorned with the short, broad figure that was, in the catalog of Washington power, a more prized ornament than ever. And Rayburn returned the hospitality in a very significant manner. One of his first acts after his election as Leader had been to reinstitute Jack Garner's "Board of Education," and each day after the House had adjourned, a handful of Congressmen met in a room on the ground floor of the Capitol to "strike a blow for liberty" with a late-afternoon drink. The men invited to this hideaway—which was furnished only with dark leather easy chairs, a long, dark leather sofa, a fireplace, a desk at which Rayburn presided, and a picture of Robert E. Lee—were almost all leaders of the House; the single exception was Wright Patman, who possessed a qualification that was, in Rayburn's eyes, more important than seniority: he had been one of the little band of Populists in the Texas Legislature who never sold out. One day, Rayburn invited Johnson down for a drink after the session. Thereafter, leaving the floor at the end of the day, the Leader would frequently growl to Johnson: "Come

Additional comment on Caro's "The Years of Lyndon Johnson" 11/15/90
and how it was in LBJ's youth and mine (First volume)

One of the justified criticisms of the second volume of this trilogy is that Caro portrayed Coke Stevenson, from whom LBJ stole his election as senator, as a much better man than he was. To my knowledge he has done this also with Sam Rayburn in Part III, Chapter 18, pp. 306 ff. This is not to say that Caro was in any way inaccurate. Rayburn was, without question, an indispensable part of enacting the FDR legislation, particularly those laws relating to controls on the greedy wealthy.

However, there was another side to Rayburn's career as majority leader. For example, his undeviating support of the Dies UnAmerican committee. Even though his politics and those of Dies and his fellow committee members, selected by Rayburn or requiring his approval, from the Democratic majority, were quite different. Martin Dies, of Texas, was an extremist of the right and utterly irresponsible and dishonest. Joe Starnes of Alabama, the ~~vice~~ vice chairman, was a pleasant and friendly man, which Dies wasn't (I knew then both but had only been introduced to Rayburn, with whom I had no personal contact) but he was also of the far right and like Dies a racist.

Rayburn also never did a thing to restrain the committee's excesses and he supported each and every extension of its life. and only those who lived through this committee's career or studied it can have any notion of how UnAmerican it was, how it set out to violate all American belief and tradition and not infrequently law, how it was determined to hurt people and causes, including unions, how utterly irresponsible and pro-fascist it and its members were.

I have personal knowledge of one of the personal favors Rayburn extended to Dies.

One day when I was at the Capitol, and I presume that the committee knew I'd be there as the result of some kind of surveillance because it was well prepared for what happened, some of its people grabbed me and led me to an office just off the House floor, on the ~~side~~ side of it, and held a hearing. It was prepared for this with a court reporter and with staff and members sitting and waiting for me to be brought in. They were also prepared to sit me close to the radiator, where I'd be uncomfortably warm while they questioned me. The room was Rayburn's hide-away, as they were then called on the Hill. It also contained a supply of his liquor. On at least one occasion, of which I have a clear recollection, and possibly more, because other things occupied my mind then, a man entered, went to a cabinet, and left with liquor, a bottle or more. I remember that he wore riding pants and boots.

Rayburn did not have to support those awful people and if he had been the kind of man Caro portrays he would not have been. He did not have to designate Dies as chairman and he could not have been ignorant of the fact that in campaigning for the post Dies was openly anti-Semitic. He made such references to the previous vice-chairman, Sam Dickstein of New York. (What it happens I knew then.) Dies went around assuring the right-wing Democrats that there would not be any Jews on his committee if he chaired it. And he was already well known as anti labor. (Before Dies it was known as the McCormack-Dickstein committee. John McCormack was the chairman, later majority leader, from Mass.)

When Rayburn was majority leader all the extensions of the committee's life were enacted with an overwhelming Democratic majority and with Rayburn's support. And before the first extension it was more than apparent that the committee was in lusty opposition to all that FDR wanted to do and to him and even to his wife.

In Chapter 19, on the National Youth Administration, which I've just begun reading, Caro says that the average depression wage for teen agers was 10 cents an hour. Not where I lived and worked and when, as from time to time I did, I had NYA employment, the wage was 30 cents an hour. I worked in the library for that, 90 cents a night, after which I had to hitchhike home, 12 or more miles, beginning about 10:15 p.m., and in the School of Agriculture, where I did public relations work. It was bad and hard, but not as bad as 10¢ an hour where I lived. But I did have to use paper and cardboard when my shoe soles wore through. Half-soles cost \$1.00, more than a night's work grossed.