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Report of Proceedings

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Hearing held before

Subcommittee of the Committee on Finance

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January 27, 1940

Washington, D. C.

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Subcommittee of the Committee on Finance,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

(By direction of Senator Bailey, the follow excerpts  
from Mr. Leake's newspaper are inserted in the record).

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September 7, 1938.

AS WE SEE IT  
GET AND FORGET

Those who are interested in California politics are destined to witness more going on from now until November than they'd ever dream of seeing in three three-ring circuses. There'll be dizzy Bourbons on the flying trapezes, elephants standing on their heads, political clowns, pink lemonade and all the trimmin's.

To the fellow who makes his ham and eggs the hard way by getting out a small-town newspaper, it looks like a swell time to either get out the ol' fishin' rod or else study up on astronomy, astrology, biology or some of the other kindred subjects. Editorials on such topics are less likely to develop much heat at a time when there is such wide divergence of political opinion.

California's campaign looks like an eternal merry-go-

round, with most of the horses going backward.

Leand and hungry for control at Sacramento for all these years, the Democrats have the prize in their vest pocket. They can only lose by playing some very bad cards. In fact, Senator Olson's only chance to miss being Governor is to swallow and approve the \$30-every-Thursday pension program.

True, it is the fact that he condemned the scheme as a fallacy and a fraud on the aged that cost Senator McAdoo thousands of votes, but the real ticket to his defeat was definitely written in Southern California political blunders and unnecessary grievances by Mr. McAdoo's unpopular erstwhile law partner, Bill Neblett of Los Angeles.

As California has time to think this pension proposal over, California will decide that Senator McAdoo had courage and sound sense in denouncing it and California will defeat Mr. Olson if he advocates it.

California usually thinks straight.

The new pension thing will not stand the light. As an issue, it will be dead before the campaign is half way through. Governor Merriam knows this and he has very smartly come out against it.

Up to date, Senator Olson has said nothing against or for the pension advocates, explaining that the fate of the proposal will be decided by the people and if it should pass

he will see that it is administered as provided for in the act by a special board. The electorate has a right to expect a more positive pre-election stand from Mr. Olson.

Sheridan Downey, Democratic nominee for U. S. senator will probably campaign on his own. It is unlikely he will reverse himself on the \$30 a week scheme, but he will probably soft-pedal it and take on his Republican opponent, Phil Bancroft on the issue of liberalism versus reactionarism. At least, this will be the strategy of Mr. Downey.

When the \$30 bubble bursts, Mr. Downey may find himself in need of a parachute to avoid any unhappy landing.

Even those Democrats who dislike the panaceas of Mr. Downey and suspect he is primarily interested in votes, will find it difficult to string along with Mr. Bancroft, because of the latter's bitter attacks on Everything that is New Dealish.

Unfortunately for Governor Merriam, he and Ray Haight are spoiling for a mean row in their own ranks. Mr. Merriam needs the full strength of his own party as well as the backing of a goodly number of Democrats. The Republican dissension obviously helps Mr. Olson and that is a piece of luck for the senator who tried to eliminate Mr. Haight from the Progressive ticket.

George Hatfield's promise to let bygones be bygones was an expected happening. Mr. Hatfield has proclaimed that what

he said about an unbalanced budget, the oil mess, and the Governor's erstwhile "pal", Artie Smith, the lobbyist, were just playful remarks. However, Mr. Merriam knows that many of Mr. Hatfield's Republican friends did not accept the slurs in jest and they'll be in there pitching for Mr. Haight, whose campaign pledge is to clean up both "patronage machines" and both major parties.

The reconciliation between Mr. Merriam and Mr. Hatfield is a reminder that politics is a game of get and forget.

To a rather notable extent it now appears that the political drama of the November campaign is going to be most confusing and irritating for those who take their politics rather seriously.

Maybe we'll be seein' yuh, down by the old mill stream.  
How 'bout?  
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July 21, 1936

TOWNSENDITE FLAYS BUCK AT MEET OF LOCAL CLUB

By Clifton Frisbie  
Asserting that "We face destruction of the Republic unless the Townsend Plan is enacted into law" J. T. Walter of St. Helena, candidate for state senator opposing Senator Frank Gordon, Monday night addressed members of the Woodland Townsend Club No. 1 meeting in Odd Fellows Hall here.

