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**A** 1 2 3 4 5 6 **M** 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 **B** 17 18 19



United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NUMBER ONE

March 7, 1918.

Major Archibald M. Johnson,  
American Expeditionary Force.

My dear Arch:

As Mother has written you, we were assured of your departure under auspicious circumstances, and that everything was going well. When you get this note, your journey will probably have been almost forgotten, but I imagine that if it came to you on the day it is written, you would be rather contemptuously cynical of the "auspicious circumstances".

I will not attempt to tell you your Mother's feelings and mine after we left you on Sunday, nor indeed, our peculiar depression during the week. We are hoping and praying that in your new environment, with your zeal for service, you will find interest and contentment.

Quite a number of letters have been received since your departure. Most of these, I presume, are from young ladies you know - or perhaps "the young lady". Mother thought we ought to forward them to you, but I was rather doubtful whether you would wish these letters submitted to the critical, microscopic eye of an unsympathetic censor. I am rather inclined to hold them until either you, or the writers direct what shall be done with them.

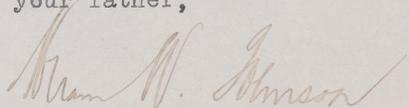
NUMBER ONE, page 2.

Senator Weeks showed me, yesterday, a letter from his son, who, as you know, is in service in France, written to the son's beloved wife. This letter had been censored in France, and then, censored over here!

I am not clear how far I can write you of existing conditions politically here, or of the world events in which we are engrossed. I know your nature well enough to believe that we are quite alike, and, as obstacles increase, our obstinacy grows, and the fight has for us increased zest. Events, apparently, are distressing and depressing today, but we, who have had to fight our way in the world, learned long ago that additional difficulties should but increase our effort and strengthen our resolve and courage. This, of course, is your attitude and mine in reference to the war. We set out to do a certain thing, and as I endeavored to say to my colleagues recently, we'll play the game and see it through. In the broad sense of what may transpire in the next generation I am gravely concerned over the situation in Siberia and the contemplated action of Japan. We, of California, know this situation as no other people on earth know it. It is hopeless to attempt to convince our eastern brethren.

Of course, our anxiety will be feverish until we learn that you have safely crossed. After that, I hope that Mother and I may feel easier concerning you. Our thoughts are ever with you, my lad. May your life now in the great adventure be at least with pleasant and congenial companions. Keep your health and your strength - not only for those who love you here - but that you may render the maximum of service for your country.

Affectionately your father,



HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 8, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I am enclosing you a copy of a letter written this day to McCabe. I may add something in a day or two to it but I do not think anything that will change its tenor. It is a difficult and a disagreeable situation. Some details of it from the Heney standpoint I have not written, but these would not affect any of the matters that I have mentioned to McCabe. At the earliest opportunity, I will write you again.

Mother and I are on the anxious seat, watching the progress of the vessel across the ocean. Cal O'Laughlin, with the utmost kindness, gets a wireless report for us each day. The danger zone is being approached now, and the next few days will, of course, be anxious ones for us. If we receive news of Art's safe arrival, I will wire you.

Love to the kiddies and to Amy.

Affectionately,



Copy for Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,  
Mills Bldg.,  
San Francisco.

March 8, 1918.

Mr. Alexander McCabe,  
State Insurance Commissioner,  
Royal Insurance Building,  
San Francisco, California.

*California politics*

My dear Al.:

Recently I received your letter on the political situation, and I would have replied long since but for the fact that I spent eight days in New York; first, meeting Arch; then, gathering together with him his equipment; and finally, bidding him good-bye. Since we returned, the Boss and I have been quite depressed, but probably our feelings are simply those of all parents who have sent their sons into this war.

In any discussion of the political situation in California, I want, first of all, to make very plain to the good fellows by whose side I have fought in the past, that I appreciate in the highest degree their kindness and their consideration for me, and their desire to be with me in any course that may be pursued. The letters I have received, and the loyal, and even affectionate, expressions from many of those who have passed through all the political vicissitudes of the last eight years in California, have touched me, distant as I am now three thousand miles from the scene of activity, as nothing else could. I feel a kindliness of spirit quite dif-

Mr. Alexander McCabe - 2

ferent from that which sometimes in the past I have possessed in our political struggle, and I want all of you to understand this singular mental condition on my part and my very great appreciation of your attitude toward me.

I have tried to make plain that the severance of all relations with me by Stephens; his evident set purpose to have nothing to do with me; his peculiar actions in secretly endeavoring to displace me after I had appointed him lieutenant-governor; and his general conduct from the time I offered the appointment to him until the day I left California; and the well-nigh universal opinion of his unfitness to be Governor, have made it impossible for me to retain a decent self-respect and actively support him. I need not again go over this. With it all, you are thoroughly familiar. Nor need I say to you, that the <sup>only</sup> worse calamity, next to the election of Stephens, which could befall California, would be the election of Heney. Repeatedly, it was stated to me when I was in California, that Stephens was the only man upon whom our people could unite; that there was nobody else from the southern part of the state; and, that by virtue of his appointment by me; the fact that he had been colorless in office and done little offensive to our people - and, the most important of all that he came from Los Angeles, made him the strategical candidate; and, in the absence of any outstanding figure from the City of Los Angeles, made him the absolutely necessary choice. I was repeatedly asked in California-what could be done, and I confess that I was quite as sorely perplexed as the rest of you. I was more sorely perplexed,

Mr. Alexander McCabe - 5

because, apparently, there was a growing sentiment when I was in California - and a sentiment now that seems to have ripened into a fair certainty - that if Stephens were nominated, Heney would defeat him. I finally suggested that the only way out that I could see was for our people to get together, select a candidate, advise Stephens of their selection, invite the co-operation of himself and those about him, and then <sup>whatever his attitude</sup> go forward with a vigorous campaign. This plan, apparently, was not feasible, and could not be carried out. Stephens has now announced his candidacy, and Heney has announced his; and, at present, the indications are that Stephens will be nominated by the Republicans, and Heney by the Democrats. I think it safe to say that of the very many letters I have received, three out of four assert positively that Heney will beat Stephens - unless I come to California and make the Stephens' fight - a contingency which, under the circumstances, even the most loyal of our friends, ought not to ask of me, and which, under no circumstances, do I think would be possible.

I have received two telegrams from Lissner this week about Rowell. These telegrams requested a response from me. The day before yesterday, I wired Lissner, as follows:

"Your telegrams received. Have not written because I have been in New York bidding Arch good-bye. Will write this week. I will not ask Rowell to be a candidate. He must, for himself, without any urging from me, determine. I am exceedingly doubtful of his success, and, therefore, would not request nor suggest candidacy on his part. If he became a candidate I would be glad to render him any service I could. Such time as I could take from my duties here I would be glad to devote to him. Of course, if he became a candidate, I would immediately publicly announce my preference for him. I think too much of Rowell to be in any fashion a party to another defeat

Mr. Alexander McCabe - 4

for him and I want to make very clear to him that it is up to him solely to determine what he wishes to do. I do not think I would indulge in any personal activity for any other candidate. "

The telegram succinctly states my view concerning Rowell's candidacy, but that I may be wholly clear, I say to you that I am very, very doubtful whether Rowell could win. In the past, he attempted one candidacy, and some of those who are very close to him have always felt that I was derelict in my duty to him in not then making his fight. There was another occasion when those close to Rowell thought I might have honored him - and that was when I appointed Stephens. On two occasions, therefore, with a man for whom I have not only the highest regard, but for whom I have very great affection, I have acted, although I think in each instance as I should have done, nevertheless, in a fashion which has left some little feeling. I can not, under any circumstances, get myself into such a situation again. I can not ask Rowell to run. I would not even suggest to him that he should run. I will not take the responsibility of his candidacy; nor will I have left at my door, finally, the responsibility for his defeat, if he should lose. If he should become a candidate, I will from here announce my advocacy of him in as strong terms as I can employ. If it will be possible for me to come to California from the session here, I will make, in the larger cities, speeches in his behalf, if desired. BUT, his candidacy must be determined by him alone, and be decided upon the theory that he must make his campaign, and win his fight, and that my aid will be rendered as I've stated herein. I do not believe - and

Mr. Alexander McCabe - 5

I never have believed - that any man can transfer his political strength. All of you who have been with me have an exaggerated notion, I think, of the political influence I have in California; but, whether you are right in your estimate, or I am right in mine, it is an indisputable fact that personal political strength attaching to any individual can not be by him transferred to another's candidacy. I emphasize this, because I fear that some of you over-emphasize the contrary. Rowell is the only man in my mind at present for whom I would go to the lengths I have suggested. If Rowell does not become a candidate, and if the field remains as it is today, I shall continue my work here, and possibly, if driven to it, say to the people of the state, that they, in my opinion, are competent to select their own Governor without my valuable assistance, and that, therefore, I'll take no part in the primaries. If there could be anything like an agreement among a group of you people whom I know so well, I should be very glad to acquiesce in your choice; but, as I read your letters, and as I view the situation, the matter has simmered down now to the possibility of Rowell, and Rowell must be the sole deciding factor in the matter. I think the consensus of opinion expressed in the letters I have received is that Stephens will be successful in the primaries, even against Rowell, and unsuccessful in the finals against Heney. It is a deplorable situation.

Mr. Alexander McCabe - 6

I do not know what else I could write you upon the subject. I feel much more keenly, I think, than any other individual, the collapse of our movement in California. It hurts beyond expression to realize that the beautiful thing we built up with such effort is about to pass from California's political life. We can not save it with Stephens, and, apparently, there is no other man who lives in Los Angeles, able to save it. We know that Rowell possesses every qualification - energy, ability, vision, idealism - and that he would not only preserve what we have done in our state, but would add new lustre to it, and accomplish even greater things. He is too dear to us to be led up to the slaughter, unless he, himself, shall decide he wants to take the chance.

Many of those who write me, write me from the standpoint of my own political fortunes, and tell me how essential it is that Stephens be put over this year that I may have no difficulties in any ambitions of mine in 1920. I am very grateful for all these kindly thoughts, but, in this situation, any ideas of my own political fortunes - not only should be put aside entirely - but frankly, in my opinion, they do not enter into the decision at all. In 1920, I shall probably not wish anything, but if I should, it would only be because of developments which might transpire in the meantime; and if there should be any such developments, I do not care who'd be Governor of California, I believe I could get by with the people of the state. So, in a discussion of this question, make plain that no man need worry for an instant about my political future or about what might

Mr. Alexander McCabe - 7.

happen to me in case the election went one way or the other. And, beyond this, it is generally conceded that, as against Heney, Stephens can not win; and if this be so, our time is wasted in thinking of what might happen to me in case I am not for Stephens and Stephens should be successful.

I am well aware that this letter is unsatisfactory; that what is desired is for me to name a specific candidate, and, behind that candidate, men like you loyally would struggle. I have always hesitated naming candidates for others, and in the present situation where there is but one choice, apparently - Rowell - I could not, because of my feelings toward him, which I have reiterated here, pitchfork him into a candidacy which he does not care to undertake, and the chances of success of which may be against him.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Lissner, Jack, and Billy Williams. I have no objection to your reading this letter to those with whom you consult, provided, of course, you think they are entitled first hand to know our views. You remember, we had a little luncheon at the Cliff House one day before I left. The luncheon had scarcely been removed from the table, when every detail of what was said was repeated to the gubernatorial office at Sacramento. I really had no great objection to that fact, but I mention it merely in conjunction with the statement that I have no objection to your showing this communication to those who may be entitled to see it.

Very sincerely yours,

*Copy* (Signed) HIRAM W. JOHNSON.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 9, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,  
The California Sanitarium,  
Belmont, California.

My dear Daughter:

Last week I had no opportunity to write you, because I was in New York and, of course, I did not have the facilities for dictating a long letter.

Our week in New York was anything but pleasant. Continuously hanging over us was the departure of Art, and then, there were many little annoyances connected with his going. Unfortunately, he could not sail with most of his class, and it may be that the few days delay thus occasioned will be a source of serious inconvenience to him. He had been routed in a specific fashion by the commanding officer of California, but had changed that routing so that he reached New York Sunday instead of Monday. I thought he ought at once to report to Hoboken and he did so, with the result that he was handed Sunday afternoon four pages of equipment to obtain, and he was told to report the next morning to sail. His trunk had not arrived, and to obtain the equipment, in the time it was suggested, was an utter impossibility. This finally was obvious to the officer at Hoboken, and the result was that Art reported Tuesday ready to sail, with his equipment finally obtained. He was delayed from day to day until Sunday morn-

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 2

ing. The daily delay and the daily reporting, with the uncertainty of the whole situation, took from us what little pleasure might have been obtained in being with him at such a time, and all of us, when we parted Sunday morning at the Hoboken ferry, were in a mighty despondent mood. We returned Sunday night from New York. I will not dwell upon last week, nor attempt to tell you the thoughts that course through my mind as I think of my lad upon the sea soon to go into the conflict. You have had something of that sort yourself with your brother. We can only anxiously hope.

