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HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

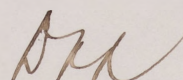
May 5, 1917.

Mr. H.W. Johnson, Jr.,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Jack:

I am sending you just a note so you will realize why I have not written you since my long letter of last Monday. I have taken charge of the espionage bill fight in the Senate and I am sitting like a terrier at a rat-hole waiting until the bill comes out of the Committee of the Whole to pounce upon the censorship clause. In the interim, we have been stirring up all the strife we could, having all sorts of objections made against it in the hope that we can finally have enough opposition to accomplish the desired result. The archaic practice here is that the bill is put into the Committee of the Whole. In this fictitious committee then amendments are offered. When the amendments are all disposed of then the Committee of the Whole, which is the Senate, reports the bill back to the Senate with the amendments, and then in the Senate the bill is put upon its final passage. When the bill first came to the Senate a couple of weeks ago an endeavor was made to strike out the censorship provision and it was upon that I made my brief talk. The amendment was beaten. I wanted to renew the amendment and was required to give notice of that fact and I will attempt to eliminate the objectional section when the bill comes into the Senate.

Affectionately,



Senator Johnson

Attacks Censorship

Declares It Buttress Behind Which
Inefficiency And Incompe-
tency Will Hide. 1917

Washington, May 11. — Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, began his drive in the Senate this afternoon to kill the censorship section of the espionage bill. It was Senator Johnson's first set speech since he entered the Senate a little over a month ago. He aroused the Senate from the lethargy which has pervaded the upper house for weeks, and for more than an hour he held the attention of members as no speaker has in recent years. There was hardly a stir in the chamber throughout his address.

"It (the censorship) puts a premium on false publicity and makes a crime of the truth," he declared. "It is a buttress behind which inefficiency and incompetency will stalk. It is a buttress behind which officials of this country may hold themselves more powerful than the Creator.

"It is a buttress behind which democracy itself will have to slink in secrecy.

"I will follow the President as I have followed him heretofore. I will follow him in conscripting the resources of this nation for battle, even as I have followed him in conscripting the blood of this nation for the war. But we should not follow anyone into autocracy. We should follow no one into the destruction of the fundamentals of democracy, the very pillars upon which this Government rests.

"Already there is a censorship. Already every means of communication between this country and abroad has been cared for. And in what has been done in this line we may realize what may be done.

"There is no necessity today for such a law as is asked. We are 3,000 miles over the sea from this conflict. We cannot aid anyone there with communicating instruments now controlled as they are."

SHIPS TO CARRY FOOD

ITALY'S URGENT NEED

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HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 11, 1917.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, California.

Dear Jack:

I have just come from the Senate Chamber, and while the thing is fresh in my mind, I think I will shoot a few impressions. The "old man" has just made his first extended speech. He spoke about half an hour. There is no way of knowing in advance just when his speech is to be made but one of the employees in the Senate Chamber telephoned me shortly after he started and when I got there he was about half through. It went big - very big. He was almost at his best and his voice was particularly good. The surprising thing about the Senate, as you must have heard from us already, is the general inattention to speeches. Sometimes, I have seen some of the ablest men on the Senate floor talking, and one-half of the Senators would be reading newspapers, one-half of the other half would be talking in groups, one-quarter of the other half would be writing letters, perhaps four or five would be listening, there would be a buzz in the gallery, employees would be running around. Times like this, the confusion seems so great, that it makes me wonder why the speaker should go on. Today when I went into the Senate Chamber, there was an unusually large attendance of Senators. Every man in his place was listening with both ears,

*From Paul Herriott -
Secretary S.F. Examiner
Formerly with H.W.J. in
reporter - with H.W.J. in
governor campaign
father a minister
in Alameda
Killed in
plane while
in service*

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no one was talking, no one was reading the paper, there was hardly a particle of noise on the side, hardly any one left the Chamber while he was speaking, although as a rule, men are going and coming all the time during the speeches; the galleries were leaning forward in their seats. This is all good stuff but the real barometer of the speech is in the Press Gallery. As a rule, there are at least two or three men on guard, but, half the time they are apparently drowsy. While he was speaking, there were twenty newspaper men in the Press Gallery, a very unusual circumstance, and they were all bending forward, too, listening to every word. A couple of times, the opposition interrupted the "old man" but both times he got away with it fine. I will not attempt to give you anything about the speech because you can read it in the Record.

When he was finished, half of the Senators on the floor flocked over to his side, patted him on the shoulder, shook hands with him, and congratulated him. It was sort of funny to see fellows like Gallinger, the floor leader, Harding, Lodge, and the other standpatters, rushing over with their congratulations. Lodge, who is really the ablest speaker on the floor, came over and sat down by the "Chief" and chatted with him quite a while after his speech.

Immediately after the "old man" was through, Senator Stone began to talk. It was just like one of those speeches I have described in the first of the letter. Attention was relaxed and the Senate Chamber became noisy, disturbed, and confused again.

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There was a group of Senators on the seat near me and I only got the remark of one of them. He said: "That was a great speech. He is a wonder - a great man." The others appeared to be putting in with him on the praise although I could not hear what they said. Several attaches of the Senate said similar things to me as I went out. The Chief has had this speech on censorship on his chest for quite a while. I guess he feels better now.

The conferees have put the "kibosh" on the Roosevelt amendment. It is too bad because Roosevelt knew that it was the "old man" who had put it over in the Senate, and it would have been pretty if the "Chief" could have gotten for Roosevelt the one thing which just now he wants the most in the world.

Otherwise, everything is running along about the same. We are deluged with letters and telegrams. I guess we get from twenty to fifty telegrams a day. Three-fourths of the correspondence are requests for all sorts of things. Everybody seems to want the "Chief" to go to the President, or the Secretary of War, or the Secretary of State, or the Secretary of the Navy, on behalf of their requests. We have almost been swamped with letters from fellows who want commissions in the Army. Everybody wants something. It makes a sweet life. But we keep two stenographers busy all day grinding out letters and we are doing fairly well at keeping abreast of the time. *Tide*

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Do you know any young fellow who wants to take a competitive examination for Annapolis? Tell him to notify us at once and to go to the Secretary of the Twelfth Civil Service District, Postoffice, San Francisco, at 9 A. M., May 24th. It is a free for all.

I sent you a wall map of the United States. I sent them to about forty of the Governor's good friends in the State. If you know anybody else who would like one, send in the name, we have some left. This is about all I can think of just now.

As ever,

Paul H. Hiram

*Next day - big publicity
in N. Y. papers on speech x
Will send you some evidence
and small clipping.*

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT
GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT BELVIDERE BROOKS, VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
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If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

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HIRAM W JOHNSON JR 3580

973 GREEN ST SAN FRANCISCO CALIF

HAVE BEEN TOO BUSY THIS WEEK TO WRITE MADE GOOD YESTERDAY AND WON
ON ESPIONAGE BILL BY ONE VOTE THE GREAT POWERS WILL PROBABLY BEAT
US MONDAY BUT HAVE HAD ONE DAY OF VICTORY GET TODAYS NEW YORK
WORLD AND AMERICAN MOTHER JOINS IN LOVE TO ANY AND BOYS

HIRAM W JOHNSON.

Reuben

Confidential B
Car 4

May 22

HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 17, 1917.

My dear Boys:

I attempted to write you during the session of the Senate today but did not get very far. I mailed you though what there I wrote.

I want, first, to acknowledge the receipt of your letters and to tell you how grateful I was to receive the long letters written recently by each of you, and although your mother and I are very much engrossed here at present, and although time passes perhaps more rapidly than it has at any time in my life, still, every scrap from California, and particularly messages from our own, are eagerly and greedily devoured. You both have been very good in the matter of letters and Amy has been particularly kind to mother. I feel grateful to you all. Please do not cease even though occasionally it may be inconvenient to write and even if I should fail as I have failed in the last ten days to write you.