Speaking chiefly against the stand of Congressman Frank H. Buck on the Townsend plan, Walter urged united sup-

port of Townsendites for the candidacy of Sheridan Downey, who is contesting for the Democratic nomination. Fifty-one persons attended the meeting, including a delegation of approximately 20 persons from Winters headed by C. L. Harrington, president of the Winters Townsend club, and J. M. Robinson, Winters representative on the congressional district committee of the organization.

#### Install Officers.

Officers of the local club recently elected were installed by C. W. Frazier, president of one of the Sacramento Townsend clubs and campaign director for Downey.

Officers installed included: J. D. Hammer, president; Mrs. Cora Davis, vice president; Charles W. Foy, secretary-treasurer, and Mrs. Jennie Whyte, reading secretary.

It was decided that the meeting to be held August 16 at Nelson' Grove is to be known as a Downey Rally and the candidate will be the principal speaker.

Walter, former associate editor of the Townsend Weekly, charged that the recent Congressional investigation of the Townsend Plan was brought about "by 150 congressmen afraid of losing their jobs."

"I was there for part of the investigation," he continued, "and there were things went on in that committee room that would not be tolerated in the most corrupt police force in the nation."

Directing his address against Congressman Buck, Walter said:

"Congressman Buck in his Sacramento speech said that the Townsend Plan is inflation. Inflation means issuing money without sound backing, but the Townsend Plan does not call for one cent to come from the United States treasury. It cannot be called inflation in any sense of the word.

"We have in this country more than 50 billion dollars in tax exempt bonds, and we are issuing more every day. That is a form of inflation, and we have it with us today. The Townsend Plan through its transaction tax, would force the holders of those bonds to pay their share of the cost of the plan.

#### Fears Bond Panic

"We are confronted with the prospect of a bond panic that will cause railroads and all corporations to crumble, unless we restore purchasing power to the people. Those bonds draw interest, and the people must pay the interest, but they must have the purchasing power if they are able to do it. The Townsend Plan will give them that power.

"New labor saving devices are being perfected daily, with the result that fewer and fewer men can be given employment. That means that we must do something to meet this increasingly serious situation, and the Townsend Plan does meet it, by removing the older persons from pro-

ductive employment.

#### Transaction Tax

"I do not consider looking these facts in the face to be 'viewing with alarm.' Instead of budgeting billions to attempt recovery, let's meet the situation with the transaction tax. I am convinced that such a tax would not only pay the \$200 a month old age pension, but would also retire the public debt."

Again directing his attention to Congressman Buck's Sacramento speech, Walter said:

"In his talk, Congressman Buck said that the Social Security Act is not perfect, but that it is the framework about which something good can be built. A year ago he was telling us that the Social Security Act was the perfect solution of the problem. I have no doubt but that Congressman Buck will be defeated and that our candidate will be victorious."

Walter drew applause when he attacked the statement of Congressman Buck that the transaction tax would yield only \$3.75 more than the \$30 available under the Social Security Act and would result in disastrous inflation.

"Congressman Buck told me" Walter said, "that he wanted to do all that he could to help us, but that he could not risk his status in Washington. He has said that invalidation of the AAA is indicative that the Townsend Plan would



be declared unconstitutional. I don't believe that is the case, but if it is, I say that we will make the Townsend Plan constitutional.

Show no Mercy

"We should show no mercy for Congressman Buck."

Walter pointed out that for the first time in history, Napa county is showing a Democratic majority registration, and credited the Townsend Plan supporters with bringing about this condition.

"I think that the Cleveland convention was a wonderful thing," he said, "it did what neither of the major parties would do. It brought matters out into the open, and let people hear them. Some things that were said were wrong, but at least they were brought out for all to hear, and that is real democracy."

Walter made a plea for united support of Downey. "There is no use of us talking tariffs and other such things," he said, "the only thing for us to do now is to elect Downey."

He played the candidacies of Arthur B. C. Dowdell of Napa county and Art C. Pearson of Sacramento, who also appear as Townsend candidates on the Democratic ticket. Dowdell, he said, was ill advised in entering and will not wage a campaign and he asserted that "we will never hear from Pearson."

Raps "Democrat"

The Woodland "Democrat" came in for its share of attention from Walter, who said, "the newspaper is committed to Frank Buck, and we may as well forget it. This is a business proposition."

J. D. Hammer, president of the local club, followed Walter with the assertion, "'The Democrat' has been fair to us in the matter of local Townsend news, and we appreciate it."

There is a determined Facist drive on in America, Walter charged, and he accused the magazine Time and its radio feature, March of Time, with being owned and controlled by Pierpont Morgan and dedicated to defeat of the Townsend Plan. Misrepresentation through exaggeration of minor incidents was charged.