There was one thing about his departure that made me quite indignant. The equipment required of him, economically purchased, would cost five or six hundred dollars; purchased as we purchase it, it was much more. It is another evidence of this nation's care for those who fight its battles, and it is an added confirmation that, after all, one of the objects of war is to add a little more to those who have much.

Yesterday I was at the War Department again in regard to the commissions of the Berkeley honor men in France. I received yesterday the first word of encouragement. Keppel, who is in charge of the outer office of the Secretary of War, said he thought the thing was coming through and that the commissions desired by our boys would be granted. I do hope this is so. I have not dared to write the good news to these young men, because I find some of our departments will occasionally indulge in encouraging statements, without ultimate performance. I think probably it will be just as well that I do not

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 3

not write them, provided they receive the commissions. If they receive the commissions this will be compensation enough for me. In response to my cable to them, I received, as I think I told you, a cable from Bob in which he said that he really was not in the same predicament as many of his fellows. If anything definite is done by the department in favor of the lads I will cable them, but I will refrain from giving them any good news for fear it may not develop.

The war goes from bad to worse. This does not have the same psychological effect upon me that I find it has upon many here. I have such a singularly peculiar temperament that obstacles and difficulties make me only the more obstinate, and when I have started to fight, the blackness of it, serves as a spur, rather than as a deterrent. The present condition of affairs--the blackest since our entry into the war,--gives me a sort of cold determination to see the thing through now at all hazards. The fact that, apparently, we are up against it, and that developments make, for the moment, success look extremely doubtful, give me added zest for the struggle and make me want to fight all the more. I look, however, the situation clearly in the face. Jack used to insist that I was pessimistic in our political and other contests, but it was my habit ever to see the darkest side, and then, having determined the worse that could transpire, go ahead and prevent its transpiring. In your history reading days, you were doubtless amazed at the sudden collapse of the Roman empire, and the ease with which

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 4

finally this mighty structure was pulled apart. You have read, too, of Spain in the zenith of its power, suddenly crushed into impotency. History, however, affords no such parallel as that presented in our day of Russia. The Russia that we have known no longer exists, and anything like an organized government there is gone. The mighty empire which was supposed to possess within itself the menace of all western Europe, with the possibility of world dominion, has crumbled like a house of cards. Germany, dreaming of Mitteleuropa, finds suddenly, in a fashion, she had never contemplated, her dream magnified many times into actual realization. With the Baltic provinces, the Ukrain, and the Balkan states practically a part of the German empire, the Mitteleuropa vision, which statesmen tell us was the cause of this world war, is an actuality, and presents a world menace far greater than that presented by the original German plans. Germany has now practically annexed to her territory fifty millions of people, three hundred thousand square miles of territory, lands fertile in coal, and oil, and minerals of all sorts, and what is of greater importance - the granary of Europe. I can not for the life of me see why, under these circumstances, there should be an offensive upon the western front this year. It would seem that it would be folly to hazard all upon a great battle in France now, and the wise course, apparently, would be to hold the western line while Germany, with her genius for development and organization, exploited Russia. I hope that I am entirely mistaken,

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 5

and that Germany will put it to the test in a great battle on the western front. I hope this, not because I want the bloodshed of the great battle, but that we may have the opportunity of whipping Germany and bringing peace. How silly it seems though, when Germany now has won that for which it is assumed she commenced this awful carnage, that she should hazard it all upon a battle, when, by merely holding the line, as admittedly she can, she can reap the full fruits of her victory.

There is a romance and a charm to all of us in reading of Napoleon's campaigns, of his dreams of empire, and of his temporary success. When he was most triumphant, however, he did not hold under his sway what Germany holds today. Our news is, as you know, carefully censored. The fact is that the German people, and the people of Austria, are today wildly enthusiastic and delirious with joy, just as the French were after the Italian campaigns of Napoleon, and after Austerlitz and Wagram. The pity and the horror of the present situation are that the war will be prolonged, and possibly prolonged, so that the final outcome will be a wholly indecisive peace. The Mitteleuropa of Germany is now an established fact. We have but one way to victory, and that is, through the western front, which experience seems to have demonstrated to be impregnable; and worse than this, we have another menace now. While Germany is preparing to annex all of western Russia, Japan is preparing to annex all of eastern Russia. In my opinion, the most important development in this war, so far as our future generations

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 6

are concerned, is with us today. We have the present menace of autocracy, imperialism, and militarism in Germany, and in the Mitteleuropa scheme now accomplished. This menace has ever been buttressed by France and by England; and, while not imaginary to our people, nevertheless, was more a menace to civilization itself than immediately to our territory. Today, we are creating in the Orient a like menace to our western shore of imperialism, militarism, and autocracy, and we are adding to this the greater one of a hostile race and civilization. Japan will probably enter Siberia. Japan already has practically taken over China. Japan now has Korea, the provinces of China held by Germany, and the islands in the Pacific formerly constituting German colonies. The great yellow race is therefore given imperial dominion over the Pacific, and practically all of the lands of the Orient; and, between this yellow race and us, of California, there is no France and no England. The vision that I have of the future is one wherein we must really fight for the very existence of our kind of civilization, and for our race. It seems to me a terrible thing that in this idealistic war, when our purpose was to make the world safe for democracy, that we shall be parties, either by acquiescence or silence, to the creation of what ultimately will be a menace to our people and our land, far greater than any menace of Mitteleuropa. I recall very distinctly that when Japan took the German provinces in China, Japan published to the world that she held these provinces in trust for China; that she did not herself want them, and would not retain them.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 7

Last Saturday night when I was in New York I read in the New York Evening Post of the secret treaty between Russia and Japan entered into after the war had commenced, which was practically an offensive and defensive alliance between the two nations, guaranteeing Japan's sovereignty over China, and guaranteeing to Japan the German provinces in China and the German colonies in the Pacific. I read, too, of the diplomatic correspondence of the Russian ambassador at Tokyo before the fall of the Czar's government, in which he said that he had been approached by the Prime Minister of Japan, who told him that Germany had suggested a separate peace with Russia and Japan, to which the Russian ambassador responded, that Germany must consult Russia's allies - England, France, and Italy; but, it is a most significant fact that when the Japanese premier approached the Russian ambassador, the Japanese made no such suggestion. The Japanese are the Prussians of the Pacific. They are as insidious, as cunning, and more treacherous and more cruel. Ever since our alien land agitation in California in 1913, and the passage of the bill designed to protect our agriculture, I have had a fair conception, I think, of the Japanese, and of the Japanese viewpoint. They have in this war befooled us, and, in diplomacy, we have been children in their hands. They, in the beginning, saw the possibilities. They are now about to strike. After they have struck, and after they have taken eastern Russia, there will be, instead of one dominating militarism and autocracy, two. What will happen, then,

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 8

seems obvious. The two great militaristic governments of the earth will join hands and we will come then to the real test of democracy - and democracy will indeed be in a real struggle for its very existence. I am not sure but what Wilson sees some of this. I am told that he is in a blue funk over the present situation. England has insisted that Japan be given a free hand in Siberia. Wilson is afraid, either to express himself firmly or to acquiesce.

The Russian ambassador called upon me the day before yesterday. He is in reality no ambassador now, but he was the accredited representative of the Kerensky government, and is a man, apparently, of ability. He had not my viewpoint of the great race civilization menace we were creating; but he was most seriously alarmed over the action by Japan, because of its effect upon the Russian people. He said the Russian people through centuries of oppression had developed a passive resistance. This resistance had been, first, to the Tartars, and then, to successive dynasties of autocrats. Germany, he insisted, to get a bushel of wheat from Russia, would have to put at the elbow of every Russian, a German to obtain the wheat. The Russians, however, hate one race more than all others - and that is the Japanese. If Japan invaded Russia, the Russians would see red, and be able to understand nothing else except the aggression of Japan, and they would be more likely, under such circumstances, willingly and voluntarily, to throw themselves into the arms of Germany. He told me, in his conversations with

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 9

the President and the State Department, it had been admitted that the invasion of Siberia by the Japanese to protect the stores at Vladivostok was a mere camouflage. No necessity existed, and, indeed, twenty men, by blowing up a bridge, could hold these stores indefinitely, and under no circumstances were the transportation facilities sufficient anyhow to move them. He understood, and he said our State Department, and the President understood, that Japan intended to go into Siberia and intended to stay there, and all of them knew that any protestations about withdrawal were empty, vain promises, which would never be fulfilled. You can imagine, with my knowledge of the Japanese, what my feeling has been in the last few days. I hesitate to give voice to this feeling, because the effect, if my view should find lodgment upon any particular number, upon the war is perfectly obvious. When Lewis of Illinois, however, indulged in some remarks the other day, which meant nothing, I could not sit still, but I simply said, that I would not permit my silence to be construed as subscribing to any of the activities or programs, which were now being discussed. I recognize how perplexing the situation must be to the President and the Cabinet, and how we are likely, with the pressing need to meet the present menace of Germany, to create another that is serious, but which may be postponed to another generation. May the Lord help us in the terrible catastrophe which we now face!

Merely to preserve, in a way historically, I want to tell you in the deepest confidence something which yesterday I learned.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 10

In 1912 when I was making the campaign with Roosevelt, the scandal which we have all heard as connected with the President was brought to our headquarters, in my absence. The headquarters selected a calm, judicial, able man to investigate. He made a thorough investigation. Subsequently, when I was in New York, the question was brought up of publishing the facts. I protested vigorously, and stated my abhorrence of any such method of campaign, and that I would not tolerate, whether the stories were true, or whether they were false, any reference to them in connection with our campaign at all. I stopped their exploitation, I think. Yesterday, for the first time since 1912, I met the man who made the detailed investigation in three states. I asked him if he had ever learned anything. He said that he had documents demonstrating conclusively the charge, and that those documents were in his safe deposit vault. He related to me an incident, which I cannot here describe, corroborative of what he said. I made no further inquiries of him, and I put the matter down here merely as an incident of interest of our campaign of 1912 and my action concerning it.

I have been delighted to observe from your letters, the same old penmanship, and the same old vigor of expression. I can't tell you how good it makes us feel to know how rapidly you are improving. Don't try to hasten things too much. Remember, you are building now for a lifetime - and for a long lifetime. An extra month or two, or three, or six now will

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 11

mean your contentment and your happiness for many, many years. Don't, please, therefore, think too soon that you may leave the sanitarium, and don't be depressed at remaining there. We are so grateful that everything is moving so nicely with you that I implore you to care and to patience in the very brief remaining period which you must stay and get entirely well.

Affectionately,

*Dad*

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Saturday, Oct. 9, 1918

My dear Jack:

I dictated today my usual weekly letter to Amy, but I'm most anxious you should read my views on the present Japanese situation. This situation, from a future world vision, presents, I believe, a most perplexing problem, and the gravest menace to our next generation. Apparently

from Sat. March 9, 1918 (over)

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but one newspaper man,  
Hearst, sees the thing plainly.  
Our people seem stunned and  
unable to understand either the  
conflict in which we are  
engaged, or the insidious  
possibilities of our childish  
diplomacy. It's impossible  
frankly to state the case. We  
are in alliance with Japan, in  
a war, in which we face  
most serious consequences.  
If one were to be accused  
with a color of right of

alienating this ally, and a  
Californian might cause more  
trouble than any one else,  
he could never recover from the  
charge, and the fear of doing  
some harm to the prosecution  
of the war, keeps me silent.

I've received your  
two letters about account.  
Don't hesitate to tell me to send  
check for all or any part.  
My bank book is at the  
Bank, and I have directed the  
Donohoe-Kelly to deliver it to you.

Get it at your convenience. Better  
make out that statement for me  
in accordance with the new tax law.  
I really think you ought to include  
the River Garden stock in it.  
God knows what will happen this  
year in the draft. Leave nothing  
which may lead even to an unjust  
charge or insinuation. Presumably  
your classification settles the question,  
but this war may bring anything  
any time.

Your recent good letter in  
which you spoke of State politics  
and told me of a story by De Bowca

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

fully reached us. The Bruce  
story seems as you say, so  
tragic and terrible, that I can't  
credit it. I wish you'd get  
such details as you can from  
Dr. Bruce and write them to me.

Mosser and I are  
anxiously awaiting news from  
Jack. While the chances of  
getting safely over are almost  
one hundred per cent, nevertheless  
we will not feel easy until  
we hear definitely of his safety.

You can't imagine how ex-  
posed I am here. I really have  
an intense interest in what is  
transpiring. I'm glad to be a  
part of it, though not an  
important part. I feel myself  
growing and broadening, with a  
real conception, in small degree,  
of world affairs. I think I  
can constantly grow in the  
big things. Two difficulties  
are ever present: first, the  
character of this body, its  
littleness, cowardice and hypocrisy,

and secondly, the gradual absorption  
of the small resources you have  
so greatly contributed to.