I tried to tell you in my note today how my days were occupied. Early in the morning with the Strike Investigation, then in continuous session in the Senate until a very late dinner hour. In addition, up to the time of our final espionage fight, I met at odd moments those who were interested in the defeat of the censorship provision and each night the newspaper boys with whom I was working would report. When I made my first utterance concerning censorship I had not the

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slightest conception that I would become a part - and as the newspapers have very kindly said - the leader of the movement to eliminate the objectionable features of the bill. I was following what had been the convictions of a lifetime in expressing my opposition to the gagging of our people and my bitter antagonism to any encroachment upon the right of free speech. Naturally, my defense of free speech included a free press as well. The first sentence I uttered, as I wrote you sometime ago, struck the press men and was quoted all over the east. The brief speech then that I made upon the subject, in which I expressed my view that the entire section should be stricken out, again hit them. Mr. Brisbane called upon me and I talked with him at length on the subject. At the time of our interviews he and the others interested in the contest had abandoned hope of doing more than amending the objectionable clause. Brisbane sent to me finally Montague and Watson of the New York American, who came here solely for the purpose of managing the fight for the newspaper men. Montague is the man whose verses so often we read and so often enjoyed. He is a small, insignificant looking fellow but a mighty good fellow, and his companion - Watson - I like equally as well. They brought an amendment that Cavalli, the attorney for the Hearst papers, had with great care prepared. I did not like it. I re-wrote it, and then, overnight, as I thought of the matter, I reached the conclusion that any amendment which would give the President the power to prescribe rules and regulations

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would be equally iniquitous with the original provision and its ability to repress and coerce free expression would be limited only by the ingenuity of the individual who wrote the rules and regulations. I sent for our people therefore and mapped out a plan of campaign. I insisted that every effort should be directed, first, to strike out the provision and that if this did not succeed, then we might amend, modifying as far as possible, the objectionable features of the law. My plan was readily adopted but when adopted there was not a one of us thought there was any real possibility of success. We started, however, to campaign from all over the Nation and the power of the press with men holding office was exemplified again and again. I really interviewed a great many Senators, carefully and quietly, and so not to arouse antagonism, I had to exercise the utmost diplomacy, first, because of the group, who, while treating me with the utmost courtesy, unquestionably regard me in a rather hostile fashion, secondly, because of my newness and the peculiar prejudice among the older Members against new Senators' activities. We gathered a vote here and a little assistance there until finally we felt we could make quite a respectable showing and on the last day of debate I made my speech. Reed of Missouri, who was with us, did me a very great kindness. As a general thing, when speeches are made in the Senate, there are not many Senators present. Some of them are engaged in committee work, some in private correspondence and office work of their own, and some demonstrate, by leaving the Chamber, their contempt of any speeches except

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those they, themselves, may make. At any time during the proceedings of the Senate any Member has the right to arise and suggest the absence of a quorum. Thereupon, the Vice-President directs that the roll shall be called. There is a system of bells extending from the Senate Chamber into the committee rooms, barber shop, restaurant, corridors, and the offices of the various Senators. When a quorum is called, there are two rings from the Senate Chamber into every nook of the Capitol and the office building and the Senators are expected immediately to come and at least answer their names. When I had uttered two sentences of my talk, Reed rose and interrupting me suggested the absence of a quorum. The signals were given, and the roll called. When the Senators were all in their seats I began again. In this fashion, Reed gave me the entire United States Senate to talk to - something very unusual - unless upon some such matter as the declaration of war. Indeed, I don't think that I have seen a full Senate in this fashion listen to speeches except upon the declaration of war. I talked about thirty minutes without notes, except reading the quotations that I wished to present and I don't think during that period I lost a single Senator or auditor. Naturally, our press men were highly delighted; not only did Montague and Watson give me unlimited space in the Hearst papers but Seibold, correspondent of the World, who is considered the ablest of all the Washington correspondents, gave me the same sort of space in the World. Indeed, all through the east, I had splendid mention. The taking of the vote

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was exceedingly exciting. The vote was tie - 38 to 38. Fernald of Maine, for whom I have done a little favor, came in as it was concluded. He was paired with a Democratic Senator who was absent. But under the rules they have a singular way of voting pairs in such an instance. If some man on the Republican side is absent, the individual who is paired and is present, while his pair is not, arises and states his pair and that he transfers it to the absentee on his own side. Fernald did this, stating that he was paired with a Member on the Democratic side and transferred his pair to Wadsworth of New York, and then voted with me making 39 votes. Wadsworth came in one minute after the vote was announced and was bitterly indignant, because he was against me. When he found that Fernald had transferred the pair to him and that that vote had won my motion he was quite beside himself with rage. Lodge back-tracked on the vote. He originally argued the inconsistency of any censorship clause, then, when it came to the vote upon my motion, he voted against me to retain the amended section. He carried with him - Weeks, Hale of Maine, and one or two others on our side. If Lodge had been consistent, my motion on the first day would have been carried by four or five votes easily. Lodge, Weeks, Wadsworth, and Hale held an indignation meeting afterwards. I simply sat tight, quietly exulting. Now, the remarkable thing is that when the bill came into the Senate and the amendment was presented again by its sponsor - Senator Overman - Lodge again flopped and voted with us, and two or three of the Senators

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who had been against us on the first vote, flopped with him on our side. But our great access of strength came from the work of the newspaper men after the vote 39 to 38. An instance of this will indicate how they accomplished the result--with one of the Senators from Colorado-Shafroth. The two powerful newspaper owners of Denver are Bonfield and Tamman. In the interim between the carrying of my motion and the specific final vote, when the bill was in committee, by wire, our newspaper friends here urged Bonfield and Tamman in Denver to telegraph in strongest possible terms to Shafroth demanding that he change on the final vote. Shafroth did change. This transpired as well with several other Democrats, and so finally, we had 48 to 34. We were more than happy over the result. It may be that we will be jobbed in conference but the good that has been done and the publicity accorded can not be undone. I am watching the conference and hope to retain the bill in the fashion that it has gone from the Senate. The House bill as passed has a provision on censorship which was adopted in lieu of the original provision. In the contest I was very grateful to Underwood of Alabama, a man of great ability, though a conservative, who came at the psychological moment into the fight and stiffened up the men upon the Democratic side. It was not difficult for the Republicans to vote our way because they were naturally inclined against a Democratic measure but it took courage on the Democratic side to vote against the expressed command of the

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President and the requests of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of State. It was really a very interesting fight upon a familiar subject and it gave me a publicity I could not have obtained in three years of the most painstaking service; and the whole thing came about in a purely accidental and entirely natural way. Yesterday, I observed the Hearst papers in New York published a boxed statement by me congratulating them upon the fight, etc. I never knew such a thing was to be published and I never said anything of the sort but I am perfectly willing to stand for it because of the kindness of Montague and Watson and Brisbane. I suppose Montague wrote it ^{and} because of our present intimacy and good fellowship he knew that I would stand for it whether anything was said to me or not, and in this, he was quite right. The price I paid for Hearst's publicity was finally at this late day after many years of public life, saying a word in praise of the Hearst papers. I think I can say to you that we need not fear in debate or in the presentation of our views the ordinary comparisons.

I note what Jack says about executive sessions and he is quite right in his criticism. The fact is, however, we have had but two executive sessions of Congress. One of them lasted quite a long time upon one of the provisions of the espionage bill relating to exports, whereby, the President was given the power to prohibit exports if he deemed it essential for the welfare of the Nation. In open session, after

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debate of some days, we struck out this section. Subsequently, an executive session was asked, and then, those who had consulted with the President explained the necessity for the power because of our relations with the neutral countries - Spain, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. It was deemed that the disclosure of these relations could not be made and discussion had concerning them in open session. I rather think an executive session in that instance was justified. I may remark to you, although we are not permitted to divulge what transpired in executive session, that possibly, it was pointed out that Spain at the present time was refusing to use her ships in trade with England and that the English ships used for the purpose of transporting ores absolutely essential to England were only permitted to be used by Spain if a fourth of the cargo was devoted as well to the fruits of Spain. Spain requires coal from us and it may have been asserted that by refusing to send coal necessary for Spain, we could require the export by Spain to England of what was absolutely essential in English manufactories. It may have been pointed out, too, that Switzerland imports her supply of cheese now from the United States, sending all her cheese into Germany for food. That Denmark is acting in like fashion and that it was essential that there be a strong hand upon our exports not only to protect our allies but to prevent aid and comfort to our enemies. You can understand that in an intimate discussion of this sort, things could be said in executive session that could not be related or freely discussed in open session.