#### Tells Candidacy

Following conclusion of his talk, Walter was introduced as the "next state sentaor from this district." He responded by saying that he holds Senator Frank Gordon in high regard, but that Gordon is on record against the Townsend Plan and for that reason Towsendites should work for his defeat.

The Townsend Rally to be held at Winters Wednesday evening was announced, and the local club promised a big delegation at the event.

Following adjournment of the club meeting, Frazier gave a brief campaign talk in support of Downey. Towsendites

were credited by him with establishing the commanding Democratic registration lead in the district.

In commenting on Downey's candidacy, he said that the Townsend candidate is rated as one of the ten best orators in the state.

July 23, 1936

SPEAKER RAPS BUCK'S RECORD AT WINTERS TOWNSEND MEET.

By Jay Schorn  
In a bitter attack and denunciation of his 'friend'

and neighbor, Walter Schaefer, one-time Vacaville store clerk, Wednesday night in Winters addressed an audience of Townsendites on why he believed Congressman Frank H. Buck should not be reelected to Congress as a representative from the third district. The meeting was arranged by the Winters Townsend Club of which R. B. Bigelow is secretary.

Quoting Congressman Buck as saying to him "I can't jeopardize my interests in Washington for you folks," Schaefer claimed he had attempted to convince the district representative that the Townsend Plan is sound and the one plan which would restore normal prosperity with a "piece of money" for the needy and old aged.

"Did Frank listen to me?" Schaefer said. "No, he did not. He didn't even attempt to answer an important letter I wrote him about how Vacaville Townsendites believed they deserved a little consideration. Frank is going along in

his own sweet way and my only wish is that I could vote a thousand times to help put the skids under him.

Good Friends

"Now, get this statement correct. Frank and I are good friends. We have played bridge together and he calls my wife by her first name, but he just won't listen to reason. I'd like to know who the man is who pulled a heavy shield of wool over his eyes."

His sleeves rolled up and his collar tucked under a light shirt, Schaefer stood on the platform of a truck on East Main street in the business section of Winters and listed his own reasons why he believed Congressman Buck undeserving of another trial at Washington.

In brief, his "reasons" follow:

(1) Because an insinuation was once made, Schaefer claimed, in a letter that Townsendites might be classed with Communists.

(2) Because he refused to assist on the floor in attempting to pass the McGroarty bill or write a capable substitute.

(3) Because he once termed the Townsend Plan a racket.

(4) Because in an address recently made, the Townsend Plan was called a myth.

(5) Because he had voted in Congress 17 times for Wall Street and only seven times for the Townsend class of people.

(6) Because he had voted for legislation increasing the foreign market imports here instead of helping the home farmers.

(7) Because the Bucks like champagne and other foreign wines instead of satisfying their thirsts with California wines.

(8) Because he supported the Vincent Bill instead of the Pattman soldiers' bonus bill, thus giving bankers a chance to profit.

(9) Because he has taken the stand that all inflationists are criminals and that the Townsend Plan would result in inflation.

(10) Because he wouldn't "play ball" with President Roosevelt in wiping out Wall Street leaders.

(11) Because he favors the Social Security bill which would make it impossible for a man to get his money back until he had become 119 years old.

(12) Because he is one part for the poor man and two and a half parts for the rich man.

Praises Downey

Schaefer opened his talk by mentioning the type of man that the third district needed in Washington. He said a real leader is Sheridan Downey of Sacramento, who would always vote their way and for what was right. He continued by asserting that if there are 25,000,000 Townsendites in America,

first class congressmen should be elected in November to capably represent them.

#### Mysterious Bell.

The speaker spoke at length about a meeting held in Vacaville last fall at which time he said, Congressman Buok invited a group of Townsendites to his home to discuss the situation.

"It seemed funny to me," he said, "but every time we got ready to put over a good point, the telephone would ring. I always believed Congressman Buok was allowing his hand to slip under the table against a buzzer.

"At the meeting were such fine men as Andrew Sheveland of Vallejo, Robert Fulger of San Francisco, Jim Walter of St. Helena, R. M. Miller of Sacramento and myself. We didn't get anywhere at all which proved to us that Congressman Buok just wasn't our man."