When we returned Sunday  
night, we were both so tired and  
cross that with some provocation,  
fluently, and with precision, I cursed  
our chauffeur. He had luncheon  
in New York at 12, left there  
at 3:30, arrived in Washington  
9:30. The train was so crowded  
we had no dinner, and when  
we arrived, we couldn't find

the chauffeur for half an hour.  
When we did find him, I exhibited  
a new side to him in my  
profane remarks, and I hurt  
his feelings. We now have  
a new Denge who may and may  
not be all right. The couple of  
days we were without a chauff.  
taught me how dependent we  
became upon luxuries, and  
how luxury soon ripens into  
necessity. Really I don't  
see how we could get along  
with the car now.

As you may imagine I'm

3

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Writing this in the Senate Chamber.  
It's now four p.m. Saturday  
afternoon and a running debate  
is proceeding on the appropriation  
bill for consular service etc.

I tried to write you by way  
of McCabe, about politics in California.  
I imagine there will be nothing to  
do but remain quiet here. Kelan  
is backing Henry but has demanded  
from Henry a written promise that  
Henry will not be a candidate  
for U.S. Senator two years hence, but

will run four years from now  
against me. Henry has given  
his word, but declines to put it  
in writing. Mr. Phelan thinks  
he's a great politician; but  
perhaps we may condemn him  
otherwise some day in the future.

Mother and I talk of you  
every night. I don't write you  
much I might about your  
hard fight. I think you've  
borne yourself as I love to  
have you, my boy, and in a  
fashion, which makes me  
even more proud of you.

Love to the Ladies and Amy.  
Affectionately,  
Dad

HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

**United States Senate,**

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NUMBER TWO

March 12, 1918.

Major Archibald M. Johnson,  
General Staff College,  
American Expeditionary Force.

My dear Arch:

I have been trying to ascertain the exact mode of addressing you, but the War Department is quite as ignorant as I am, and has been able to give me no definite information. Your Mother has written you twice, and, under the direction of the Department, has directed the letters simply to the "American Expeditionary Force". I have written you once, and have directed my letter likewise. Today, however, I am going to address this letter care of the "General Staff College". I do this, because I have just received a letter from Frederick Palmer, written on the U. S. Ship Saint Paul, February 22nd 1918, in which he gives his address as "Major Frederick Palmer, Care of Intelligence Section, General Staff, A. E. F." Certainly, if Major Palmer thus states his address, yours is most accurately stated in the manner I have just indicated. Major Palmer, in his letter, which is a most delightful little note to your mother and myself, asks: "Mayn't I look up your son if he comes to France?" I have written him today telling him that I'd be delighted. I imagine, inasmuch as he is in the Intelligence Department, that you will not be very far from him.

NUMBER TWO, sheet 2.

I have detailed to Major Palmer, simply that he may have the facts before him, the difficulties you had in getting away. I wanted him to know it was no fault of yours and that everything possible was done.

As we realize that you are now getting into the danger zone, Mother and I have become quite anxious. We say little to each other, but for us to speak is unnecessary. I catch her occasionally looking at me appealingly, and I find myself anxiously watching her countenance, and, with nothing said, each knows the uppermost thought in the other's mind. I am told it will be the end of this week before we are likely to hear of the arrival of your ship, and until then, the days will be long and anxious for us.

I am hoping to get some favorable news for the Grizzlies. Immediately I tackled the matter. There is a disposition to get troops ready without delay to send them to Pershing, and it may be that the Grizzlies will be very soon designated. There seems to be something, however, holding back certain of the National Guard units. Just what it is, I do not understand; but I found in talking with the Senators from New York yesterday, and one or two others, that they have brigades in exactly the same situation as our California brigade. All these boys, too, are getting camp weary now, and we were agreed yesterday in our chats that it would be better they be given something to do.

There is little I can write you of interest. We are engrossed here, of course, with the war. I'd like to tell you some-

NUMBER TWO, sheet 3.

thing of the viewpoint held by most of us concerning the breakdown of Russia and the contemplated invasion of Siberia by Japan. I am not clear that the censor would permit this to go by. There is a fearful and a wonderful method of censorship at present by which we peer with extraordinary care into the letters from a soldier to his wife or his mother, and, as I wrote you in my last note, not only does this happen upon one side of the water, but, upon the other side, as well. Expression, therefore, in our letters, I presume, is about as free as expression in this poisonous atmosphere of Washington. I can, however, tell you how our hearts are with you, and how we hope and pray for your health and your success. It is a long struggle in which we are engaged now, but in which we must not fail. In it, the youth of the land of this day will exhibit the spirit of our forefathers; but no man, unless he has lost his sense of proportion and his breadth of vision will do otherwise than pray that the sacrifice of blood shall be the very minimum required. The war has developed certain definite <sup>species</sup> of human kind - the slacker, the profiteer, and the patrioteer. I do not know which is the most contemptible. I detest the slacker; I abhor the profiteer; and, I have grown so heartily sick of the man who is ever prating of his patriotism, but neither goes to war himself, nor sends his own, and who covers every ugly political scar by waving the flag, that I am not sure but what I have for him a greater contempt than for the others.

Good luck to you! Remember, you have three letters at least that have thus far been sent to you address <sup>ed</sup> only American Expeditionary Force.

Affectionately,

*Your father,*  
Hiram W. Johnson

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 13, 1918.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,  
479 Mills Building,  
San Francisco, Cal.

My dear Jack:

Carnahan has been making quite a drive on me, politically, of late. This culminated in a letter from Allen Chickering and a personal call the other day from Charles F. Cramer. I told Cramer my attitude and then wrote it to Chickering. I enclose you herein, so that you may be familiar with the situation - (1) Letter from me to Allen Chickering; (2) telegram from Carnahan to me; (3) telegram in reply from me to Carnahan. I think these are sufficiently plain. I regret exceedingly that Carnahan wired me as he did. In the first place, it is difficult to deny a man like Carnahan what you know is his heart's desire, and, secondly, it jars me to have him put this heart's desire upon the theory of aiding me. If Carnahan has any such strength as he thinks he has, he ought not to be consulting anybody about his candidacy. My private opinion is that he would be so overwhelmingly beaten, even with my endorsement, that his running would be absurd. He never, however, will be convinced of this fact until he tries it on. All the rest of his life, in some dark and mysterious fashion, he will ascribe his failure to be Governor of California to me.

If you want, show these communications to Lissner. I

(H.W.J.-2)

finally reached the conclusion that the only man for whom I would go to bat was Rowell. I reached this conclusion for many, many reasons, but the chief, after all, was that we were perfectly certain of Rowell in fair or foul weather. We know that he would always be progressive, and we owe him an allegiance that I think we owe to nobody else. If he does not choose to go into the thing, I will do as I have said in my letters - attend to my business and let the people of California select their own Governor this year.

There are some sidelights on the situation that have not been particularly pleasant. As you know, I have a tremendous amount of correspondence from California, much of it political. The consensus of opinion is that in San Francisco and Alameda, Stephens's chief strength, which has been nurtured and nourished, is McCabe. I am perfectly certain McCabe would go with us in any course we would pursue, but he would have a mighty difficult row to hoe. I do not want you to think I doubt, for a minute, McCabe's loyalty to me, or his good faith; but it is an undubitable fact that he has tenderly nursed Stephens and what political strength Stephens has in Northern California.

Neylan has been here again. I talked no politics with him, and saw him very much less than on previous occasions. When I did see him, I was regaled with a monologue on John Francis Neylan, John Francis Neylan's law suits, John Francis Neylan's prosperity, John Francis Neylan's ability and John Francis

(H.W.J.-3)

Neylan's greatness. The young man has become almost insufferable and quite impossible. He is the greatest little profiteer now existing. He has been here twice - once, under a large fee payment, to get somebody out of the draft named Bissinger, in which, with Archbishop Hanna and various high prelates and wealthy Israelites, he succeeded. The second time he was here on some contract with the Government, evidently under lucrative employment also. It is quite appropriate that he should devote some of his time to prating on patriotism in California, inasmuch as the rest of his time he coins that patriotism into very large remuneration.

Since I wired Lissner last week about the Rowell candidacy I have had no word at all from him or from Rowell, and I assume, therefore, that Rowell concluded he would not enter into the contest.

Love to the kiddies and Amy.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be "Dan".

ALL LINEN

C O P Y.

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
Washington, D.C.,

March 11, 1918.

Mr. Allen L. Chickering,  
Attorney at Law,  
Merchants Exchange Building,  
San Francisco, Cal.

My dear Allen:

Mr. C. F. Cramer, a friend of Dick Carnahan, has just called on me. He has, on behalf of Carnahan, taken up the political situation in California. I am extremely fond of Carnahan. I have for him a very high respect and a very deep regard. He has filled a most difficult position in California with marked ability and success. Because of my feeling toward him, because of your recent letter, and because of Cramer's call this morning, I write you now, explicitly and plainly, so that there may be no misunderstanding or misapprehension between Carnahan, or his friends, and me in the future.

I told Cramer that there were quite a number of candidates for Governor in California, and that each candidate requested me, vicariously to run; each desired that I should espouse his particular cause and make his particular fight. I told Cramer that, of course, I could not do this. Aside from the fact that it is impossible for any man to transfer his political strength, I am engrossed here with my work, with my mind intent upon passing events, and I could not undertake to make the fight for any candidate for Governor. I explained to Cramer, as I have written you, my regard for Carnahan, but I made plain to him, as I endeavor <sup>now</sup> to make plain to you, if Carnahan is a candidate, he must make his own fight. Cramer asked the question - if I preferred that

(A.L.C.-2)

Carnahan should not be a candidate. Emphatically, I said "No", that his candidacy was wholly up to him and should be determined by him, and him alone. Cramer said, as well, that Carnahan desired to make the contest so that he might be of service to me ultimately politically. I explained to Cramer that this should be wholly eliminated. If I have any political aspirations in 1920, or at any other time, they will be solely because of developments the next year or two. The chances are a thousand to one I will have no other aspirations; but if developments should create such aspirations, it would not make any difference, so far as I was concerned, who might be in power in California. If developments created a situation wherein I would be of any consequence I would have no fear of the people of my State. As I say, however, there is not a chance in thousands of anything of this sort arising, and it should be wholly dismissed. There is only one possible contingency which does not relate to Dick, which might cause my entry into the contest in California this year.

I have written you this letter very hastily this morning, because of the call upon me by Mr. Cramer in behalf of Mr. Carnahan. I hope it does not seem abrupt. I have tried only to make it plain. Because of my past experience, and because for men for whom I care so much as I do for you and Carnahan, I want no misunderstanding in the future.

Sincerely,

(Sgd) Hiram W. Johnson

C O P Y.

②

TELEGRAM.

Los Angeles, March 11/1918

Hiram W. Johnson, U.S.S.,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Chief: It is almost universally agreed that with your open endorsement I can win primary and as nominee will be more certain election than incumbent. Demands to go and for prompt decision becoming embarrassing. Since principal personal interest is in continuance your program and protection your interests two years hence, am making your support absolute condition. If this course impossible or inexpedient for you or result not sufficiently important to justify it please advise me direct and I will end agony. Am convinced it will assure incumbents nomination and Heney's election.

Dick

③

TELEGRAM.

Washington, D.C., Mar. 12, 1918

H. L. Carnahan,  
State Corporation Department,  
Union League Building,  
Los Angeles, Cal.

Yours just received. I do not wish to make open endorsement of candidacy particularly at this time. Determination of any individual's action as to candidacy of necessity must rest with that individual. I would not, under any circumstances, ask anybody to be a candidate, and the fact that I would not so ask or attempt the indorsement of any candidate should not militate against any personal action on your part. Of course you know the very high respect and fond regard in which I hold you but your candidacy must be decided by yourself without regard at all to me or my interests and your decision should not be influenced in the slightest degree by silence upon my part. Fond regards.

Hiram W. Johnson.

Night Letter

HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 16, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,  
The California Sanitarium,  
Belmont, California.

My dear Daughter:

With the passing of another week we find ourselves more deeply enmeshed in the terrible tangle of this war. Each month seems to have brought us new complications, added difficulties, and greater obstacles. The fond hope that filled us when we gaily entered - that our entrance forthwith would settle the issue and decide the combat - is now wholly dissipated, and we are facing probably the grimmest tragedy in the Nation's history. With true American boastfulness, each day we are bloviating in the dispatches about our prowess and our bravery, and how when we begin to fight, the enemy begins to run, but each day I sadly see the casualty lists increasing, and I shudder at the black headlines "Killed in Action". Of course, there is nothing to do but see it through now, and fight exactly as a man fights when he has entered a conflict he little understands, but which finally he begins to realize means life or death to him. We've got to go to it now, and we've got to whip the other fellow. Personally, I believe we can be more stout-hearted with a full understanding of our task, and I resent the constant daily lying to our people, the perfectly asinine descriptions of the skirmishes in which we engage, and the silly boasting of our greatness and our valor.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 2

A couple of days ago, the manager of the Shipping Board, again came to us. He brought with him charts in relation to submarine destruction and our shipbuilding program. He showed to us that our shipbuilding program, added to that of England's, would be a long time in overtaking the submarine losses. Indeed, he fixed a specific date - August 1st, 1919, as the time when, if all went well with our shipbuilding, and England's program were consummated wholly, the construction of ships would equal the destruction by submarines. He insisted that a greater program was necessary than that now contemplated, and he wanted to make more contracts similar to that in existence at Hog Island. I bluntly said, that I would not approve any such contract, and while we, as a committee, had nothing to do with the making of agreements, and the matter is wholly within the jurisdiction of the shipping board, neither by acquiescence nor silence, would I subscribe to any contract like the disgraceful one at Hog Island. At any rate, the point of the incident is, that the shipping board has been telling the people of how the submarine menace was to be speedily overcome, and how we were going to build ships enough this year to solve all our difficulties; yet, they come to us secretly, saying our program is not large enough, and hysterically wishing to enlarge it, in any fashion. The seizure of the Dutch ships next week will aid very materially.