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And this brings me to the war. Either a false view is endeavoring to be established now by the National Administration or the situation in which we find ourselves is far more serious than at first we supposed. Privately, the statement is repeatedly made by those who ought to know that the burden of this war in a short time will be upon the United States, not alone will we have to furnish money, for England is bankrupt and France exhausted, but we will have to furnish the men as well. Little hope apparently is entertained of what may transpire from the allies' standpoint in Russia. And while the advances upon the western front are chronicled in all the papers as tremendous successes, the gains are relatively of slight importance. Germany's manpower is not exhausted and while her people are upon rations and undoubtedly are suffering she is but a few months away from new supplies that will enable her to maintain herself at least for another year. The injury inflicted by the submarine warfare is of far greater consequence than England admits. It is very frankly stated that France has no reserve to draw upon and that she is without money and that her men are practically all fighting. The condition of great Britain is not so frankly conceded but the suspicion is growing with each day that the English Commission here is dumping the war with all its burdens and its blood upon us. I think I have said something to you in the past about this war and in the little I have said in the Senate I have tried to convey my reluctance in voting for the measures for which we have voted and the future possibilities. I believe that as the days pass the war will become more and more unpopular and that when finally our people understand the extraordinary laws that have

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been passed and when these laws are put into operation, when our boys are conscripted, when men with little are taxed to maintain the burden, when business is unsettled and disturbed and in constant fear of appropriation by the Government, the reaction will be greater than any of us, even the most pessimistic, now contemplate. I am considerable of a radical today, but I prophecy to you that a year from now I will be a conservative, endeavoring to stem the tide of a people roused to frenzy by burdensome, repressive and coercive laws. In my very humble way, I have tried in the things that I have said to make a very brief record to put upon the Administration all of those things which have been done. The President is entitled to all the glory he may obtain from it but I want him in the days to come to take the responsibility as well. If we had any leadership upon our side this would be made again and again increasingly plain; but we are, first, without leadership, and secondly, those like Lodge to whom we might look for some sort of leadership are so pro-English that they think the war justifies anything. Lodge, today, however, for the first time since the declaration of war, displayed irritation with the Administration and with some of the Departments.

Wilson, as usual, is evidently changing his viewpoint why we went to war. I presume you saw his Saturday speech delivered here, but I pasted it in order that it might be preserved and in order that his view of why we went to war stated publicly on May 12th may be compared with his statement of why we went to war on April 2d.

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I went into the House and listened to Balfour talk and then again I listened to him in the Senate. The Anglo maniacs here - and they are many - of course have been in the seventh heaven because they might sit at the feet of an English lord and listen to the inspired words that fell from his lips. He had glorious occasions both in the House and in the Senate and he rose to neither. The matter that he spoke was inconsequential and the manner of his speaking while fairly graceful is constantly marred by searching for appropriate words. You have all noted the orator who in the midst of his very best sentence, pauses and hesitates and says - er - er - while endeavoring to find apt expression. And this is what Balfour does again and again and again. I sat with him at McCormick's where we had an elaborate dinner the other night, and afterwards in a circle about him, listened to his talk. He was so uninteresting to me that I left very early. I can not conceive a man forty-two years in the House of Commons with his remarkable career so uninformed as apparently he was on questions of moment in his country. In the circle that sat about him he was asked concerning conscription; the number of men England had in the field, those who were volunteered ^{and} those who were not; about prohibition; how the liquor traffic was dealt with, about their mode of raising revenue; income tax, and the like. Concerning all, he was exceedingly uncertain and he even confessed he did not know. It was a real pleasure to see old Joffre. He was given a right royal

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reception here.

I have come to the office this afternoon after an early adjournment and am finishing dictating this letter about half past six. I will try to write you again in a day or two on one or two phases of Washington life with which gradually I am becoming familiar.

With very great love to Amy, and the boys, and both of you,

Affectionately,

Your father,
Hiram W. Johnson

June 5, 1917.

My dear Arch:

We're just back from St. Louis and are almost dead. We left Saturday at 10:40, were late getting in to St. Louis, reached there at 4:30 Sunday, were taken from the train, whisked to Washington University and tried to speak to ten thousand people. I got it about half over. I had no such success as at Philadelphia and wouldn't undertake the job again to be President. The day we started, the weather alternated between a stickiness, that was the most enervating thing I have encountered in years, and then slight thunder showers which, just as you would imagine they were going to give you some relief, ceased, and returned to stickiness. Mother is about dead. She bravely accompanied me but I am sorry she did it. I went to deliver the opening speech at the gathering of the World's Ad. Clubs. The people were very kind and courteous and did everything they could for us but the game was not worth the candle and the publicity didn't amount to much.

I found your letter at the hotel and your telegram here at the office. I had a good laugh over Theodore fighting with Fickert. On the day that I received Baker's letter, I wrote him a short note but after wiring you I reached the conclusion that I would not send it until I heard definitely from you and your people. When first I undertook this little effort in be-

half of the San Francisco Cavalry troop I was not very hopeful ; after seeing Baker personally I felt a little bit better; and subsequently when I received his note I thought there was some chance. I was therefore sorely disappointed and quite indignant at the denial of our request. I sent Senator Phelan, just as I left Saturday morning, a copy of Mann's report and Baker's letter to me, asking him to think carefully over the situation and see whether there wasn't some way out of it for us thing in the morning I will see him and talk to him. I suggested Mullally coming here because I thought he might interest some Democratic influence. You know there are people here who have a suspicion that this is a Democratic war and it is among the possibilities that if Mullally could enlist some of the Southerners in his behalf he might get results. Phelan is supposed to stand close in but the Department doubtless considered this my fight rather than his. Confidentially, I will say to you, they have been exceedingly courteous to me and words on many occasions have been conveyed to me that they would be glad to do any little favor for me that they could. I have refrained from making any personal request to any Department here until this particular matter arose. I asked the first personal favor for the San Francisco Cavalry troop. I will never ask another. I didn't know General Mann and didn't know how to approach him. I have of necessity had to do my part through the Secretary of War Baker. Every member of the California Delegation has been exceedingly kind. Personal letters were attached to my first petition from Kahn, Elston and Nolan,

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and the other members, in writing at the bottom of my petition, expressed their approval. The turning down of the troop is on a par, with my opinion of the turning down of the Roosevelt troop. It is a refusal to capitalize the fervor and patriotism in this war.

Jack was here last week. He and Mother spent two days in New York. On our return this afternoon, we found that he had returned here. I think he is getting along very well with the business that brought him although it is by no means yet completed.

I will write you of other matters within a very few days.

Affectionately,

June 5, 1917.

Mr. Archibald M. Johnson,
Attorney at Law,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Arch:

I shall not try to write you a real letter now but simply want to acknowledge yours of the 29th and to tell you that we shall be glad to do whatever we can for Mr. Jack Plover. He happens to be up against a regulation of the Navy Department. I am afraid he will be out of luck. You yourself have had some slight bitter experience with Departmental regulations in Washington. It is pretty hard to do anything. I have not heard from Harry Cosgrove about the Plover matter. I presume from your letter that Plover wants somebody to endeavor to get him a higher rank than petty officer. We will do the best we can for him.

I have a pretty good idea of how you are beset with special pleaders. Why don't you politely throw them out on their heads. They must be an awful pest to you. Those I mean, of course, who have not any claim on your time. But whenever you want to slip a little aid to some fellow shoot it along and we will do everything possible.

You have probably read about the action of the House in kicking the stuffing out of censorship. The President is a persistent cuss, and I don't know yet whether he is ready to

quit. But until he does on this particular thing the old fight will go on, and I think he will be a lucky boy if he gets by with any censorship at all.