#### AAA a Racket.

Schaefer told his listeners that the time was now ripe to convince the world that the Townsend Plan is not a racket. "Talk about your rackets," he asserted, "and all you have to do is think of the AAA. I can show you where one man on a four and a half acre piece of land got \$115,000 for not producing hogs. Another farmer in the south received \$200,000 for not planting his cotton. How many of us have any sum like this? Is the Townsend Plan a racket? No, it's not like

the AAA.

"The Townsend Plan is a good Christian movement - the like of which the world has never seen before. It's humane, but that's something Congressman Buck doesn't want to talk about. If he had just half the humane views that Dr. F. E. Townsend has, I'd be for him 100 per cent.

Enter Pathos.

"They call us foolish rebels, but we'll show them in November. It used to be that our forefathers battled with swords. Now it's ballots that we carry and use as daggers. I'm getting warm under the collar, so I'll slow down and tell you about my mother.

"It costs \$15 a month to keep Al Capone in Alcatraz. Congressman Buck, however, wants to give only that sum to my mother under the pension plan proposed. I say that my dear mother deserves more a break than that - especially when a gangster gets a like amount. I hope to see the day when Congressman Buck is forced to live on \$15 for four weeks."

Hits Tariff Scheme

Schaefer told why he felt sure in his own mind that Congressman Buck was doing nothing for the almond growers, wine men and farmers as a whole. "I know," he stated, "that you can buy imported almonds a lot cheaper than you can purchase them right here in Winters. Why? Well, because of Congressman Buck's great tariff plan.

"France can't borrow money from Uncle Sam, so it is gotten from bankers like the DuPonts and Morgans. France in turn produces, ships goods here at a low price and sells it cheaper than we can produce it. In turn, France uses that money to repay the Morgans and so on down the line. It's not difficult to see why our Congressman likes to vote in keeping with bills helping the big boys."

Small Attendance.

At frequent intervals during the talk, the crowd of approximately 75 persons standing around the platform applauded the speaker.

James Robinson, a Townsend leader at Winters, opened the meeting and introduced C. W. Frazier, campaign manager for Mr. Downey. He spoke briefly stating he believed the election would be close, with his candidate coming out a winner. He urged all Townsendites to hear the candidate speak at Winters August 8.

Due to a mistake in arranging the meeting, no loud speaker system was provided. Townsendites had previously planned to hold the meeting at the soft ball park but a game interfered.

Among the Woodland residents present were: J. D. Hammer, Glenn Hammer, Charles W. Foy, Ariel V. Huntington, Mrs. C. V. Huntington, Mrs. Treva Sowash, Mrs. Jennie Whyte, Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Burrell, Mr. and Mrs. T. F. Cook,



and Mr. and Mrs. C. O. Larsen.

It was announced that Mr. Downey will speak in Woodland August 15.

July 28, 1936

SMITHS SOUND SORE NOTE AT TOWNSEND MEET - HUNTINGTON.

*By Marian Nelson*

Branding as false Pacific coast newspaper accounts of the Townsend Convention held in Cleveland, Ohio, earlier in the month, C. V. Huntington and A. J. Pratt, delegates from this district, Monday evening gave oral reports to the 67 adults, four children, one baby, and this report, who gathered at the Odd Fellows hall.

Mr. Huntington emphasized the fact that the Townsend Plan is not pledged to the support of any presidential candidate and that loyal Townsendites should concentrate on electing Senators and Congressmen from their respective districts.

"Just as soon as you people work hard enough to elect senators and congressmen, we will have the Townsend Plan become a law. If your work is loyal enough, we will have the plan by January 1," exclaimed Mr. Huntington in a burst of oratory that was acknowledged by spirited clapping on the part of the audience.

All Harmonious

As he described the Townsend convention itself, Mr,

Huntington declared that the reports printed in newspapers of dissension in Townsendite ranks were untrue. He agreed that a certain element came to the convention with the determination to oust Dr. Townsend but the rebel group was quickly downed by the unanimous vote for Dr. Townsend.

"Sherida Downey" said Mr. Huntington "is doing a wonderful piece of work in the defense of Dr. Townsend whose arrest was brought about by blackguard Townsendites."

Earlier in the meeting it was brought out that California has pledged \$10,000 to the Townsend defense fund now being raised throughout the United States. The local club will contribute to the fund.

Charles Foy, local secretary, believes that the case against Townsend will be thrown out of court when the doctor is brought to trial in August in Cleveland, Ohio.

#### Blames the Smiths

Mr. Huntington expressed the opinion that it was unfortunate that the Townsend convention was held in a presidential year. He blamed the entrance of politics for the "words that passed" between Gomer Smith and Gerald Smith. The Smiths brought politics into the convention but the judicious Dr. Townsend poured oil on the troubled water, and the boys were friends again.