Just after the war commenced, I wrote the boys that it was only a question of time until we were left holding the bag. That time has now come. Admittedly, we must furnish the money to

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 3

all our allies, and then, finally, we must, as well, furnish tremendous numbers of men. I do not know what we are going to do with millions of men in Europe; and the worst of it is, I do not believe those who rule us know what we are going to do with them. If they are necessary for the winning of the war, I presume, there is nothing else to do but put them there; but, it seems silly, feverishly to send them across, when we know it will be almost impossible to take care of them afterwards.

I wired Jack that we have been advised by the War Department that Archie's ship had got across. We haven't heard anything at all from him. He agreed with us to cable us the moment he was landed on the other side, but, I presume, that he found this forbidden, and, therefore, did not do so. Some of our anxiety was relieved by the message given me by the War Department, but I do wish we would have some word from the kid, himself. They have told me to address letters to him, simply, "American Expeditionary Force", but I am, by no means, certain that such letters will reach him. He'll soon be now in the thick of the whole thing, and, like thousands and thousands of American parents, the first thing we will do each morning will be to scan the black-faced type on the first page of the newspaper.

Just as we were about to adjourn a week ago tonight, the mental bully of the Senate indulged in a speech belittling, and rather abusing, David Lubin. This Senator, John Sharp Williams, by virtue of his very mentality, occupies a commanding position. Nearly every afternoon he is drunk, and, not infrequently, he

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 4

comes into the Senate chamber, berates somebody or something in a style of his own, but, nevertheless, generally is very caustic, and oftentimes, quite entertaining. A little amendment for the Agricultural Institute at Rome, of which Lubin is really the founder, was before the Senate. The petty appropriation of \$8,000. had been stricken from the bill, and, then, I had it brought up again, after it had been overwhelmingly defeated. Williams indulged in his diatribe, and I replied, rather angrily. While the subject matter was of little consequence, and my response even less, the whole thing obtained a fictitious prominence and importance, because nobody has dared lock horns with Mr. Williams. We had a tense five minutes, in which I had the pleasure, because he came over and sat immediately below me, of talking in his teeth, and shaking my fist in his nose. Incidentally, when I finished, we carried the little appropriation 28 to 26. I wouldn't mention the matter to you at all, but it was one of the personal encounters which, now and then, occur between men, who have a natural antagonism to each other. Some of the distinguished gentlemen, who have little regard for me, were delighted to have somebody, at least, speak up to Mr. Williams. I felt good over it, because I was in action.

Some time since, as you know, we passed the infamous railroad bill. The House had already passed it, and, inasmuch, as there were some differences in the measures passed by the two bodies, conference committees had to be appointed to make

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 5

the two bills alike. The conference committees reported this week, and then, a couple of us denounced the bill over again. Just eight of us refused to vote for the conference report, and these eight constitute the irreducible minimum of radicalism in the United States Senate. There were a few, perhaps half a dozen, others, who would have voted on a straight proposition with us, but who felt it their duty to adopt the conference report.

When I say to you that this bill, under agreement between the national administration and the railroad companies, will pay the railroad companies three hundred millions of dollars more than they are justly entitled to, and when I tell you that our statements concerning the excessive sums to be paid these railroads were never repudiated during all the debate, you'll understand some of my indignation about the measure. It is, apparently, a hopeless task to have justice done the people in Congress, and particularly hopeless, when the injustice is fathered by the administration and the leaders of both parties. The Republican Party, through its leaders in Congress, has become a very weak echo of the Democratic administration. Both parties, in their leadership, stand for the same thing - for the privileged class, and increased profits to those who have much. Because legislation is initiated by the Democratic Party, and then, the leaders of the Republican Party, with the same zeal as the leaders of the Democratic Party,

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 6

strive to protect big business and increase its profits, the Republican Party becomes a mere timid follower, in behalf of big business.

There was an article in Collier's this past week on the President by Richard Washburn Child, of whom I have seen quite a bit here. The article has ~~excited~~ a vast amount of comment, and has aroused intense indignation in the administration. It is even said that Collier's has been warned that another lapse from the path of idolatrous praise of the President will subject it to suppression entirely. The story Child tells of the inaccessibility of the President, I think, is fairly accurate, and I hope you will read his article. The administration recently was going to suppress the Metropolitan, because of an article by William Hard about Wilson's diplomacy. Finally, the Department of Justice did not suppress the magazine, but intimated that it might in the future, and conveyed its warning. The Republic has come upon strange times. Free speech and the freedom of the press, which were considered our national bulwarks, and, which we thought to be preserved to us by our Constitution, are a thing of the past. Substantilly, they no longer exist in the Nation. Sooner or later, I shall explode upon this subject.

Your letters seem to me to indicate greater strength, and a somewhat changed point of view from your earlier communications. I scan each one narrowly, because I think I can read in your expressions, not only your physical condition,

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 7

but your mental poise. Take care of yourself, please. We do not know what the future may have in store for any of us, but our first obligation in order to meet whatever may come is to be ourselves. I had a fine letter from Bob the other day.. I would send it to you but I presume you have many of like sort. It was a good, strong, manly, human letter, and I am going to respond to it just as soon as possible.

With all our love, I am

Affectionately,

Dad

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 16, 1918.

Major Archibald M. Johnson,  
General Staff College,  
American Expeditionary Force.  
France.

My dear Arch:

We have been hoping each day to have a cable from you, either from England or France, telling of your safe arrival. We have reached the conclusion, however, that the orders must forbid this, or long since we would have heard from you. As I wrote you, I was notified by the War Department that your ship had got over last Tuesday, but in the absence of word from you personally, I am beginning to doubt this fact. However, we are awaiting patiently either cablegram or letter. I am directing this letter as the last one - c/o The General Staff College - because of the direction in Major Palmer's letter. I cannot conceive that there can be any objection to this direction, and it is the only fashion by which, as I look at it, you can be identified.

The days are passing in the same old way with us. The winter has given place here to the peculiar, boisterous March of the East. The hotel is just as rotten, and your mother and I are just as tired of it as we were when we saw you. The Congress drones along in the same old way, privately snarling and whining and growling, but publicly pre-

(Major Johnson - 2)

tending and doing exactly as the President tells it to do. The events in Russia, and the possible activities of the Japanese in Siberia have been the engrossing topics for the last two weeks. We have nothing directly and officially from the President. I can well understand and sympathize with his perplexities now. I feel like a man who has gaily entered what he thought was a pleasant little boxing contest, and suddenly finds himself using every ounce he possesses to avoid a knock-out blow, and who grits his teeth and prepares to give a knock-out blow to his adversary. We have got into such an amazing tangle that it is impossible to think straight about the situation. But we are in it and we've got to see it through and win it.

I think, from the letters we get from California, that Amy is improving, and I am hoping that she may be ultimately wholly cured. I confess I was doubtful about this in the beginning.

I notice Roosevelt's son, Archie, was wounded. I wrote him yesterday for your mother and myself, trying to convey a little of the sympathy which we very deeply feel. I think that he and Mrs. Roosevelt in their attitude, with four sons in the war, afford an example at once touching and inspiring. I hope that their Archie will speedily recover.

Since I returned to Washington I have been endeavoring to get some real information about when the Grizzlies may go abroad. Beyond the stereotyped expression that, what I say will receive very careful consideration, I have heard nothing.

(Major Johnson - 3)

I've written to Raymond and I'll keep on the job.

I know that you will be extremely busy with your new tasks. Don't write unless you can afford the time. If a typewriter is available, I'd suggest that what you can tell about yourself, personally, and your labors, etc., you might manifold, and save yourself writing similar letters to all your correspondents. I have quite a number of letters here for you, but I hesitate to forward them to you for very obvious reasons. The fine chirography of your correspondents would indicate your belief in safety in numbers.

I shall endeavor to write you twice a week. I am not clear whether I can write you freely about what is transpiring here. I'll subscribe for newspapers for you, if they can reach you, or such magazines as you might desire. Don't hesitate to tell me of anything we can do here for you. Nothing that we could do, from our standpoint, would be too much.

Our hearts are with you, my lad. The days doubtless will be anxious for you, but in our inactivity, awaiting word from you, they are doubly anxious. Would that our love could surround you with an impenetrable shield.

Affectionately,

*Your father,*  
*Hiram W. Johnson*

March 16, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I have written to Amy today the most uninteresting, I think, of all the uninteresting letters I have sent her. The fact is, there are no new developments in Congress, and no great gossip, governmentally, and I expressed to her, therefore, simply some random views of mine.

When I was in New York I saw Roosevelt at the hospital. I really had a great pity for him. While he pretended to be in good shape and good spirits, it was quite obvious to me that his sickness had severely shaken him. I doubt if his activity in the future can be at all like it has been in the past. I learned, incidentally, too, that while he and Mrs. Roosevelt put a very brave face upon the matter, they really worry a great deal over their four sons. He sent me a speech that he is to deliver in Maine this month, - a speech I did not consider at all extraordinary, but in which he was endeavoring to commit the Republican Party to some policies after the war. I did not think he had as clear a grasp of matters as formerly, but this is not to be wondered at, under the circumstances. He was really very, very sick, and his secretary told me that for a few days he was in a very critical condition.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I have written him a letter today about politics and the Republican Party. I enclose you herein a copy of the letter. If you've preserved the letters that I have written from here, I'd like you to preserve this letter among them. It states my view of the unhappy position the Republican Party is in. I wrote Roosevelt because Mr. Hays, the new chairman of the Republican National Committee, called upon me in New York, and again here. He is showing very considerable energy, but I am unable, as I said in my letter to Roosevelt, to see how any issue can be fashioned out of the present situation. Hays is going to swing around the circuit and come to California. If you wish, I will write him that you will call upon him. He is not much on looks, but he has energy, and claims he wants to treat the Progressives with an absolute fairness. Time alone will determine the genuineness of his claim.

Allen Chickering wants me to come out and speak for the next Liberty Loan, which will be in April. I am not clear but what it is my duty to do so. I am in such a situation, though, that I don't feel that I can expend the money, which, with the stops I'd be expected to make, would probably run \$1500. or \$2000.; and, although my expenses, doubtless, would be borne by Chickering and the California Committee, I can not bring myself to take money, even for expenses, in making patriotic speeches. I did not like to say this to Allen in a brief note I wrote him today, but if he talks to you about

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

it, you can tell him that, that is the real stumbling block  
with

I've been wondering if you have made out my income tax report. I wrote you that my bank book was at the Donohoe, Kelly Banking Company, balanced, and ready for delivery to you. I am still of the opinion that I should include the Rivers Garden stock, but I yield to your judgment in that respect.

I have horribly depressed about the war. I did not want to write too much of that to Amy, but I fear it was apparent in what I did write. We are confronted with a situation which, it seems, beggars description, and I do not wonder at the perplexity and uncertainty of the President. He, fortunately, is the most inconsistent man on earth, and, therefore, will not be either embarrassed or humiliated by taking a new position within the next week. The questions that are recurring here are:

Shall we give eastern Russia to Japan?

Shall we continue to fight until western Russia is again under an organized government?

Are we to put the Czar back upon his throne, or organize, as we think best, some stable government for Russia?

Are we now to hold the western line, and by the immediate transportation of a vast army release any considerable number of our allies from active service?

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

And, above and beyond all, in the mind of the administration, apparently, is whether we shall permit the dreams of empires of Japan, the territorial acquisition by Italy, and our other allies to be realized - and realize them by a continued expenditure of billions of our money, and millions of our boys. People here are at their wits' end in discussing our situation, and, apparently, the only thing we can do is to forget everything else, shut our eyes, and just fight on, without plan or thought, leaving the future to solve itself.

I have been very glad to observe from Amy's letters an apparent improvement. There have been times when her mental attitude has greatly worried me. It seems to me from her communications that this has improved with her physical condition.

With all our love to Amy and the kiddies.

Affectionately,

March 16, 1916.

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt,  
Oyster Bay, New York.

My dear Colonel Roosevelt:

Recently I was handed a copy of the speech you intend to deliver at the Republican Convention in Maine. I read it with very great care and, of course, with very great interest. I liked it, and there is nothing that I can suggest that would be of the slightest value or that would add, in any degree, to it. The task you have undertaken of delivering at this time a speech to a political convention is indeed a difficult one, which I think you accomplished with your usual rare ability and skill.