Send me the pictures of the polo ponies. I will be very much interested in them. I am always a good young man. Hoping you are the same.

Sincerely,

[Paul Herriot]

June 7, 1917.

Mr. Archibald M. Johnson,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Arch:

I told you that on Saturday just before I left for St. Louis, I transmitted to Phelan a copy of Baker's letter and Mann's report to Baker, copies of which had been sent to you. I asked Phelan, in any conceivable fashion, to go to the bat in the matter, if he could. I have just received from him the enclosed copy of letter to Baker. Phelan has been mighty good in this thing, personally going with me and uniting in my argument to Baker, and now, himself taking it up with Baker. I am hastily sending this to you tonight so it may reach you at the earliest possible moment.

Affectionately,

June 8, 1917.

Mr. Archibald M. Johnson,
Hills Building,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Arch:

It has been a long time since I have written you a sort of a historical resume. In the matter of legislation, there is little to say to you except that we continue to grant every autocratic power asked. We are about to have before us now the Food Bill, and while there is very great opposition to it, I think that the Administration will be sufficiently powerful to put it over. I've been fond of saying that we have given to the President the sword and the purse of the Nation, a despotic sway over our commerce and our business, and now, we are about to give him autocratic powers over the very means of subsistence itself. I dined with Hoover recently and talked with him at length. With my lack of knowledge, I am utterly unable to check the accuracy of his statements, but if he is accurate in his assertions - and he seemed to be to be a man of very great ability - autocratic powers over our food supplies apparently are necessary, not only that, scientifically, we may feed our allies, but that our own people shall not seriously suffer. I am not clear in regard to what comes to us from the Administration either. The fact is that the picture is being painted in darker and darker colors each day. It is now open-

ly conceded that we have undertaken a tremendous task, and what was a little while ago hinted at, is now declared an existing reality - that we are in for a long fight with tremendous sacrifices to be made. When I first came here, Stanley Washburn, hysterically, was insisting that unless we acted at once and by means of our influence kept Russia in the fight, our boys would have to take the place of Russian peasants and our blood would be spilled instead of theirs. This statement, in which when first I came, he was quite alone, is now a common one, and with it all, there is an ineptness and an inefficiency and a confusion here that surpasses understanding. At this point I was interrupted by the entrance of "the Quail" who, as you know, represents the Associated Press. I asked him what he thought of the war and he said, from his interviews with everybody who had been across the water and with the various representatives of foreign nations, in his opinion, the war would last for three years longer, and that we would lose a million or more men, and that the nation would not begin to understand what it had undertaken until we had had half a million of our people shot to pieces.

There is an utter lack of real leadership in the President. My experience as Governor taught me that with the power and the pleasures of the position came responsibilities and leadership, and that the holder of the highest executive office in any place, when he reached a determination of his course, ought to announce that determination frankly and openly with his reasons. It becomes increasingly evident to

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me that in our sort of Nation the people ought to be taken into confidence by those who for a brief period rule. Wilson lacks in this. Not only does he fail to take the people into his confidence, but he indulges in such contradictory generalities, that he muddles the entire situation. The confusion of thought concerning the war is illustrated by a little incident that occurred to me the other day. I put to two leading Senators the query as to what should be our course in case Germany yielded to all that we contended for, ceased her submarine warfare, gave to us the freedom of the seas, abjectly apologized for her past acts, and made all possible reparation. Harding, who is one of the leaders of the Senate, said, "Of course, we would at once make peace." Knox, on the other hand, after thinking, said, "Of course, we would not." I asked him on what terms we would make peace, and he said we could make none without our allies, and it was our plain duty now to restore Belgium, to disarm Germany and destroy her fleet, give Alsace and Lorraine to France, readjust the Balkan states, give Russia a port in the sun, etc. Yesterday, at luncheon, where seven Senators were present, I very quietly stated the conflicting views of Harding and Knox. Some agreed with Knox. Hardwick, of Georgia, spoke up and said, "Do you mean to say that we are sending our sons to continental Europe to fight for a boundary line between nations there?" I presume, finally, we will come to some sort of clarity of vision respecting it. The diversity of view at present is appalling. Another interesting thing to me is the

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attitude of the pro-Wilson people. They say openly here now that he has always been for war, that he never has had any other view than that he expressed on the 2d of April and has since emphasized, and that he was simply biding his time until the appropriate moment. They really have the temerity to suggest that all his twaddle about "watchful waiting", the "hysteria of preparedness", "working out our destiny alone", "the mad men in Europe", "engaging in a war which was no concern of ours", was simply for the concealment of the fixed purpose that he had to take us into war in April, 1917. What an amazing thing it all is!

I am sending you a copy of the speech I made in St. Louis which got half over only. I want you to preserve it with this note and with the other letters that you have.

Affectionately,

June 18, 1917.

Mr. Archibald M. Johnson,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Arch:

I am writing you, hastily now, just a note so that you may not be without letters from me at fairly short intervals. I am leaving this afternoon for Philadelphia where I stay with Senator Knox tonight and spend tomorrow at Valley Forge. He owns a great part of the historic ground where Washington spent the rigorous and awful winter and where the fortunes of the Colonies during the Revolutionary War were at the lowest ebb. I expect to return tomorrow night, and after my return, during the week, I will try to write you a good, long, gossipy letter.

My opinion is that we will probably not send a great Army to France till next year but I believe the draft will be pretty rigorous and that a very large proportion of those who are registered and in your class will probably have to submit to the draft. I can't tell you how much I've thought of you in this regard and I confess I am unable to tell you, with any definiteness or with any satisfaction to myself, that there is any course to pursue except, philosophically and with equanimity, await the drawing and then accept whatever may come. I don't think you need worry greatly from the business end of it. The only worry, to my mind, will be the inconvenience and the general disagreeableness of being some months in a training

camp with all of its rigorous discipline. I can't, for the life of me, think that this war is going to last more than another year. It seems to me plain, and in this, my opinion concurs with all of those in authority, that we haven't ships enough to feed our allies, take them what is necessary, and at the same time, transport a tremendous Army to Europe. We are sending one division under Pershing with the idea in the minds of the Administration that casualties will arouse the war spirit in our country. And when you think of the cool, cruel calculation of it, it makes one's gorge rise. On every hand in Washington now, you hear the remark - and it has been quoted to me from at least three Cabinet Officers - that casualty lists from France are necessary to arouse our people. One of them puts it that America needs a bath of blood - and all of it is said in a matter of fact fashion as if pawns were being played upon a checker board for a position of vantage.

When I write to you at the end of the week I will talk to you more at length on this subject. Today, we begin consideration of perhaps the most far-reaching measure ever presented in our Republic or, indeed, in any place on earth - a bill by which the Government takes charge of the food of the country and does with the means of subsistence exactly as it pleases.

Jack and Amy were with us for a brief period. Neither was particularly interested in our life here. I could readily understand this, because Jack was engrossed with a very large transaction and was exceedingly busy, and Amy's eyes were on

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New York. Jack did wonderfully well and I think is justly entitled to feel great pride in his success here.

Affectionately,

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 2, 1917.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Mr. Archibald M. Johnson,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Boys:

I am not going to attempt to write you at length as I have done in the past. Somehow, the idea has taken possession of me that my personal reflections may be much more interesting to the writer than to the reader; and that they may seem much more like vaporings of vanity than the recital of current events. I send you herein, however, a couple of documents which I would be very glad to have you preserve with what I have sent you heretofore. The first is the celebrated Food Bill as reported by the Senate Committee on Agriculture finally, this being the bill passed by the House and then amended by the Senate Committee; secondly, the testimony given by Hoover before the Committee on Agriculture on the control and distribution of food supplies; and thirdly, the pamphlet issued by Creel for the Committee on Public Safety, entitled, "How the War Came to America".