Pointedly Mr. Huntington declared that at no time were the Townsendites themselves swayed by either of the speakers,

He said both were sincere men, who in the heat of battle said too much.

His reaction to Father Coughlin was the same. The priest is a brilliant man, who went a little too far when he called the President a liar.

#### Raps Newspapers

"However, said Mr. Huntington, "Father Coughlin apologized to the President, and the Townsendites took no sides. It was not their fight. I am surprised that you here in Woodland would believe what you read in the daily papers, knowing how they falsify the facts. Although there were 15,000 delegates and the chairman broke eight gavels trying to keep order, the convention was never split as newspapers on the Pacific coast insinuated.

"While Lemke backed the Townsend Plan 100 per cent, nevertheless the Townsend convention did not endorse Lemke or anyone else. And any talk to the contrary is nothing more than newspaper talk," he stated.

#### Thomas Out Of Tune

"Norman Thomas was booted from the platform when he told those of us gathered at the convention that the Townsend Plan was unworkable. Only when Dr. Townsend came to his rescue was the crowd quieted. The socialist views of Thomas are unreconciled to the Townsend Plan, because socialism denies the profit system that is vital to the Townsend Plan.

"Finally the Townsend convention went on record against a third party and the endorsement of presidential candidates."

A. J. Pratt and Mrs. Maude Snavely were the other two delegates to go to Cleveland from the congressional district. Mrs. Snavely remained in the middle west to visit relatives for several more weeks.

Mr. Pratt gave a brief report on the convention. He said, "The convention was the only one I have ever attended, and if they make them any bigger, I'll stay home. Mr. Huntington and I were always losing each other. Then we would spend hours trying to find each other."

Delegates Thanked.

August Silberstein moved that the delegates receive a vote of thanks for their reports. The vote was unanimous.

J. D. Hammer, president of the club, presided at the meeting. Mrs. Jenny White, secretary, read the minutes of the previous meeting. Treasurer Charles Foy made his report.

Since the membership drive started last week, 18 men and 6 women have joined the club. Mrs. A. W. Russell and W. C. Burrell are directing the drive. It will close August 25.

July 30, 1936

COLLAPSE OF CIVILIZATION WITHOUT TOWNSEND PLAN PICTURED  
BY DOWNEY IN OPENING TALK OF YOLO CAMPAIGN.

*R. W. Hamilton Frisbie*

Painting a terrifying picture of collapse of civilization and destruction of the home within four or five years if the Townsend Plan is not enacted into law, Sheridan Downey, personal counsel for Dr. Francis Townsend, candidate for the Democratic nomination for congressman from the Third Congressional District, Wednesday night spoke to approximately 225 persons at Westgate.

It was the opening shot in Yolo county of his political campaign, and his audience was composed for the most part of ardent and enthusiastic supporters of the Townsend movement.

From the start his talk was a direct attack upon Congressman Frank H. Buck.

#### Two Philosophies.

"The issue in this campaign," Downey said, "is a basic difference in philosophy.

"I believe that the land can produce unlimited wealth for us all and create certainty for the old people. The only thing we lack is the purchasing power to buy what labor can produce. The Townsend Plan would create that buying power and at the same time establish adequate pensions. It not only can be done, but it must be done, for without buying power, men cannot work to produce things that cannot be bought.

"If it is not done, civilization and our homes will be imperiled within the next four or five years.

### No More Charitable

"My heart is no more charitable than Frank Buck's but he does not see the problem as I do. He would work it out by denying and depriving. He thinks that \$30 a month - if and when the old people get it - is sufficient."

Enthusiastic applause greeted Downey's characterization of the \$30 a month social security program as "a miserable and humiliating sum."

Speaking in his shirt sleeves, collar open at the throat, Downey warmed to his attack on Congressman Buck. Directly he charged Congressman Buck with being backed by "big business" interests.

"He believes in low wages; I believe in union labor. Frank Buck has the united support of every chamber of commerce in the district, bank officials and the conservative Republican leaders. Union men and small business men are simply fooling themselves if they think that Frank Buck is representing them. Big business knows what it is doing, and big business is backing Frank Buck.

"If I am elected it will be my sole task to keep the yolk of poverty off of you.

Supports Roosevelt.