I have been wanting to write to you for some time in relation to politics, and particularly, in relation to the policy of the Republican Party. I said to you when I saw you in New York, that the Republican Party was absolutely lacking in leadership here, and I regret to say, it is worse than lacking in policy. I came here, as you know, on the first of April, 1917, just at the beginning of the special session. Because of the peculiar circumstances of the campaign of the year previous, I was much more observant than, perhaps, I would have been under ordinary circumstances, exceedingly cautious in the expression of any personal views, and most anxious carefully and accurately to measure the individuals who had been, and are still, the leaders of the Republican Party. It was possible, I think,

(Colonel Roosevelt - 2)

for the party to have played in this war a peculiarly high and honorable role. It was suggested to many of the Senators that we might, by concerted action as Republicans, make very plain that the Republican Party was the party of patriotism, which could ever be relied upon in time of stress or peril of the Republic, and which would be foremost in the protection of the Nation's honor and the prosecution of the war. Acting as a party, we could have entered our solemn protest against unnecessary and arbitrary grants of power, and against transmuting our form of government, and, at the same time, we could have favored every measure which individually we have voted, but fundamentally subversive, upon the theory that it might be necessary for the prosecution of the war, and that its enactment was insisted upon by the commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy - our President. Individually, there is scarcely a Republican Senator who has not voted for specific grants in general terms of arbitrary power against his better judgment. Collectively, we could have told the country that we did this as Republicans against the judgment of our party, because of our anxiety to aid the administration and the commander-in-chief in the prosecution of the war and the preservation of the Union. In this fashion, the Republican Party could have preserved its record upon measures which are indefensible, and concerning these measures could have publicly, and in dignified manner, protested instead of doing as it now does privately - whine, and snarl, and growl, without the courage publicly to attack.

(Colonel Roosevelt - 3)

Aside from this attitude, the suggestion of which met with no favor, there have been two occasions when the Republican Party might have risen as a party of the people, and could have marked the difference between it and the Democratic Party so plainly that the issue would be ready-made this year, next year, and in 1920.

Upon the taxing bill, a distinct and important issue was presented to the Congress of the United States between justice and injustice. The issue was whether the profits coined out of the war should pay their legitimate proportion of the expenses of war. I won't stop to argue with you excess profits taxes, or our endeavor to make the bill a real war profits tax. Suffice it to say, the bill was passed as the administration and the leaders of the Democratic Party desired it; that the bill protected outrageously the great profits made out of the war; and that in the passage of the bill, and in the protection of these great war profits, the leaders of the Republican Party were a very weak echo of the leaders of the Democratic Party, and of the present administration. The reason of the bill, and what it was designed to do, and what it did do, you may readily ascertain by looking at the returns which have just been coming in of the profits of the various corporations in the past year. At all hazards, those profits were to be preserved and protected, and they were protected by the tax bill the Congress passed. What an issue the Republican Party could have presented to the people of the Nation if, with anything like solidarity, it had demonstrated that the Democratic Party in time of war had

(Colonel Roosevelt - 4)

feared to touch the great sums made out of our peril, and out of our conflict, and out of our misery! Unfortunately, the leaders of the Democratic Party and the leaders of the Republican Party apparently have no politics on issues affecting the profits of what, for want of a better term, may be called "Big Business".

The other day another opportunity was presented on the railroad bill. I am not speaking now at all of Government ownership. That is a matter upon which men may well differ, and it is a matter, of course, that the future will determine, and which was not to be, and could not be, determined upon the present measure. Again, the issue was squarely presented between the people on the one hand, and the great business interests on the other. The administration in conjunction with the railroads had agreed upon a mode of compensation to be paid the railroads during Federal control which was so outrageously unjust that, in all the debate in the Senate, there was never an answer to the computations presented by Senator Cummins, and reiterated by me. Do you realize that, in this time of sacrifice, we have agreed by our bill to pay to the railroads not only the interest upon their outstanding obligations at the rates now fixed, but a rate upon their outstanding stock (more than half of which does not represent a dollar of legitimate value) which averages 9 per cent, and which, in the cases of the great railroad systems, equals even fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five per cent. Of course, the railroads favored the bill and fought for

(Colonel Roosevelt - 5)

it side by side with the administration. Just as in the protection of the excessive profits made out of the war, we found the leaders of the Republican party timidly following the leaders of the Democratic Party and the present administration, and weakly re-echoing the specious arguments of the Democratic leaders, and of McAdoo, and the railroad companies. Again, we could have gone to the country this year as a party, if our leaders had chosen upon the fundamental issue of the protection of our people, and in opposition to waste and extravagance, and the robbery of the Nation at the instance of the great transportation systems.

The fact of the matter is - that the Republican leadership here, though it would resent what I write to you very, very bitterly, is, in reality, no leadership at all. It is aroused to a zealous and enthusiastic activity only when, in conjunction with Democratic leadership, it seeks to protect the profits or extend the power of certain great business interests. It differs not a bit from our Democratic brethren, except in the old, old difference between the "ins" and the "outs". The leaders of the Democratic Party here have exactly the same viewpoint, obviously the same environment, and unquestionably the same unhappy purpose. The unfortunate thing is that the Democratic Party leads in the purpose, and the Republican Party, with allegiance to the same sources, through its spokesmen meekly follows.

These Republican leaders talked in the beginning of standing behind the President. They did not really mean this. They

(Colonel Roosevelt - 6)

meant, they would stand with the great interests behind the President and they have valiantly done so. But, in this attitude, they have stood so far behind the President that with the highest powered telescope they can't be seen at present. The President, undoubtedly, obscures them all now.

I have written you thus frankly, because I am unable at present to see upon just what issue the Republican Party can wage a contest, at least this year; and because I want to make plain to you what I tried to say in New York - the absolute necessity for leadership in the Republican Party. That leadership is not here and can't be found here. This is a poisonous atmosphere at best, and not only is it a poisonous atmosphere, but it is an atmosphere of the most abject cowardice. Outside of the Congress, therefore, our leadership must be found. I like Mr. Hays, and I admire his energy, but Mr. Hays, by enthusiastically jumping from place to place, vigorously shaking hands with everybody and saying, "How is it?", and, "We're all together", can not, by himself, make a political campaign. We can not wage a political campaign by criticising out of the corners of our mouths and in dark alleys, little things concerning the President or his administration, while in big things, we blindly follow. In the coming year all of us will be engrossed with the war. We will give everything for the war's success. None of us would permit himself to be put in the position of being against the successful prosecution of the war, nor would any of us compromise, politically, with the elements

(Colonel Roosevelt - 7)

in the Nation which are disloyal. The President is the chief in the prosecution of the war, and, upon the war, of course, so long as he vigorously prosecutes it, and does his duty, there can be no political issue of any kind. Economically, the war is more and more being diverted to the profit of those who have much already, and, in this diversion, engineered by the Democratic Party, the leaders of the Republican Party here are in full and enthusiastic accord. Unless something shall transpire which we can not now foresee, I do not know how the leaders of our Party will make a campaign this year, except upon the basis that they are Republicans, and their opponents are Democrats. It may be that the bald statement will be sufficient, and, judging by what I have observed here of the vision and the statesmanship of some of our leaders, with them it is all powerful and all sufficient; but they ever forget, what I think we always remember - the great unknown, thinking patriotic multitude, who after all make up our nation.

Sincerely,

(Signed) HIRAM W. JOHNSON.

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NUMBER FOUR

March 20, 1918.

Major Archibald M. Johnson,  
Care of General Staff College,  
American Expeditionary Force,  
France.

My dear Arch:

Sunday night, March 17th, we received your cable dated at London. There was no means by which we could determine when you sent the cable, or filed it for sending in London. On Wednesday, March 13th, the War Department notified me that you had arrived in England on Tuesday, the 12th. I have been endeavoring to ascertain when the cable was filed in London so that I may know whether the information given me by the War Department was accurate. My opinion is that you sent your cable as soon as you could, and that the statement of the Department was wholly erroneous. I take it that your reference in the cable to the joke being on you was that you got on some old tug, and that it took you, substantially, two weeks to cross the ocean. Upon the information of the Department I believed that you had crossed in nine days. I am trying to ascertain now just when your cable was filed, and the authorities are very kindly making inquiries for me. The words in the cable were: "Arrived. Joke on me. Love." As a matter of curiosity, write me whenever you have the opportunity, whether any part of your message was deleted.

Major Johnson - 2

Nothing new of interest has in the last few days transpired here. We are expecting the President to appear before Congress in the near future and again define his position, particularly the position of the Nation in reference to Russia. The general belief is that his message now will be exceedingly warlike.

Last evening, we dined with Charles H. Bentley. Bentley, as you know, is a very important part of the Food Administration, and recently, has been charged with using his position to obtain better prices for canners in California. Bentley is a man of such high character that those of us who know him, of course, are very indignant at such a charge, and he, like most men whose lives have been easy and smooth, felt very intensely the criticism and was hurt beyond measure. Everybody connected with the Government here, including Admiral McGowan, united in stating that he had nothing to do with the matter of fixing prices in California, and that the charge against him was wholly without foundation. I put his defense into the Record that we might have as a great a refutation of it as possible. In the course of our dinner last night he showed us a note from his nephew, one of the sons of R. I. Bentley, who was on the Tuscania. He described the sinking. It was a simple narrative but very interesting.

I am unable to get any definite news about the Grizzlies, but I find my colleagues laboring under quite similar difficulties. Apparently, there are many units ready now for service abroad, and the individuals are becoming camp weary, and are anxious to get at their work. Only a small proportion of them apparently can be designated.

Major Johnson - 3

We watch intently the news from France, and the activities of our boys there. We rejoice in their bravery, but the casualty lists, now coming regularly, sadden us all.

We are waiting most anxiously for a letter from you. With all our love.

Affectionately your father,

Hiram W. Johnson

ALL LINEN

HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 20, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I received this morning the income tax return, which you so kindly wrote for me for the year 1917. I took the matter up with Pace, the Financial Clerk of the Senate, who has been aiding the members in making out their statements, to be sure about the salary, the tax due upon it, and the like. He calculated my salary for 1917 dating from March 16, which was the date I began, and added the mileage, and then deducted travel expenses. In this way, the difference in amounts has been made between your figures and those of Pace. I do not know what I would have done without you in this matter, and you don't know how I thank you for the work you've done upon it. I return herein my statement duly sworn to, with my check payable to the Collector of Internal Revenue for the amount we've figured to be due, to-wit:

Would you please file and return the statement, and give the check, so that the matter will be entirely off our hands. What a maze the whole thing is! I never would have unraveled it without you.

There is really nothing of interest which is new to write you about. We had Sunday night a cable from Arch from London. I am trying to ascertain when that cable was sent. In my opinion, it was sent that day or the day before, and the information

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

given me as to the time of the arrival of Arch in England was wholly incorrect. The Censorship Bureau is trying now here to ascertain for me exactly when the cable was filed in London, and if I can ascertain, it will enable me to determine the exact date of Art's arrival. The Department told me he arrived on Tuesday, the 12th. Art's cablegram simply said: "Arrived. Joke on Me. Love". The joke, in my opinion, is that he got shoved on to some old tug and it took him two weeks to get over.

The excitement here today has been the primary election in Wisconsin. As I dictate this to you at 5 o'clock Wednesday, the newspaper men say that it is settled that Lenroot has been nominated. The tremendous vote for Thompson, LaFollette's candidate, however, is a revelation. I think there is food for serious thought in it. I can not imagine any commonwealth in the United States, which wishes us to be unsuccessful in the war. I will not read the result, as most of our people do, as representing in the Thompson vote wholly a disloyal, traitorous, and pro-German sentiment. It may mean that, but it is quite as likely to mean an underlying dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war, or with war aims as designated, or with the peculiar circumstances surrounding the waging of the conflict. I confess I am not at all clear in the matter.

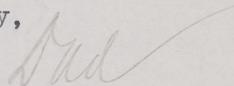
I put in the Record a defense of Charles H. Bentley the day before yesterday as to charges made by Sapiro, and, I understand, by Kellogg, concerning his activities in the Food

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

Administration. Bentley felt very, very wretched, and so very much hurt over the charges, I thought it but simple justice to present his defense and testify to his good character. Everybody here connected with the Government say that the charge that Bentley had anything to do with the fixing of the price of tomatoes in California is wholly without foundation.

Give my love to Amy and the kiddies.

Affectionately,



P:S: I was unable to verify my statement tonight because Pace had gone home. I send you this letter anyway and will send you a note in the morning enclosing the statement and my check.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 21, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I send you herein my income tax return, duly sworn to before Charles F. Pace, showing a tax of \$384.09. Pace says that his figures are absolutely correct in the amount of the tax, but I am more or less doubtful about the infernal thing. However, I am very glad to accept his figures \$384.09 instead of \$495.12. The difference arises from the fact that my salary was not \$7500 last year, but netted \$6700., and the 8 per cent was figured on \$700 instead of \$1500; and, from the fact that the net income was under \$10,000 instead of over \$10,000. I enclose herein my check on The Donahoe, Kelly Banking Company in favor of the Collector of Internal Revenue at San Francisco for \$384.09. I hope this ends the infernal thing.