The Senate has been considering at great length the Food Bill. There is a tremendous under-current of opposition to it, but when it comes to a vote it will be overwhelmingly passed. Reed fights it vigorously and eloquently and, I think, very forcefully. And men, like Lodge and Kellogg, make speeches against the bill, but will vote for it when it comes up for final passage. And here is a trait that I can not understand in some of these gentlemen:

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They denounce, in unmeasured terms, a proposed Act, insisting, as they do with respect to this particular bill, that it is unconstitutional and will destroy the business of the land, and then, vote for the very Act thus denounced. I cannot understand how men of conscience or convictions can do this; and, indeed, I think those who do, have neither conscience nor convictions. The leader in this sort of legislative hypocrisy is Lodge. There are many Democrats who indulge in like nonsense but they finally yield to the Party whip. No such excuse attaches to a man old in the service and with an analytical mind such as Lodge has. Every Senator, who prides himself on being a good business man and a student of political economy, is secretly opposed to the Food Bill. But I have a very shrewd suspicion that the opposition is engendered by an undue tenderness for what is termed "big business". Knox and I have undertaken to do the best that we could for the measure and I have no doubt at all of its success. The whole situation has, of late, been complicated by the prohibition issue. The President has taken this in hand, however, and it will be solved as he directs.

Van Valkenberg arrived last night and Mother and I had dinner with him and his correspondent McSween. I was laboring under the impression that the country would accept the President's view and acquiesce readily in the elimination from the prohibition clause of the bill of beer and wine. Van Valkenberg says I never was more sadly mistaken. That the President has finally, himself, raised an issue which, in his opinion, will make a clear division

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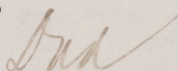
in the future and which will plague him the remainder of his term.

The new car has been a source of infinite pleasure. No mistake was made in selecting a landaulet. We can use, in a thunder shower, the closed car; and then, when appropriate, put the back down and have all the advantage of an open car. I think the car has added greatly to Mother's comfort and enjoyment. I know it has been a delight to me.

I have been my mornings of late with the Commerce Committee, the only committee, of which I am a member, that has anything to do. I have before me now the Rivers and Harbors Bill, a great part of which is devoted, in my opinion, to pork. It is next to impossible to do anything because here is a page devoted to my own state - San Francisco and adjacent harbors, the sum of about a million dollars; a smaller sum for Los Angeles harbor, another for San Diego harbor, another amount for the Sacramento River, etc. If I attempted to kick over some of the Louisiana, Arkansas or Texas sums, I would have the projects of California, no matter how meritorious, eliminated from the bill - and then what a howl there'd be. And it is just this sort of thing that permits, year after year, enormous sums to be taken from the government and spent in different Representatives' districts. Some day, I hope to take hold of the subject and do what a real Representative ought to do.

With love to both of you and to Amy and the babes.

Affectionately,



United States Senate,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Thursday, July 12, 1917,

My dear Jack:

I'm writing you this note merely that you may know you and yours are ever in my mind. It's a dull day here in the Senate, and while Norris is droning away on the saturnurnable food bill, I'm talking to you. Long ago we thought we would finish this bill, but what with prohibition and the insidious efforts of certain ostensible friends of the measure, the thing has dragged and dragged. We have a unanimous consent agreement to vote on it on July 21, and until the last couple of days, we will probably have only perfunctory debate. I didn't intend to write you about the Senate however - simply to gossip for a minute or two.

We finally bought the Landaulet Cadillac, and time has shown the wisdom

of our choice. It's a beautiful car
in the first place, one we need
never be ashamed of. It can be
opened in a minute and closed
as quickly. We've had rain every
day for a week past, and the quickly
convertible character of the machine
has been very welcome. As a limousine
it will pass with any. On the
whole, we are more than pleased, and
in the brief time we've had it we
have run six hundred miles, and
thus without any long trips. With
the possession now, it seems impossible
we ever got along without it.

You wrote me about insurance
held by Tom Smith the premium
of which is something like \$31. I'll
send you check tomorrow and keep this
insurance on the long gamble.

I was tickled to death at your success
with the contracts. Tell the how
your people are getting on. You'll

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Pardon a suggestion, I know. Don't let your people in any fashion boast of the profits they are going to make. Deny them if anything particularly is said.

If this war continues it is going to be a bad time for profits and particularly profits from those things necessary to the government. If the people who are hysterically demanding the food bill, had the slightest idea of its terms, they'd be demanding even more hysterically its defeat.

If you'll read the President's pronouncements this morning, you'll observe that he's contemplating fixing prices generally. Wilson is at present debating whether he or God shall hereafter rule the universe.

My melons came the other day. I've enjoyed them immensely. Thank her for me until I get the opportunity to write her my gratitude.

I've seen here successively Williams, Johnston
and Knylan; and I've been quite surprised with
the California situation. I observe the Los Angeles
Times is really rowing for Stephens for Governor.
I'm putting all this aside until I get home next
month.

Love to Amy and the boys.

Affectionately Dad.

July 14, 1917.

Mr. Archibald M. Johnson,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, Cal.

My dear Arch:

Up to very recently it was the intention of our Government, undoubtedly, not to send our men abroad until they had been thoroughly trained and hardened at home. The night before last, at a very elaborate banquet given by Senator Knox, I made the remark to the group, that our new levies will probably not be sent across the water for a year. Denman told me then, confidentially, that it had been definitely decided to send them to France at the earliest possible moment and to train them there instead of here. I said, "What does that mean in time?", and he said, that within three months, they expected to commence transportation and to continue it. Skepticism was expressed by some of those present as to the ability of the United States to transport a million men to France. Denman insisted that enough ships had been taken from the Germans and those that we would have within a very short time, by constant ferrying, within the period of a year, to put a million men across the water. I know there are many who disagree with him. I give you this for what it is worth. There is a much more optimistic view being expressed here since the Russian drive than prior to that time. The submarine warfare is still viewed most

pessimistically, and, apparently, there has been no method yet found to combat it successfully.

I have been wondering what you thought of Borree's dispatch. I felt that it rather tied my hands and I, of course, did not want to make any drive that will spill the beans. Apparently, it has been accepted as final that California will have the right to raise its four additional troops or companies, and, I observe from the newspapers, that you are proceeding with recruiting in San Francisco. Just as I have said to you in practically every communication for the last month - be sure of your commission. If you have any difficulty in this regard so far as Borree is concerned, let me know. I think that he has still sufficient fealty to me to heed a personal appeal, and I have not exhausted my credit with him. I have refrained from personal appeals to him purposely, so that if the time came to make one in your behalf, I could make it with the fullest possible force.

Affectionately,

July 19, 1917.

Mr. Archibald M. Johnson,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Arch:

Yesterday I received your telegram of the 18th saying that matters had been straightened out and that you would be mustered into the National Guard August 1st and into the Federal service August 5th. And this morning I received your wire of same date saying that you have been careful to safeguard yourself and had Borree's assurance of a commission even if the artillery organization did not materialize. I hope your organization goes through because it would be much more pleasant for all of you. To tell you the truth, my boy, I have thought of little else but you and your enlistment. It is with a heavy heart that I have you go to this war but I feel that you have finally determined wisely and that you are doing, after all, what a loved son of mine ought to do. The present loss is, of course, disagreeable to contemplate. The relinquishment of what you have been striving for and what you have just won in your professional life is very hard to bear. But, my dear don, you are very young and you can very easily, in a brief period, acquire the same position in your profession and all the material things that you leave now. Life holds for you great possibilities. And in the days to come, when you have little thought of those things that now most engross you, you will look back upon this particular time and be

glad that you did your part and that you answered the call, even though you had little sympathy with that call. I really think that I am brooding more over this infernal thing than anybody else. I have tried to look at it judicially and patriotically, but, ever my affection for my lad obscures my vision and distorts my judgment. I have tried to put myself in your place and I think that, if I were situated just as you are, and the veil of the future were lifted, I would prefer to go just as you are doing because of the satisfaction it would afford me all the rest of my days. When I was a boy in the 70's, a decade after the Civil War, I never could look just the same upon the man who, without ties, stayed at home in that war as upon the man who did his part. And, while that war was one which appealed to every loyal instinct and to our fervor, and our patriotism, and our love of humanity, and enlisted, therefore, our minds and our hearts; and while this war is more intellectual than otherwise, and lacks the stirring elements of our Civil strife, nevertheless, the crisis is such that if we are to have a country and to preserve it, we must respond just as readily now as at the time when every fibre of our being was aroused. There keeps coming to me all the time, and it is a cowardly sort of solace, the hunch that I have expressed to you - that, after all, there will not be great need for your services; but the pessimistic ones here - and there are very many - insist to the contrary. The militia, of course, will be the first to be sent across the sea, and it is the expectation of the War Department to begin transportation in October. You will have only

two months of training, in my opinion, and it will be pretty difficult in those two months to fit yourself for your official role. I have absolute confidence in you, though, and I am sure that you will come through all right.