"I was the first person in California to support Franklin D. Roosevelt. I still support him and will continue to do so. Congressman Buck challenges my standing as a

Democrat. As a matter of fact, if there is anybody in this campaign who is not a true Democrat, it is Frank Buck, because he is running on both the Democratic and Republican tickets. He has the backing of the Republican newspapers, such as the Sacramento Union."

Downey's assertion of his support of the President drew loud applause, the audience apparently being unanimously supporting Roosevelt.

Conducting a hand poll of the audience, Downey discovered that all but four of the group were registered as Democrats. Another poll disclosed that approximately 40 percent of the crowd was from Yolo county.

Downey asserted that he has the undivided support of labor in San Joaquin county and added that he would like to debate the labor question from the same platform with Congressman Buck, "but Buck refuses to do so."

Pausing long enough to conduct an animated conversation with a seven-year old youngster seated on the front row, Downey resumed his talk with:

"We don't know how we are coming out, but there is tremendous power in our movement. We face a tough fight - Buck money, newspapers supporting Buck, Buck patronage and finally, that big Democratic political machine. If I am elected, it will be only by the support of the common people like you."

### Plea For Donations

Concluding his talk, Downey made a personal plea for contributions to his campaign fund.

"I hate to do this, but I am under instructions from my bosses and they insist that I do it. I hate to talk about such things, but I must do it, because we need the money to buy radio time, newspaper advertising and conduct the campaign generally. Cards are being passed to you, and those who can, without sacrifice, I hope will contribute a dollar or more to the cause."

J. T. Walter of St. Helena, Townsend candidate against State Senator Frank Gordon, spoke in his own behalf and in support of Downey.

"Congressman Buck voted 17 times for Wall Street measures," he charged. "When asked to assist in drafting a Townsend measure that would be acceptable, he refused. Frank Buck, on the floor of the House, was one of those who asked for the appropriation to investigate the Townsend movement."

### Townsend Adviser.

"Downey is a personal adviser to Dr. Townsend, and his victory would stun major party leaders into a realization of the true strength of the Townsend movement. With Sheridan Downey in congress to lead the fight there, I want to be in the state senate to pass on the Townsend plan benefits to you as quickly as possible. Frank Fordon is a fine gen-



tleman, but he is a reactionary."

In commenting on the general situation, he said"

"There is nothing wrong with the country, but there is plenty wrong with the people who make the laws. In the midst of plenty we find 30,000,000 people living in hovels, 20,000,000 people standing in breadlines, and 11,000,000 people without steady employment. I have spent two years studying this problem and believe the Townsend Plan to be the only solution."

In regards to the Woodland "Democrat" Walter declared: "It has been fair in its news accounts of my talks, but it is biased against us in its editorial policy."

C. C. Jester, president of Harmony Club No. 30 presided. A number of special entertainment features were presented, and several of the members spoke from the floor in support of Downey and Walter.

Representatives of the Woodland and Winters Townsend clubs attended the session.

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August 4, 1936

TOWNSEND PLAN SOLE HOPE OF RECOVERY, DOWNEY STATES HERE

Extolling the virtues of the Townsend Plan and slashing at the candidacy of Congressman Frank H. Buck, whom he is opposing for the Democratic nomination, Sheridan Downey Monday night spoke at the softball park here to a crowd

estimated at less than 500 persons.

Downey's talk for the most part was a reiteration of his address last week at West Sacramento when he launched his campaign in Yolo county.

Again Downey attacked Frank Buck as being the candidate of "big business, politicians, newspapers, and the chambers of commerce." Directly referring to the Woodland "Democrat" Downey asserted:

"If the editor doesn't know whose candidate Buck really is, then that editor is not as sophisticated or wise as editors should be. The "Democrat" thinks we are just plain crazy and won't give us a fair hearing to tell our side of the story."

#### Doleful Picture

Downey repeated his doleful picture of the certain break down of civilization and government in the United States unless the Townsend Plan is enacted into law. He said:

"Frank Buck charges me with merely engaging in eloquent oratory. I say that I am talking only common sense, and in the simplest possible language."

The Townsend national convention at Cleveland, he asserted, furnished him with renewed faith in the program and confidence for its success. He declared:

#### Supports F. D.

"There were many things at the convention, however, that

I didn't like. Particularly there were the bitter attacks against President Roosevelt. I have supported and continue to support Franklin Roosevelt, and I felt at the convention that we should do or say nothing but devote ourselves to furthering our great plan."

Downey pledged himself to support every humanitarian measure advanced by President Roosevelt.