I received a cable of Arch's address this morning, which, immediately I wired to you asking you to notify his office and the Flapper. The place of the cable is "Sans origine". Where the dickens this is, I do not know. Whether it is the name of a certain place in France, I do not know.

I have received this morning your letter of March 15th. I note what you say of politics. I'm sorry Carnahan didn't start, but he made a condition precedent, my indorsement of him. This meant really I had to get into the fight, and, of course,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

it will be obvious to you that if he started with my indorsement, he would start because of that indorsement, and, really then, the situation would be that I had started him, and he had become a candidate solely because of me. Of course, I could not get into any such position without being prepared to come to California and make his fight. If he wanted to run, I think he adopted a very foolish course in seeking to drive me into the attitude of making him run. I've had enough candidacies on my hands in the past for myself and I do not want to undertake candidacies for any other person. I would have done it in the one instance of Rowell, because of all that has transpired in the past, and because of what I felt I owed to Rowell, but, even with him, I insisted that he should take the burden and himself decide. I quite agree with you, if he is a candidate for Governor it is silly for him to take these long trips. If the <sup>whole</sup> campaign is not worth taking chances on his health and remaining in California, it ought not to be undertaken at all. The whole situation, of course, in California, makes me sick. Stephens will be nominated by the Republicans, and Heney by the Democrats. The real reason that Stephens will be the Republican candidate is, I regret cynically to say, because of the office-holders whom I put in charge. They are not deciding the thing upon ability, or competency, idealism, or vision. They are moving along the lines of least resistance, first, and, secondly, they are thinking of the jobs and of their own aggrandizement. Really, my boy, I do not think we can blame them

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., - 3

greatly for this, but it is not quite the way we have done politics in the past, and it was not because of this kind of politics that these men now are in jobs in California. It is true that a few of those who are in the jobs, placed there by me, would go the route on an idealistic platform, and for a <sup>real</sup> candidate, but I am sorry to say, there are only a few of this sort, like Billy Williams and DeLigne. We find ourselves in California in exactly the position that every successful movement has found itself since politics harassed civilization. We have turned from the idealistic to the materialistic, and it is the fleshpots with which we are most concerned.

I was awfully glad to note what you said about Amy. Give our love to her and the kiddies.

Affectionately,

H.W.J.

Sansorigine, I've just learned is "without origin" or "without place." The job's on me. I was going to go carefully through an atlas to find its location in France.

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NUMBER FIVE

March 22, 1918.

Major Archibald M. Johnson,  
Army Post Office 714,  
American Expeditionary Force,  
France.

My dear Arch:

Yesterday we received your cable headed "Sans Origine" stating "Address Army Post Office Seven One Four. Notify Flapper Office. ".

I have written you, as you will observe from the number of this letter, four other letters, three of them addressed, "Care of General Staff College, American Expeditionary Force", and the other one, addressed, "American Expeditionary Force". Mother has written you several letters addressed, I think, merely to the "American Expeditionary Force". I tell you these facts at once upon the receipt of your cable so that you may get the letters we have thus far written. As you asked, I have wired San Francisco, and your office and the Flapper have been notified of your address.

We have quite a number of letters that have come to you. I asked you in my previous communications, which probably you have not received, whether or not I should forward these letters to you.

We are all in breathless anxiety awaiting the result of the battle, which, apparently, commenced yesterday. Every morning paper we have read with the utmost eagerness. I will not comment

NUMBER FIVE - 2

now because, first, our news really is censored, and we do not get the facts, and, secondly, because I am not certain that this is the great battle. We are all anxious and nervous, and those who pray, are praying God today for the success of the English, French, and our own.

There was something of a joke on me in the cable of yesterday. As I told you, it was headed, "Sans Origine". I puzzled, and puzzled over where this particular place was in France. Finally, yesterday morning, I was going to get an atlas and search all over for it, and then, suddenly, a great, white light broke upon me, and I realized it was just somewhere in France, and that the cable was "without origin", or "without place".

This was intended just as a note to acknowledge your cable, and to tell you of the letters we have sent.

With all our love, and with our prayers for your personal safety and for the success of our arms in the great impending battle.

Affectionately your father,

A handwritten signature in brown ink, reading "Hiram W. Johnson". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping flourish at the end.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 22, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I enclose you herein a letter written to me by Will H. Hays, the new chairman of the Republican National Committee. I send it to you because it quotes at length a letter from his cousin, Newman Essick, vice-president of the California Savings and Commercial Bank, Los Angeles. The Essick letter is illuminating, because it shows the standpat estimate of Stephens, and, because it shows the viewpoint of Stephens and his friends. Essick, I suspect, is a small banker in Los Angeles, whose only literature is the Los Angeles Times. I want you to show this letter to DeLigne and Williams, so that they may read it. His designation of Stephens as "a moderate progressive, acceptable to all shades of progressive and republican belief", his statement that "the radical Progressive could get no regular Republican votes", and that "Stephens has the confidence of a large part of both wings of the party" ought to be mighty interesting reading for the real Progressives in California. My private opinion is that the letter emanates from Stephens' friends, and is a part of his game at the present time. Any other Progressives than Gus and Williams, I'd be glad to have see this letter, as well. I simply do not want to get in the position of having Hays think I peddled about a letter which he has sent me, apparently, in

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

good spirit. I want to respect Hays' confidence.

Affectionately,

*Sam*

ALL LINEN

C O P Y.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Indianapolis, March 18, 1918.

Hon. Hiram W. Johnson,  
U. S. Senator,  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator Johnson:

Mrs. Hays has a cousin living in Los Angeles, California, Newman Essick, Vice President of the California Savings & Commercial Bank. I don't think he takes any active interest in politics at all, but he has written me a long letter, much of it about personal and family matters, and then ending as follows:

"I have delayed writing to you for two reasons, First, I wanted you to get this letter when you had time to read it, and Second - I wanted to be a little more sure of my ground before I wrote.

"But the more I think about and study this situation here in California, the more I get 'all het up'. It has some elements that carry a very serious menace to the Republican party and to the nation and I want to lay that situation before you, for it is the opinion of some of our shrewdest observers that I am going to try to give you.

"Let me tell you a little of the 'ground floor' plan of California politics. There is great political jealousy between the north and the south. An unwritten law has decreed that the north and the south should have one Senator each, all the time, and that the governorship should alternate. Phelan was, and is, Senator from the North - Works from the South - Hiram Johnson, governor from the north. Gillette, from the north, has preceded Johnson. When Johnson became senator, it was therefore necessary for him to placate the South, which was beginning to growl about the political hoggishness of the north, by appointing Stephens, a progressive Congressman from Los Angeles, as Lieutenant Governor, succeeding Eshelman, deceased, thereby giving Stephens the governorship when Johnson went to Washington. Johnson's personal choice was Carnahan, of Riverside, Johnson's Commissioner of Corporations, a smart man but a radical progressive and a regular "Man Friday" for Johnson. But the Los Angeles bunch were too strong to be ignored and they insisted that Johnson appoint Stephens, a moderate progressive, acceptable to all shades of progressive and republican belief, from the city of Los Angeles, and well known in the South, instead of Carnahan, a radical, an unknown country lawyer who had aroused many antagonisms, even in his own county. Since Stephens has been governor he has tried to carry out the policies of Johnson, but he has been the governor - not Johnson, as would have been the case if Carnahan had been appointed. It is therefore no secret that relations are strained between Johnson and Stephens.

H.W.J.-2.

"Now comes the campaign for the governorship, this good year 1918. In 1916 the Democrats carried the State; reason, too much choking of Hughes down the throat of the radical progressive wing of the party by the radical 'Standpat' Republicans in charge of Hughes' interests aided possibly by what some say was at least a lack of enthusiasm on Johnson's part for Hughes. Since the Progressive party is no more a political entity, and the members thereof being pretty independent sort of chaps and seeking a political harbor of their liking, the Republican party and the Democratic party are just now madly striving to capture the Progressive wanderers. The Democratic party, a minority party in California, got enough of them in 1916, thanks to the blunders of the Hughes men, to carry the State, to elect Wilson that way and to change the whole history of the United States, maybe of the world. And they are laying their plans to do it again this year with results which may be more serious to the Republican party of the nation than were the results of the 1916 elections. It is practically certain that Frank Heney, a friend of Roosevelt, but a radical Progressive from the Democratic party, whom, I believe, he has never entirely deserted, will be the next Democratic candidate for Governor. He is put forward by the Democrats because he can command the Democratic vote, the labor vote on account of his prosecution of the Street Car Company grafters in San Francisco, unless most actively opposed by Johnson, and the radical Progressive vote, unless they are entirely satisfied with the Republican nominee. In other words, Heney has a fine chance to win unless exactly the right Republican can be found to run against him. We are told that Heney is strong with the radical progressives all over the United States; that he can draw many votes of that kind. What more natural then that the national Democratic party should put him on second place on their ticket, to capture the radical Progressives. With the prestige of carrying a pivotal State, heretofore Republican, he would make a strong appeal to the Democratic convention. McAdoo and Heney might make a dangerous combination, one hard to defeat. Hence the necessity of beating Heney now - here in California, when he makes his first move. No candidate of either the extreme ~~radical progressive wing~~ 'Stand Pat' Republican wing or the extreme radical Progressive wing could be elected. The 'Stand Pat' extremist could get no progressive votes, the radical Progressive could get no regular Republican votes. For these reasons Hays of San Jose, brother of Congressman Hays, a 'Stand Pat' Republican, and Carnahan, a rabid Progressive, could not make even an interesting fight for Heney. He would 'eat em alibe'. Geographical reasons compel the selection of a Southern man; political reasons compel the selection of a moderate Progressive or a reasonable Republican, a man who has the confidence of both the Republicans and the Progressives, as the candidate of the Republicans. Stephens has the confidence of a large part of both wings of the party, and he has the immense advantage of being the incumbent. But he is handicapped by many things,

H.W.J.-3.

chief of which is Hiram Johnson's present attitude. He passes down the line the word to pick out the strongest man, 'the man who develops the most strength', is the way he puts it, and to get behind him. Hiram Johnson is far and away the strongest political force in California today. But if animosities develop in the primaries, a number of candidates contend for the nomination under our direct primary law, then Heney gets an advantage that it will take desperate fighting to overcome. Hiram Johnson is exceedingly bitter against Heney. But to insure his defeat, Johnson should come out strong for some one, preferably Stephens, and clear the way for him to run against Heney. Johnson could draw off Carnahan; by coming out for Stephens now, could scare out Rolph, who only has a chance for the nomination in a three-cornered fight and no chance for election against Heney; and could insure the nomination of Stephens and go a long way toward electing him. He would thereby certainly be able to put a big spike in Heney's political coffin - would probably defeat him for Governor, thereby preventing his nomination for Vice-President, and prevent the loss of many Progressive votes to the Republican party. If the situation gets away from the Republicans through antagonisms now engendered, Johnson has defeated his own ~~own~~ ends, and if the very large number of people in California who believe that Johnson showed treachery to Hughes have any ground upon which to hand an accusation of a second treachery to the Republican party, they will use this new situation as a confirmation of the former charges and Johnson's political future will be blasted. In other words, it seems to me that Johnson must, to save himself and to save the party, come out enthusiastically for some moderate progressive or liberal Republican.

"I am writing all this to let you know that I consider the present situation in California extremely serious, a menace to the Republican party of the nation, and one needing a skillful guiding hand. Of course, I don't expect you to take my unsupported judgment, but this is straight dope and you and the national committee must reckon with California. For the love of Mike, Will, get out here as quickly as you can.

"Look the whole situation over, size it up from all angles, and then I think your judgment that you expressed to me in Indianapolis about your regard for Johnson and as to seeing Johnson first will be confirmed.

Yours very truly, Newman."

I am sending it to you just as he sent it to me. You will know whether or not his suggestions are of any value in the situation. He has no idea, of course, that my relations are such with you that I would forward it on to you verbatim, and if he does not guess right, I know you will not hold it against him. I am giving it to you, of course, in entire confidence.

What I want to do in California is to be of any possible aid in the situation, and from every possible reason, political and personal, I want to keep in very closest touch with you.

With very warmest personal regards always, I am  
Sincerely yours, Wm. H. HAYS.

San Francisco, March 19, 1918.

My dear Lissner:-

I am leaving today for the South Seas without making any public statement regarding possible candidacy for the governorship. I do this fully realizing that on my return it will probably be too late to consider any such candidacy and, I may add, in the hope that you and the other friends whose advice I most value will not think that it is called for or needed. As you know, I have always preferred the freedom of doing my part in public affairs outside of public office, and if there is a reasonable promise now of continuing the administration so splendidly established under Governor Hiram W. Johnson and of preserving and developing the progressive policies in government, my only ambition is to co-operate to that end. There should not only be no backward step in the newer relations of government to the needs and life of the people; there should be many forward ones. I hope that it will be your judgment as well as mine, on my return, that my share in promoting this purpose does not include personally running for office. But since I am to be so far away and practically out of communication during the time when political situations are developing most rapidly, I owe it to the partiality of my friends to leave something to their judgment in my absence.