I have telegraphed you today to use extensively the wires. The time is very short now and I want you, at length, to wire me if there is anything I can do or any service I can be. I was going to write Borree this morning, simply calling upon him to render you service, and tell him that I had never asked a personal favor from him since I made him Adjutant General but this I asked fervently. I am sure he would heed my request. But I did not write because I was not sure that you wished it, and so, I put the query to you in my telegram. I can see no harm in it but I wished you to approve first.

We are going to finish this Food Bill tomorrow. Then comes the Revenue Bill. I don't know how long we are going to be here. I have been thinking each week that within a few weeks we would adjourn, but I have seen succeeding weeks pass without the realization of my thought.

Leave your office with some fellow you can trust. Let him do the best he can. Let him say to your people that I will be there (if you wish this) just as soon as Congress adjourns. And then I will try to gather up the tangled threads and to hold together for you what you have acquired. I don't know that I can do this but I am very anxious to help.

Mr. A. M. J.

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I am writing you with a heart overflowing this morning and yet with a very great pride in you. I have never been very demonstrative in the expression of my affections; indeed, I have rather repressed demonstrations. But, my boy, the fact that I care so little for the things men care most for, with a more intense emotional temperament than usual, has made me center my affections, and my thoughts, and my hopes, almost wholly upon those of my blood who have come from me. I will be with you in spirit, lad, in the days to come.

Affectionately,

July 20, 1917.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Jack:

That was a bully fine long letter you sent and I enjoyed it immensely. I am not going to attempt to answer it in detail now, because we are nearing the end of the Food Bill, and under the ten-minute rule, the days are now interesting and exciting. It looks very much to me as if Wilson has double-crossed Hoover. I have had too much experience in managing Legislature not to understand when every representative of an administration goes down the line voting for a Food Commission instead of a single Food Administrator. However, I will write the story of the Food Bill to you next week.

I will leave entirely to your own judgment what to do about the River Gardens Farm stock. Perhaps Dr. Dow is entitled to a disclosure of the exact situation and I would have no objection, if you think it ought to be done, to telling him the facts. You know I have looked upon the venture as a loss and if there be any gain from it, I will feel so much the richer. And I realize that if there is any return from it, it will be due wholly to you. I leave with you, therefore, just exactly what ought to be done in every particular.

Mr. H.W. J.

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I was extremely sorry over your difficulties with your Company. It was a tremendous undertaking upon a shoe string, apparently, but you had proceeded so brilliantly I hoped for the best. I trust by this time you may have worked it out. The row between Goethals and Denman is still on. Denman, three days ago, showed me a letter from the President upholding him (Denman), and Denman then said, in so many words, although this must be kept in absolute confidence, that Goethals would have to go or change entirely his attitude, and, substantially, take his orders.

Give my love to Amy and the babes.

Affectionately,

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Monday July 23, 1917.

My dear Jap:

As I am feverishly listening to the Rivers & Harbors bill, it has occurred to me, as vagrant thoughts hurry and crowd my mind, that in my letter this morning I said nothing to you of the report you made to the Shipping Board. I read it with the utmost care, and while you need no exculpation, it plainly shows you are subject to no

Criticism. Indeed, it presents the usual
story of Crooked lying big business.
There can be no justification for
the conduct of Carlson. My views
you may think often extreme
on business men; but time only
conforms them. To lie, to
misrepresent, to take false positions
and bear false witness, to cheat
to defraud, to hurt and harm and
ruin, when profitable, are but
part of the "business" code.
To Carlson, the fact he put good

Men in an equivocal position,
that he raised high hopes by
definite promises, and then dashed
those hopes by breaking his pledged
word, seems wholly natural, and
I am no doubt he believes himself
right. To carry out a
pledged faith, to make a
pledged word good, never occurs
to him. Money and profit,
certain and sure and speedy—
nothing else determines his course.

I've been so full of the draft,
so depressed all the time, that I didn't
answer your report. It was
full complete and indeed much
more than was necessary from
you. You could have rested on
a simple statement that the
finances didn't materialize. I'm
glad you wrote fully though.
Love to all

Appreciably Dad

Miram W. Johnson Papers
Bancroft Library

July 23, 1917 .

Mr. Archibald M. Johnson,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Arch:

I received your various telegrams and letters, the last letter received being that dated July 17th which reached me at the Arlington this morning. I take it that matters, so far as you personally are concerned, and, I assume, so far as your troop are concerned, are now definitely settled, that your commission has been issued, and that you are preparing for departure. Your commission, of course, is to be signed by the Governor, and, it is a document in usual form countersigned by the Secretary of State. When you are mustered in, there is some sort of official approval by the National Government. I have been wondering just how you would get along with the peculiarly technical branch of the service. It will require a good deal of hard study and hard work on your part. I hope that in the interim while you are learning, you will not have a martinet over you who might raise Cain. It is one branch of the service, scientific and mathematical, that I fear I never would succeed in. And if you can prepare, within a brief period, to point a Howitzer at an angle, have a shell describe a parabola, and, by mathematical deduction, after curving through the heavens, strike an unseen object, I will take off my hat to you as I have done many times in the past.

Mr. A. M. J.

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More and more I feel, notwithstanding that your number was so far down in the draft, that you have adopted the sensible course and the one which time will demonstrate was the wise one. The opinion seems to be here that one in three, or perhaps as high as one in five of all the registered men will finally be a part of the completed army. Of course, if the war continues through the winter, the entire present registration of ten million men will be utilized, and, I am not at all certain but what they will be substantially utilized in any event. So I am mighty glad that you are fixed as you are, except for the fear I have that it may be impossible in your limited time to prepare in the technical branch of the service.

Your mother and I have been singularly depressed and unhappy this past week. The contentment and pleasure which I was beginning to feel in this position have certainly had a pall cast over them and I don't know whether they will come back to me or not. Your mother is extremely unhappy. You need not be surprised at anything that will transpire here. The world seems suddenly to have gone away.

Saturday morning, I received a long telegram from Jared Howe, stating that Jack had been drafted. He said in his telegram that Jack didn't wish to claim exemption and that Amy was more or less doubtful about it, and very solemnly urged me to wire them insisting that exemption should be claimed. I did so and I do think that, under the circumstances, there is no call for married

Mr. A. M. J. -3

men with infant children to go to the war. If the time ever arises when it becomes necessary, I will, of course, have no objection. The singular part of my wires is that I have not received any response at all from neither Amy, nor Jack, nor Howe. I wired you, as well, on Saturday, but there was nothing in my telegram to you calling for a reply, although both mother and I looked for a dispatch all day yesterday and none has come. Saturday afternoon, we figured out carefully Jack's situation. His number is 573rd; by actual multiplication, apparently, this would mean that 2,600,000, with a deduction for smaller districts, would be called before he would be called. I do not know that this makes any vast difference, because to get an army of 600,000 men does not at all mean that 2,600,000 registrations would be required. I have been putting myself in your place the last few days and I believe that if I were in your situation, in a world war like this, I would do just as you are doing. Indeed, I know that I would.

You ought to take up with Fletcher Hamilton your attorneyship. You ought to transfer it to someone who will preserve it for you. I should be glad to write this to Fletcher but I hesitate of my own initiative to do things of this sort without first getting your consent. On receipt of this letter, telegraph me collect, if you would like me to write Fletcher. I am sure he would do what I wanted in the matter,

Mr. A. M. J.