Meeting criticism directed at him because of the fact that he was running mate for Upton Sinclair when the latter was staging his fight for governor on the Epic program, Downey stated:

"I have a great friendship for Mr. Sinclair. But even when I was running for lieutenant-governor as he campaigned for governor, I was not committed to a great portion of the Sinclair program. I do not believe that socialism and communism in any form have any place in our government."

Pleas for Funds.

Again Downey made a plea for campaign funds.

"I receive only \$50 a week as attorney for the Townsend organization," he said. "That is my sole source of income. I could have secured a \$5,000 donation to my campaign from a utility, and I could have received \$10,000 from another organization. But I refused them because I will not jeopardize my political liberty."

Preceding Downey's talk, James Walter, Townsend candi-

date for state senator from Yolo and Napa counties, opposing Senator Frank Gordon, spoke briefly. He said in part:

#### Gordon's Record

"Mention has been made recently to the legislative record of Frank Gordon, and I feel that it is my duty at this time to mention one or two things that have not been presented in these editorials.

"Gordon voted no on the bill proposing repurchasing the bay bridge after several years. Gordon voted no on the bill which proposed that the state file lobbyists' expense accounts. Voted no that the counties in the bay may own their own transit system to operate near the bay bridge. Voted no on the bill proposing a limit of eight per cent on automobile contract insurance. Voted no on social rehabilitation bill. Voted against \$50 month social security. Voted against Townsend memorial to Congress.

"Mr. Gordon said he might give Townsend plan consideration. Recently, Mr. Gordon has been saying that he has not studied the Townsend Plan.

"I would like to say that if I am given the opportunity to vote on the bills Gordon voted on, I would vote yes on every one of them. If I am elected, I will but one job and that is represent you, the people. Before this campaign is over you might expect any attack. Unlimited quantities of money have been arrayed against us. I offer everything I have

to offer in the war on greed, stupidity and hardening of the political arteries."

J. M. Robinson, Winters leader in the Townsend movement, presided and introduced the speakers, Rev. J. D. Hammer offered the invocation and the audience was asked to sing the first verse of "America."

Robinson announced the Townsend Pionio to be held August 16 at Nelson's Grove, declaring that Edward J. Margett of San Francisco may be a speaker and that Walter Schaefer of Vacaville will repeat his talk, "Why Frank Buck Should Not be Re-elected."

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October 15, 1936

SHERIDAN DOWNEY ADVISES OLD-AGE TAX ADVOCATES SUPPORT ROOSEVELT.

There is a desperate and uncertain era, reflected in unrest throughout the world, and this country needs President Roosevelt because he has the vision to recognize the trend toward change, and is the man who can best direct the nation through the period of adaptation, Sheridan Downey, of Sacramento, declared at a mass meeting in Santa Barbara this week. Mr. Downey, defeated at the primaries for Congress, indicated he has split wide open with Dr. Townsend, his client, over the presidential choice.

"You may consider that the conditions in Europe, in Spain,

do not concern this country," Downey said. "That, however, is not the case. The affairs of all nations today are interwoven. There are undoubtedly real problems in this country resulting from this desperate and uncertain era. Ours is a constantly changing world, and unless we adapt ourselves to the change, we cannot survive. Roosevelt clearly realizes the need for change. We cannot go back and take up uninterruptedly the life and conditions of the last generation - it would mean complete destruction of our present form of government.

#### Beginning of Age

"We are the beginning of a great machine age. This means that more and more wealth will be developed by fewer and fewer workers. Obviously, this means that there is need for fundamental readjustment. Indeed, there are many who believe that Roosevelt has not gone far enough with a program of social security.

"Governor Landon does not believe in the program of a federal old age pension. He would return the responsibility for the care of the aged to the state which would mean the destruction of a sound pension plan in the United States. To those of you who are committed to the Townsend Plan, I would say that I believe that the old age pension has a chance of success only under Roosevelt.

"But you can't judge a man on one issue alone. Roosevelt

has been an advocate of liberalism; he has stood four-square for the rights of labor; he has made the banks safe; under his administration, the powerful utilities have been curbed; the stock exchange has been greatly improved and reformed, he gave us the home loan and the farm loan programs. An administration with a record of accomplishment like this should be entrusted with another term of office."

#### Dangerous Philosophy

"In 1928, Hoover said, 'It is apparent that the world is now entering the greatest period of prosperity it has ever known.' That was one year before the panic. That is the philosophy of the Republican party today. They would have us believe that we need do nothing but return to those days - the period before 1929 - and just go along, expecting prosperity to continue. This could result in nothing but the nation being plunged into greater despair than ever before in its history."