If, therefore, those with whom I have worked so long and so intimately should generally conclude that a candidacy on my part is essential for the continuation and success of the cause to which we are all devoted, and that it would give reasonable prospects of success, I will leave it to their mature judgment to determine whether there are public considerations sufficiently strong to override the personal considerations which make me reluctant to become a candidate.

While I shrink now from even considering the possibility of such a candidacy, and hope that there will be nothing to make it necessary, I would of course, in the event of becoming a candidate, then lay aside all hesitation, and devote myself to the campaign with the utmost possible energy and earnestness.

Sincerely

Chester H. Rowell.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 23, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,  
The California Sanitarium,  
Belmont, California.

My dear Daughter:

We are all filled with the utmost anxiety today awaiting reports of the battle now in progress in France, and praying for the defeat of the Germans. I was very skeptical of the constant iteration and re-iteration of the great battle about to be fought upon the western front. The German boasts of the advertised colossal conflict which was to bring peace by the sword seemed to me designed to veil some ulterior purpose; and then again, I have been unable to understand the strategy which would risk much upon a great battle on the western front. Germany's present success is far beyond her original wildest anticipations. Her accessions of territory are greater, owing to the collapse of Russia, than her most acquisitive ever contemplated. In order to supply herself with every necessary <sup>it</sup> she has but to organize and exploit the wonderful provinces she has conquered and made a part of her dominions. She is holding, apparently, an impregnable line through which the allies can not break. I could not, therefore, and I can not yet follow Germany's logic of precipitating the greatest battle of the war. I am not yet sure that this has been done, although the two days'

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Mrs. Amy Johnson- 2

fighting would indicate. <sup>it</sup> I have read every report and every newspaper in these two days. The ominous thing to me this morning is the report from Berlin that the Germans captured yesterday sixteen thousand British and two hundred guns, and the silence in the British reports of anything of this sort. By the time this letter reaches you, either the battle will have developed into the decisive conflict of the war, or it will have demonstrated that it had some other than its apparent purpose. How I do wish that there might be a decisive defeat of Germany, and that the end might be in sight!

I don't know where Arch is. I added just a note to a letter I wrote to Jack yesterday about Art's cable from France, and the good laugh I had at myself. At the date line of the cable was printed "Sansorigine." I puzzled over where "Sansorigine" was. I have never heard of such a place. Finally, I went over to get an atlas and make a detailed search. Suddenly, a great white light came, and I realized that what I had suspected to be the designation of the locality in France, meant "without origin", or, "without place", and was simply an insertion by the censor. An officer of General Sterrett's staff in New York told us that the particular General Staff College was situated at Longe, but, so far as this conveyed any information to me, he might have told me that it was a part of the realm of the Ahkund of Swat. I've been wondering if the boys are within sound of the guns, and if they are, what must be their feelings at this time. Art's cable from France said -

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 3

that his address there was- "Army post office seven one four".

The real situation, so far as the President and Congress are concerned, is in the same muddled, perplexing mess in which the President left it after his February address. You will recall that <sup>he</sup> ~~it~~ had ~~now~~ announced in four generalizations his terms of peace. Subsequently, Hertling, the German Chancellor, answered Wilson, and, as some of us suspected he would do, as he laughed in his sleeve, he accepted Wilson's four generalizations. He did this at the same time that Germany was taking over all of rich, productive western Russia. But, nevertheless, he did it. Since Hertling has acceded to Wilson's terms, Wilson has been speechless. The intense enthusiasm for words of our President, and his desire in well-written and readable formulae to set forth his thoughts without regard either to their timeliness or their applicability to the subject matter, have led him into all sorts of pitfalls, and have enmeshed him in diplomatic bogs. He has become so deeply involved that he really has no way out, and so he has pursued the course that sometimes we find the other sex follow when they are incapable of replying - of maintaining a <sup>stullen</sup> ~~silent~~ and a stubborn silence. The only reply he can really make to the German Chancellor now is - the very common and the very vulgar one, "You're a liar.", or, diplomatically, to say that the Chancellor does not mean what his words imply, and that the actions of Germany in Russia demonstrate this fact. It is a weak come-back at best, however.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 4

We can be as little proud of our diplomacy in this war as of our diplomacy before the war. It has consisted mainly of beautiful language, soft and sweet, but beautiful language often without regard to context, or facts, or consequences, or possibilities. You'll remember, we were going to drive a wedge between the German people and the German Government, and our President indulged in his pacific speech upon this theory. We but succeeded in uniting the German Government and the German people. We were going to detach Austria from Germany and talk directly to Austro-Hungary in some of our beautiful speeches. After we had talked, Austria and Germany were more closely knit. We were going to teach the allies that we knew diplomacy and how to deal with peoples rather than with tyrannical and despotic masters of peoples, and when we had completed our <sup>theirs</sup> ~~treatment~~, the only results were distrust of us by our allies, and our failure to become a part of the allied conference. We were perfectly certain that we could bring Russia back into the conflict, and that we, alone, understood the bolsheviki; and that our allies in dealing with the bolsheviki had committed a grievous error. We got on our knees to the bolsheviki, and we addressed not only one speech, but many, ~~and~~ many messages to them. The other day, the bolsheviki, while giving us a tremendous kick which sent us sprawling, concluded their peace with Germany. So, we sit now enshrouded in our greatness and in the impenetrable armor of our exclusiveness and inaccessibility looking at our reflected image, comforted and uplifted by our knowledge that never before

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 5

has been created, and the world never before, and never again, will see, such as we.

I am very glad that the President is still holding out on the Japanese invasion of Siberia. He shifts so often, and so suddenly, however, that I am, by no means, certain he will remain firm. Our allies are insistent, and, recently, in our country, a regular propaganda, much of it in my opinion paid for, has been carried on in behalf of Japan. The New York papers, the most deadly and poisonous of the publications in this country, have been filled with stories of Japan's honor and greatness, and her desire to be of service in this war; of how disinterested she would be if she took over Siberia, and of the extraordinary necessity for the protection of our stores there. Coupled with this sort of stuff have been all kinds of panegyrics upon the Japanese character, the present Japanese government, et cetera. The whole thing has made me sick. Its earmarks are so plain that one accustomed to discern propaganda immediately recognizes the insincerity and hypocrisy of the <sup>public</sup> ~~situ-~~ <sup>situ-</sup> tions. In the meantime, Japan is again dickering with us for ships - and dickering at a price far in excess of any thus far paid by our Government. I'd like to feel in accord with the President and I do hope that he will stick in this matter, so that when finally he makes his views public, I can cordially approve and indorse.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 6

We have had another evidence of late of the truth of Chamberlain's charge that our war preparations have fallen down. The aviation program provided for twelve thousand aeroplanes in France July first. This program first dwindled to two hundred and thirty seven, and within the past two weeks it has dwindled to thirty. The figures are appalling - twelve thousand we were going to have in France July first, and now, we will not exceed thirty !

In legislative matters the Congress is in its usual attitude. At frequent intervals the Administration presents some new measure asking some additional power. Congressmen and Senators, privately, snarl, and fuss, and stew, and whine, but, publicly, do as they are bid. Apparently, there is a perfect mania running through the various Departments of the Government to have unrestricted and unrestrained authority and power granted to them; and the President seems to have gone mad with the desire to centralize in himself everything pertaining to the welfare of our people, and everything which may deal, not only with their activities but with their possessions. He not only wishes this power in himself, but he wishes to exercise it, without accountability, and, of course, without suggestion. Before the Senate today is a bill authorizing him to commandeer all lumber, and machinery relating to lumber. I have no particular objection to it, because it is asserted to be necessary to start on its way, finally, our aircraft program; but there is a deal of criticism of this ever-

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 7

lasting reaching for power. The criticism, however, finds expression only in the great volumes of smoke that excited legislators emit in the sanctity and privacy of the smoking room. The Overman bill, so-called, will be the <sup>piece de resistance</sup> result of the great contest. You'll remember that when Chamberlain and his followers insisted the war machinery had fallen down, they proposed as a remedy - a war cabinet, fashioned after the war cabinets of France and England. The President angrily denounced Chamberlain - denounced him practically as disloyal, and said that the plan presented was unheard of, and at variance with our institutions. Within a week the President himself presented a bill, now designated the Overman bill, designed to do exactly what the military committee desired him to do, and much more at variance with our accustomed methods and our traditional form of government. This Overman bill has been the subject of a bitter contest in the Judiciary Committee, but finally has been reported. When it comes to the floor, the fight will be prolonged and bitter. The opposition in reality will be led by Reed of Missouri, who, at least, has the courage to fight. Since we have passed the Railroad Bill, which gives extraordinary powers to the President, and powers which will enable him to enrich unjustly the railroad companies, no scheme by which any other powers may be granted him frightens me at all. In the eyes of some of my colleagues, it is quite the appropriate mode of legislating to give any kind of power which will make the rich richer, and which will enable

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 8

railroad companies or great corporations to exploit the rest of us, but the granting of such power, when not connected with the profit of munition makers, steel companies, and the like, ~~is~~ is to them a terrible and a horrible thing, subversive of our fundamental principles and destructive of democracy. You can see, therefore, that I can not be very greatly worried over the Overman bill, which so much exercised my colleagues.

One of the strange and interesting men in the Senate is William E. Borah, of Idaho. He and I, I think, are on very excellent terms. I believe I understand him quite thoroughly. He is a man of exceptional ability, and one of the really eloquent men upon the floor of the Senate. He plays an absolutely lone hand. He is temperamental but keeps excellent guard of himself. He does not mix socially at all, and mixes even little in the Senate during its sessions. He is one of the candidates for President. I might amend this by saying that he is a United States Senator, and therefore, a candidate for President. Parenthetically I might say to you that one day I remarked to Knox that, out of the 96 Senators, there were 94 candidates for President. I smiled at Knox, and he smiled at me, and finally, he said, "Why make any exceptions?" Borah, however, is a serious candidate, and, therefore, in a different category from some of the rest of us, who know we never could have a serious candidacy. Borah has never been particularly bloody in respect to the war, and because of that fact, some of his colleagues ran a bit ahead of him in the recent

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 9

special session by a very vehement protestation of their patriotism. When Borah returned for this session, I observed a change in him. His antipathy to the President had yielded to an apparent desire to uphold the President's hands in all he did, and, his abhorrence of war had been transmuted into a grim determination to win peace by victory only. Borah bided his time until the psychological moment, and then, in apparent patriotism, has pretended to be with the President. Immediately, he got great publicity, and his colleagues were rather shocked; but he far out-distanced them the other day when he made another patriotic speech in which he was more emphatic than the "Shoot them at Daylight" brigade. The eastern papers played him up and he swung into the front rank of the "patrioteers." I mention this because I have observed the chagrin of men like Harding, and others, who thought they had the field to themselves in "patrioteering," and I admire the astuteness and the cleverness with which Borah took the play away from them and became the "bluggiest" man upon the floor. It goes without saying that these men who want to eat bones and drink blood neither go to war themselves nor send their own. Borah is now the President's playmate, and he is, as well, the hero of the "Kill 'em and eat 'em" contingent.

A bit of ephemeral excitement occurred the other day when it was asserted that the Metropolitan had been denied the use of the mails because of an article by William Hard. Hard's article may have led to the belief that he was friendly to Germany, but I happen to know that he is an extreme war man, and has been, for many,

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 10

many months. He does not care for Wilson, however, and thinks that his inconsistencies have made us ridiculous in the eyes of the intellectual world. He was seeking to show these inconsistencies in our dealing with the little American republics, with Mexico, and with the European situation. The animus of the Administration was not so much to the Hard article, in my opinion, as to the editorial that appeared in the same issue holding Wilson responsible for many things; but the principle of the thing fills me with indignation. It is true that the order was not carried into effect, and the magazine was simply warned, et cetera. But what have we come to when legitimate literary effort, which is only a mild criticism of the Administration, shall subject a great publication to suppression! Collier's published recently an article by Richard Washburn Child upon the President. I was told that Collier's was warned in relation to this article after its publication. You must read that article. I know Child very well, and, indeed, have seen him quite often here. I was, therefore, very much interested in his article, and I do not think it was far from the truth. It made the Administration very, very indignant, however. You can't buy a Collier's or a Metropolitan in Washington today. Mark Sullivan has an article this week upon Baker; not an unkind or disagreeable article, but which states the mental attitude of Baker, as he has measured it. You should read this article, too.

May the papers tonight and tomorrow bring us the welcome news of the crushing defeat of the Teutons. Our minds are fit

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 11

for little today, and mine will be fit for nothing, until we know the result of the present battle.

I was awfully sorry to learn from your letters, and from Jack's, that you have had an attack of pleurisy, but I feel quite sure that this is one of the little breaks in rapid improvement, which must necessarily occur. I do hope by the time this note reaches you that you'll have wholly recovered, and that you will again be on your high road to complete recovery. Don't let a little brief setback discourage you. I feel we have very, very much, to be thankful for, and think it will not be long before we'll all rejoice in your complete victory, and then, we'll forget the disagreeable past struggle.