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because not only did I originally appoint him, for which he was forever grateful, but, as Neylan remarked the other day, he is one man whose bacon I saved during my term of office in the peculiar way in which he was saved.

Affectionately,

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 23, 1917.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Jack:

On Saturday we learned from the draft that your number had been drawn and I wired you, and I wired Amy, my view of the situation. I won't hesitate to have you go to war at any time when necessity exists, even though you have a dependent wife and two infant children. The necessity, at present, does not exist and it would be outrageous for men of families, in the very first draft, to be sent to the front. I looked up the law very carefully on Saturday and as you, in your position, naturally have all the records, you doubtless have seen what I saw, first, that you are entitled to exemption, and secondly, that this claim for exemption may be made by others than yourself. You know the time limit in which the claim should be made. In my opinion, Amy, ought, at once, to present the requisite claim. I can't for the life of me see how the slightest criticism should attach to you in this matter. There ought not to be, upon your part, the least hesitation. Saturday afternoon, we figured out about when your number would be called and we concluded that something over 2,600,000 registrations would be used before you would be reached, with a deduction, however, for districts with a smaller number of registrants. I do not think this will make any very great difference, because I believe that the number of registrants

Mr. H.W.J.

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used for the 600,000 army will be from one in three to one in five. I wired you and Amy on Saturday and I wired you Saturday afternoon. Mother and I looked anxiously all day yesterday for a response, and then again, this morning but none has come. I explained to mother that I supposed you had gone away Saturday afternoon for the week end, and, indeed, I think this would have been the wise course for you, because I can imagine the rather intense strain of the last few days. The draft makes me sick. Its impartiality, equality, justice and the like are wholly a fraud, a delusion and a snare. It drafts the fathers of infant children and omits the young and unattached; it takes the weakling, physically, and omits the vigorous and the strong; it impresses the dreamy pacific philosopher opposed to strife, and forgets the belligerent, red-blooded militant. And, of course, those who are drafted of the classes I indicate, do not want to publicly claim exemptions. They fear the criticism that will be heaped upon them if they do, and so, ultimately, we obtain what no free government ought ever to have. My thought upon the draft in the last few days has confirmed the idea that it is miserable, rotten, horrible, engrafting upon a supposed democracy ~~but~~ a foul feudalism. And I want to call your attention to another thing. This letter, which expresses my view, if published or communicated, would subject me today to imprisonment. No newspaper carrying an honest expression of this sort of view would be permitted in the mail. Languishing in the jails of the Nation today are hundreds of men who have spoken only in

Mr. H.M.J.

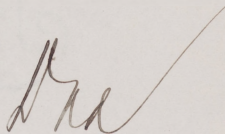
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mild criticism of the President of the United States. Debarred from the mails are many papers solely because of philosophic discussions concerning the draft and views in criticism of it as a policy. There is on trial in New York City now the question of whether or not a Socialist paper should be excluded from the mails because it had a cartoon of Elihu Root. Freedom, where art thou! Do liberty and equality still abide with us! Never mind, it is all right. We are making the world safe for democracy with the enthusiasm of Peter of Servia and the Mikado.

Your mother and I have been very much depressed, and as I think of it, wholly without cause. You have your own troubles and your own worries, so, I will not pass mine on.

Love to Amy and the boys.

Affectionately,



HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 23, 1917.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, California.

Dear Jack:

enclosure
I was just about to throw this ^A in the waste-paper basket. We have another copy of it. It is one of the sheets of publicity stuff sent out by the Republican National Publicity Bureau.

When are you going to write me that long letter? Perhaps I am the delinquent one, but I guess that either of us has a fat chance to indulge in long letters at this time.

Jack Neylan has now been here for more than two weeks and he has been a powerful special prosecutor in the case of the people vs. Stephens. He has not changed my views materially, though some of the things he has told us have peeved me a good deal. *Against Stephens.* I am still of the opinion that Rowell, Jim Johnston, Billy Williams and you yourself have expressed. Yesterday Rowell arrived, and we foregathered, that is, the Chief, Rowell, Jack Neylan and myself, in the office for more than two hours. It was a fairly interesting discussion but not as lively as it might have been. Rowell fought very fairly and, I think, intelligently for his end of it, that is, that Stephens was a weak man and that it was a very unpleasant situation but that there was nothing else to do but to go ahead with him and make a strong positive fight, with the Chief openly advocating him.

HWJ, Jr.2

Jack Neylan, of course, stood dead against Stephens from every aspect, but every time he was asked what he would suggest to do if Stephens were chucked there was no real answer. Jack wants to see Stephens dumped but he has not yet suggested any plan beyond that, and he seems at a loss to find one. The most surprising thing from Rowell was that he preferred Stephens as Governor to Rolph, meaning that he thought Stephens would make a better Governor than Rolph. This, of course, tips off that Rowell really feels pretty friendly to Stephens and has a pretty high opinion of him. We didn't get anywhere, and I guess, as it has been clear for some time, there is nothing to do but wait until the old man gets back to the Coast and on the ground.

The Chief and Mrs. Johnson have been pretty badly busted up over the development of the war situation as it touches you and Arch. It was certainly rotten luck to have Arch, already in, drawn among the last and to have you, who certainly ought to remain at home, drawn up among the first three millions. If you are interested in my own personal view, it is this -- That you should unquestionably accept the exemption in which, under the law, you are clearly included.

Best to Amy and all the boys.

Sincerely,)

Paul Herriott

*from Paul Herriott
July 23, 1917*

The election of a Republican as President of the United States in 1920 is imperative.

But the demoralization of business, the irritating contact of bureaucracy with the American public, the burden of taxation made oppressive by waste, and the inefficiency and blunders of the Democratic administration, while they will contribute much to the defeat of the Democratic party, will not suffice to elect the Republican nominee regardless of his personal character, background, and outlook.

The Republican nominee in order to win must be a man whose character and achievements have earned for him the confidence and admiration of the great body of American citizens, both in and out of the Republican party, who are sympathetic with the aspirations of the masses of the people for social and economic justice and who demand for the poor and the many a larger share of the benefits of government.

At the same time, the Republican nominee must be a man whose career attests a courage, a moderation and a sense of justice equal to the task of protecting honestly acquired property from spoliation and the constitutional rights of minorities against tyrannous coercion during the difficult period of reconstruction and readjustment which confronts the republic.

Such a man was Theodore Roosevelt. Such a man is Hiram W. Johnson.

During his six years as Governor of California Hiram W. Johnson relentlessly eliminated from every part of the State government the special interests which had controlled it for two generations. He restored the government to the people by such measures as the initiative, the referendum and the recall.

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 26, 1917.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Jack:

I wired you last night in response to your telegram of yesterday. The silliest thing I ever heard of is for any of your friends to suggest that out of an exaggerated pride you should forsake your wife and two children at this particular time and not claim, or have claimed for you, an exemption from the draft. If the occasion arises - and perhaps it will - when men situated as you are ought to go to the defense of their country, I will be the last one to oppose it, but to go now is ridiculous. I have no patience with those who wish it or suggest it, and I hope that, for fear somebody may say something, you will not pursue a course that the Government doesn't expect you to pursue and doesn't wish you to pursue, and ^{which} it would be a crime against your own.

I am growing more and more set in my views, both concerning the war and the draft and the legislation here asked. I do not know, ultimately, what these views may be crystallized into. We have two classes of people here - those who think in terms of humanity, and those who think in terms of dollars. We, of the former class, have been getting more and more irritated and more and more restless. And it is delightful to ob-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson

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serve that those of the latter class, when the request was made for five billions more the day before yesterday, are beginning to express the same sort of irritation and restlessness. And all this while our War-God is as oblivious to the whole thing as if he lived in Timbuctoo. He goes riding every day, plays golf every day, goes to the theatre very often, and never goes to his office. He sees nobody, practically; sits in the White House with the women of his family, takes week-end vacations; while the Secretary of State spends a month fishing. I do think the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy are working very hard, without any very clear conception of what they are going.