Downey labeled communistic charges made against Roosevelt as "absurd", and declared that it was obvious that such a charge would in no way be reconciled with Roosevelt's record and philosophy.

September 14, 1939

AS OTHERS SEE IT

Tolerance from Californian

Shortly before Congress adjourned, Senator Pepper of Florida arose on the floor of the Senate and delivered himself of a bitter and bilious speech, denouncing those senators who voted against the various measures he had favored. He accused these colleagues - who incidentally were sufficient in number to constitute a majority of the Senate - of forming an alliance which he characterized as unrighteous willful, designing, intriguing, Machiavellian, scheming, premeditated, Pharisaical and heartless.

Then Senator Downey of California, a newcomer to the Senate, took the floor. On practically all measures, Senator Downey had voted with Senator Pepper.

"But," said the California Senator, "I must express my dissent in a very great measure from what he has said.

"I suppose that perhaps among all the senators in this body my own economic policy is opposed to a greater extent than that of any other senator; yet I desire to say that I recognize not only the sincerity of the senators opposing me, but their very high ability and devotion to the public service.

"I believe they are wrong, just as they believe I am wrong. But I recognize that in this tremendous crisis, and in the great complications which confront us, men must necessarily differ in their views, and they can and should differ with an appreciation of each other's sincerity, un-



less they know and recognize some particular indictment they desire to bring against some particular senator.

"I believe that we are at the beginning of this crisis. I think that the next 10 years will test to the very limit the enduring strength of Democracy and of Republicanism, and God help us in America if we cannot meet these problems not only with intelligence, but likewise with tolerance and understanding, and a clear admission of the righteousness of the opposition, and of the right of the opposition to have its views.

"My own views have been expressed here at length upon the expanding public debt and the lending program of the United States government. I recognize that reasonable men may honestly and sincerely differ upon that issue. Some men may honestly believe - and time alone can prove them right - that an ever-increasing debt will destroy us. The man who believes increasing the debt is correct as an emergency and ephemeral program may be right, and the man who sees virtue in a continually expanding program of debt may be right. We should all struggle among ourselves to express our own ideas, but it my hope and prayer that in the days to come we move forward with tolerance and fair understanding, and an admission of the sincerity of the man who is against our views."

The two senators speaking almost always vote alike.

But after those remarks, we have a feeling that over the years of Downey of California will be a much more effective senator than Pepper of Florida. - New York World-Telegram.

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May 17, 1939

HIT 'N' MISS

By the Staff

In National Spotlight.

Arthur Caylor, San Francisco columnist, brings home a message from Washington, D. C., that we (his readers) shouldn't be at all surprised to hear soon something that sounds like "Downey for Vice President."

The super-alert Mr. Caylor always writes authentic copy and his column about our junior United States senator leads one to believe that "Sheridan is getting along nicely, thank you."

When we come to think about it, Senator Downey has gone about his duties in the national capital quietly and not once has any unfavorable comment been made about any of his stands on certain legislative bills. He must be doing a good job, making himself friends and attempting to "play ball" with all Democrats - regardless of whether they are on the New Deal or more conservative sides.

No one has ever denied that Senator Downey is a very smart man with an aggressive personality. Elected by a

record majority last fall, he has taken his new duties seriously and because of the fact that he is the only pension senator in Washington, D. C., Democrats and Republicans too, are watching him closely. They realize as the columnist points out, that he carries about 10,000,000 pension votes in his hip pocket and that they can come in mighty handy someday.

In his inside survey of Washington, Mr. Caylor soon learned that the junior Senator has made one speech on the Senate floor and that he had an unusually large audience. He had a good press and the congressional record covered his address in full. And it is true that the Senator receives at least 500 fan letters a day from pension backers in all sections of the United States. Mail is as important to a Senator as it is to a movie star - and Mr. Downey gets more of it than any Senator in the capital according to the bay "scooper".

Senator Downey has had his "ups and downs" but he appears to be getting set to do bigger and better things. He has scored smashing victories and he has been defeated. Today, however, more than ever, he does stand in a position to be a leader. He has been crusading for the man or woman who desires a pension. Although some of the pension plans have not met with our approval, it is very possible that Senator Downey will go a long way toward solving the whole problem

and come up with a "ten strike". Like our President he  
is trying, and we can't condemn a fellow for doing that.

J.S.

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