Don't be foolish about the draft. It is easy enough for the fellow who isn't going to tell you that somebody will say something to you if you don't go, but it is not expected that you should go. I have talked to men like Knox, and there is no diversity of opinion about the intent of the law or the intent of the authority. ^{us} The wrong they have done is in making any exemptions be claimed. It is admitted, on all sides, that the exemptions should have been clearly stated, and that, at the instance of the Government, men with families should have been set aside. I do hope you are not worrying over the situation or permitting it to trouble you at all.

Love to the children and to Amy.

Affectionately,

dad

July 27, 1917.

Mr. Archibald M. Johnson,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Arch:

I had your telegram last night saying that you had been sworn in. Of course, I expected it, but, when the actual act was consummated, I sat thinking for a long time. I surveyed mentally again the entire field. I thought of you a year past, and then of the possibility of your being drafted, and with the entire situation before me, I was confirmed in what I have expressed to you - that you pursued the wise course. Naturally, your mother and I don't want you to go to war and there come to us, of course, forebodings, but, it is infinitely better that you go now as a Captain with its little privileges, than that you go six months or a year hence, as a private or a subaltern, with all its disadvantages. Either, we will have peace within a year or we will have a very long struggle. If, within a year, we have peace, you will see very little, if any, service. If we have a long struggle, you will, to a certainty, ultimately be drafted. The general opinion here is that every man available of the ten millions registered will finally have to go to the bat. I think we have all learned from our experience that when an ugly or disagreeable thing must be done, it is better to do it at once, to take the plunge, and have it over with. If you

Mr. Archibald M. Johnson -2-

stayed practising your profession and tending to your affairs, the thing would hang over you like a pall, and then, finally, would have to be done anyway. So, I think, my dear boy, it is all for the best. In your wire last night, I observed your injunction about saying nothing to Col. Whitney of the remark that he made about your being Assistant to the Adjutant. Of course, I would not do this. When mother read that part of your telegram, she fondly imagined such a position would take you out of danger and she was very anxious for me to wire you how much we would wish you to have it. I had another reason and that was, while I did not think her idea was correct, it would probably make your association with genial people very pleasant. I have no idea what an Assistant to the Adjutant General does, but I imagine it puts him in close touch to those high in authority, and, with your personality, that may ultimately mean much. If such an opportunity presents itself, I hope that you think it wise to take it.

My letters to you must seem singularly contradictory and characterless of late. If, at times, they have appeared to you a little erratic and hysterical, I know that you can forgive me because you understand all have been dictated by my affection and because your welfare is dearer to me than my own.

I presume that you go into one of the training camps now; and, I should imagine the appropriate one would be Palo Alto. Am I right about this? Or will the Department in its

Mr. Archibald M. Johnson -3-

usual idiotic and assinine fashion, send you to Waco, Texas, or to some other place in the neighborhood of hell. There has been quite an uproar here about cantonments and the selection of camps, but, I presume, news of this uproar has not even reached California. The war, you know, is a democratic war, and everything has been done to make the North do, not only its part, but do the part of the South, as well. Estimates of population have been padded shamelessly and outrageously, requiring northern states to furnish many more than their quota that the Southern states may escape their just burden. The cantonments have been selected in the hottest parts of the United States - all of them in the South. Just think of it - for the training of men in August, September and October of this year! Camps, whereon hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended in the North are abandoned during the summer months for the training of men from temperate climes in the hottest parts of the southern states. All of this has been exploited in the Senate but notice it nowhere in the press. Send me detail of where you are to go and what you are to do. I think you have a very difficult time ahead of you, preparing for the particular branch of the service in which you have embarked, but, I really think, that branch of the service is exceedingly interesting. Strangely enough, somebody connected with films or moving pictures, lives at the Arlington. He has received, lately, a mass of interesting films of the English and French Governments, and

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he has shown them at night at our abiding place. Some of these films are but three weeks old, and while, with but few exceptions, they show engagements, they show in detail the batteries in operations, the heavy artillery, the French 75s, and the light artillery. Each time, your mother and I have seen the cannon, either behind their steel protections or in the wooded batteries, or drawn in the open by a horse, or getting into position, we pictured you and wondered just exactly where you would be and what you would do. We were debating this morning whether you would ride a horse, sit astride of a carriage, or be looking through a periscope, or be measuring on a peculiar dial, the angle of the gun, and whether it would be your right arm that would raise and give the signal, or, just exactly what the dickens would be your particular part in warfare. Whatever part, however, we know it will be well and conscientiously and bravely done.

I have written to you about Fletcher Hamilton and also about your office. I want to help. Don't hesitate to call upon me. Can I send you any money? I can spare, without stinting, whatever you may deem essential and I can't tell you how I wish you would call on me. I would feel I was a part, then, and that I was doing something, as well as you.

We are not going to get out of there as early as I expected. Five billions more have been asked by the Government, and while this is but a mere bagatelle now, we are

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getting so deeply involved financially that our situation will soon be well nigh hopeless. I make you a prophecy, lad. We may have a revolution in this country. Our revolution will present a phenomenon never before seen in the world. It will be started top down instead of from the ground up. We are going to make such inroads upon business and upon wealth before we have gone very far, that it will be the rich and the well-to-do who will start first. In the beginning, we will take their incomes and their profits, and then, we will begin to seize what they have accumulated, and then, look out! Seventeen billions this year, and by December five billions more, in my opinion, will be asked - a sum approximating the entire amount spent by Britain in this war. We have our own now to care for and every one of our allies. We must feed them and furnish their Governments money to run with. The whole burden of the war has been dumped upon us. We can stand the strain only for a limited period. There is a great discontent. It is not reflected by the newspapers and perhaps in those whom you meet you don't encounter it; but I find it in the hearts and the minds of many of those who were enthusiastic originally for war, and it comes to me in the tremendous correspondence that is mine. It comes from all parts of the Union and I don't think I am pessimistic in thus writing you. I think I perceive a cloud on the horizon that gradually grows bigger, and bigger, and bigger, until our sun is obscured and the storm breaks. And when it breaks, God save the Republic!

Mr. Archibald M. Johnson -6-

I have been seriously thinking that during August I may run to California. If I reach the conclusion that we will be in continuous session until December I may do this. It is very difficult for me because we are so far away but I have been feeling so wretched, physically, of late, that a great longing has come over me, not only to see you, but to rest a day or two days on the hillside.

Good-bye and good luck!

Affectionately,

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 30, 1917.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, California.

My dear Jack:

Since a week ago last Friday we have had just one telegram from you and no other word. I presume that you have been quite wrought up over the draft situation. I tried in my letters and in my telegrams to you to make plain just my view. I am reiterating again in a message to you tonight that your claim for exemption should be ^{made} ~~obtained~~ and that you should not have the slightest hesitation in this regard. I take it that after due deliberation you will reach the only sensible conclusion that could be reached; that is, some appropriate way to be exempted. There will be ample time to consider hereafter your duty to the Republic and if it shall ever appear that that time will require you to enlist, I shall gladly unite in the suggestion.

We are experiencing, now, real Washington weather, not that which you had here, but weather so hot that the slightest movement is disagreeable. I have been longing the last few weeks for California; indeed, with some little worries of ours, and with thinking about you and Arch, the pleasure of this job has well nigh departed. I really did enjoy it for a brief period and it was more or less a vacation to me, but, suddenly,

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the world grew rather dark. Perhaps this may be attributed to our thoughts regarding our boys; perhaps to the weather, and perhaps to many other things wholly unconnected with the position, but, whatever the cause, both your mother and I have been very greatly depressed of late. It was our hope to get home in August, but I think now there is no possibility of that; indeed, with the new loans desired and the new legislation required, I will not be surprised if we ^{are} ~~were~~ not kept here until October or even until the beginning of the regular session in December.

I did not start to write you a long letter, but just to impress again upon you my view of the draft in which everybody with whom I have talked, agrees with me.

Love to Amy and the boys.

Affectionately,