With all our love.

Affectionately,

*Ben*

HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 23, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

Merely that your record may be complete I send to you herein my response to Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican National Committee. I forgot to do this in my letter to you yesterday.

Affectionately,

*Dad*

C O P Y.

UNITED STATES SENATE

Washington, D.C., March 22, 1918.

Mr. Will H. Hays, Chairman,  
Republican National Committee,  
Indianapolis, Indiana.

My dear Mr. Hays:

It was very good, indeed, of you to write me as you did on March 18th quoting to me a letter of Mr. Newman Essick, of Los Angeles. I want you to know that I very greatly appreciate the spirit of your letter. There is little that is accurate in Mr. Essick's letter. He is quite right in just one thing - and that is, that the man I made Governor of California, and I are not on good terms. The detailed story would be of little value to you, but it did not arise from the independence or loftiness of spirit of Stephens at all. He has neither. You will meet him when you reach California, I hope, and you can form your own estimate of him. The statements of Mr. Essick about Carnahan are mostly nonsense. Aside from the fact that Carnahan is Commissioner of Corporations of California, and has made a remarkable record, I doubt if there is an atom of fact concerning him in Mr. Essick's communication. Heney will be the Democratic candidate for Governor, undoubtedly, and that specific prognostication of Mr. Essick is a tribute to his acumen, inasmuch as Mr. Heney's candidacy has now been published for a couple of months in California.

I confess to you, I do not like Mr. Essick's references to the Hughes campaign. Any man in California in 1916, who followed at all events there, who attended a single meeting of

(Mr. Hays - 2)

mine, in which I devoted myself exclusively to Mr. Hughes, could not indulge in the Essick statements. I suspect that Essick belongs to the class which I endeavored to describe to you the other day - the class which has been unable to understand progress in California, or governmental achievement there, and whose literature is confined to the Los Angeles Times.

I know when you go to California you will see all sorts and all kinds of people. If you would like me to, I will send you a list of some of those I would deem it appropriate to see. This may be wholly unnecessary because I imagine there will be some sort of gatherings at which you will meet everybody. Please command me, however, if I can be of the slightest service.

Sincerely yours,

Hiram W. Johnson.

## United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NUMBER SIX

March 24, 1918.

Major Archibald M. Johnson,  
Army Post Office 714,  
American Expeditionary Force.

My dear, dear Arch:

This is Sunday, March 24th, and I'm talking now into a dictaphone at the office, but doubtful whether the words I'm now saying to you may ever reach you. We follow with anxiety, that can not be adequately described, the tremendous battle now in progress. Our hope and our prayer have been for victory and the overwhelming defeat of the Teutons, of course. The news is not to me reassuring, thus far, but I am trusting in the guts, pertinacity, perseverance, and courage of the Anglo Saxons to overcome the first rush and to turn apparent difficulty into great victory. Of course, we do not know where you are, but we've been speculating on whether you could hear or whether you could learn of what was progressing in your immediate neighborhood. Unfortunately, our people are treated like so many children, unfit to hear or to know the truth. We do not get the news that should be given to us and I think it little short of outrage that the public censorship maintained is now continued. Our people, I do not believe, cowardly. I do not think them overwhelmed by bad news. I know my own reaction under such circumstances ~~such~~ as now confront us, and I find neither despondency, nor discouragement in my mind, at all. I feel, of course, tremendous anxiety. I observe with horror the spill-

NUMBER SIX - 2

ing of blood, and the terrible carnage now apparent, but, nevertheless, I feel every bit of the fighting spirit in me roused, and I feel that every ounce should be put forth to win, now that we are engaged in this world cataclysm. I think what I express is but what nearly all our people are today feeling, And, it is worse than shameful; indeed, I feel it a betrayal of democracy and of our people to lie to them continuously about what is transpiring and to refuse to give them the news, and the real news, to which they are entitled.

Mother, of course, is exceedingly nervous - nervous not alone because our dear boy is near the scene, or perhaps a part of it, but nervous, too, because of the possibilities involved in what may be the ultimate result.

*We have just read the startling news about Paris being bombarded by a gun 70 mls away*

We can hardly credit this, but all the papers, New York <sup>Washington</sup> and London alike, have published it, and apparently it is officially confirmed by Paris. What a wonderful thing if guns have been constructed that carry any such distance.

Nothing here interests us now but the great battle. I have been exceedingly skeptical of any such contest. I can not understand the logic of Germany in thus putting to the <sup>Koyuch</sup> front the whole war, when the conquest of Western Russia and the annexation of the most productive territory of Europe apparently assured them of all those things they have so desired. I like to think that the German staff and the Kaiser have gone mad, and having gone mad they have undertaken this offensive without a thorough conception of its

NUMBER SIX - 3

possibilities. May the allies lay them low and by one great stroke here end this awful war!

I am wondering if any of our letters have reached you. We can not tell a thing until we hear from you by mail. Of course, ~~at times~~, we are waiting very, very impatiently, <sup>for a letter,</sup> and perhaps the whole aspect of the world contest may have altered before we hear from you. I hesitate to think of what may happen in case of German success in this present battle.

Mother sends the cry of her heart and my heart goes out to you as well. All of our love is with you. May you be protected wherever you are.

Affectionately,

Your father,  
Hiram W. Johnson.

I attempted this on the dictaphone and it took the whole office all day to write part of what I dictated and part of what they thought is ought to be. I'll banish the dictaphone, which probably will please the stenographers, and which certainly will give me time to write more than three letters in two days. All love to you, lad, Dad.

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

In Senate, Feb. 27, 1918.

My dear Jack:

I'm listening to Senator Jones who is mungling prohibition and slipping in quite an extensive address, and while he is descending on the farmer, I thought was much as I am with you this afternoon, that I'd talk to you for a few minutes.

We are quite on edge here. The big battle has not ~~above~~ shattered many military lines, but it has shattered our heroes as well. As we read the bulletins which are posted in the 'smoke room' we think thus far events have been disastrous. We hope that today the on rushing Germans may be halted. We despair of anything more. Gradually matters relating to the war, our inefficiency and incompetency, are accumulating; and after General Wood's testimony day before yesterday, there was quite general indignation. This was voiced on the floor of the Senate and for a couple of hours yesterday there

was an outpouring of denunciation, much of it taking the form of my original speech on the Censorship measure - a demand for the truth. Unconsciously by a couple of questions, strongly put, I raised quite a rumpus, and received from the galleries a real round of applause. The record of today will show you the occurrence. I had just learned that Woods testified German aviators flew with impunity over the American lines, dropping gas bombs, and so low did they fly our boys that at the planes with their revolvers. His testimony was given in Executive session of the Military Committee and it was bottled up. I insisted on an answer from New and got it, and in this way have given publicity to the outrage.

We really don't know whether our boys are fighting or not, although Berlin reports announce their defeat. What a shame we must derive our news of our own from the enemy!

Mother is now dickering for a home in the country. I shall gladly acquiesce in any decision she shall make, and perhaps if we can get out of the hotel, we may feel

## United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

More comfortable and more happy. Both of us have been feeling rather cramped of late. This is the meanest climate on earth and it's difficult to keep from bad colds. I'm in the throes of one now and one that seems to have accumulated everything ever comfortable I've been feeling during the winter.

I hope things are going well with you. I don't write you much about yourself, but my boy, I think much of you. You've had a terrible cross to bear and you've borne it like a man. I trust this note will find Amy recovered from her recent attack.

Love to the Nuddus and Anne.

Affectionately,

Dad.

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

h Senate, Feb. 28, 1918.

My dear Jack:

Your long letter, detailing the political situation in California, and speaking of your matters concerning your home, came last night. I wanted now merely to send you a word of sympathy. I know exactly how you feel, how affecting the situation must be to you. I wish there was some little thing I could do, some thing comforting I could say; but I feel wholly impotent. If I offer nothing or if I can aid ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> at all, don't think it's because I do not have the fullest sympathy, or that my heart is not wholly with you. It's another of your crosses, and you'll bear it with the same fortitude and in the same manly way you've fought your fight these past months. I wish, had I could bear the burden with you.

As soon as I can dictate, I'll reply to the political matters in your

letter. I see running through your letter, the same conclusions regarding our good fellows that I reached long ago. There are only a few strong men in the world after all, only a few with the moral courage to stand up when a real fight impends. It's so easy to go with the crowd, so comfortable to float with the stream, so much less effort to sit tight in good jobs, that when we deal with weak human nature, we can't blame the men who go wrong for ease and comfort and luxury.

I'll write you soon again. All my love, son. I want to say "don't worry", but it seems so banal.

Affectionately,

Dad.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 30, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,  
The California Sanitarium,  
Belmont, California.

My dear Daughter:

Of course, there is just one absorbing thought here. We follow every dispatch from Europe with intense interest. We draw our maps and mentally spur the allies to greater exertions, and really fight by their side. We watch the greatest battle of all the ages, and, with varying emotions, and with differing motives, pray for German defeat. I greedily devour every bit of news, and, indeed, we have special bulletins in the Senate smoke room, which we follow intently. I am wholly unable now, after the battle has been in progress more than a week, to draw any comfort at all from it. Our newspapers each morning and each night tell us how small the German advance is, but I observe the British are constantly losing more guns and more prisoners, and that our enemies are now within twelve miles of Amiens, the great supply base of the British, and within fifty-five miles - southwest of Montevidier - of Paris itself. It is possible, as the English insist that this advance has been made at such a tremendous cost of men, that it is to be a Pyrrhic victory; but, in my very small concerns whenever I was whipped and did not know what else to say, I insisted that my adversary's success was a Pyrrhic victory. I thought that if we could win this tremendous battle, peace would come, and I do not hesitate to say how I long

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 2

for peace. The awful thing to me - that which is on my nerves, and of which I dream, is the dreadful carnage in this battle. The white races of the world are bleeding to death today. Speaking in world terms, it is the dominant race - the race that believes in Christianity and has given us civilization that is digging its grave. Apparently, there is no way in which it can be stopped except by the overwhelming defeat of the central powers, and, from present indications, there is little hope of that. Our nation plays rather a small, inconspicuous, and perhaps, contemptible part in the fray. Whatever may have been the individual viewpoint before the declaration of war, once we entered, of necessity we must be one in winning the war, and winning it with the least possible delay. We have muddled along for a year, and I had a deep feeling of humiliation when I read the President's dispatch to General Haig the other day, commencing with - "May I not express to you ", and then, congratulating him on holding the enemy, in which, since April 2, 1917, we were supposed to be a part. I read this morning his second dispatch to General Foch, who has just been placed in charge of the allied armies, commencing with, "May I not say to you ", and then stating that his selection meant unity, concord and success. I can not fathom what are the thoughts of the commander-in-chief of the American army. Since my memorable conversation with Colonel House, I have had a distrust and suspicion of the President's mental honesty, which I fear will never be removed. I shudder when I speculate upon the consequences to us of a German victory in the

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 3

present battle. In fact, I think our whole Administration is purposely closing its mind to the possibilities now involved, and <sup>are</sup> simply talking, talking, talking, and shutting out <sup>thus</sup> every unpleasant contingency.

I had another side-light upon the President the other day, suggested while we had Mr. and Mrs. Hard dining with us. One of them told the story of how some visitor to the President related to him the trials and tribulations of Lincoln, the criticism indulged in during the civil war, the abuse often heaped upon Lincoln, and the dissensions, even, occurring in his Cabinet. Wilson responded that he had not suffered in one direction as Lincoln had - that Lincoln had surrounded himself with a very distinguished and able Cabinet, some of whom, at times, were in opposition to him. This is quite in line with Knox's story, long ago told me, which, perhaps, I repeated to you - that, when, at the beginning of the war, Wilson was asked to summon men versed in international law, in foreign affairs, and in world politics, he answered - "Of what value would this be - they might disagree with me."

Congress is on edge, and, just as you find men, and women, too, when they are almost hysterical with emotion, indulging, at times, in senseless and jarring laughter, so here, we find members of Congress suddenly precipitating debate upon small and irrelevant matters. The feeling has sunk into all of us that our military preparations are awry, and it is with difficulty that men can be kept from talking every day upon the subject. The Senate during the past week on several occasions has broken out. The Democratic leaders, who prate so much of their patriotism, while,

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 4

knowing the facts and feeling just as the Republicans do, nevertheless, in every way endeavor to divert public attention, and make political attacks upon the criticisms, which will befog what is said. Last Monday, as I wrote Jack, we had a rather peculiar experience. Senator Lodge had very feelingly referred to the shipping, the aircraft production, the French 75's, and various other matters in which we have been derelict. His speech had quite an effect on me. As he passed my desk, for some reason, he stopped and asked me if I knew that the German air men were flying at will over our forces so low that our boys were popping at them with pistols. I had never heard of such a thing, and when Senator New of the Military Committee was on his feet, in order that the matter might be one of record, I asked questions of him. Perhaps what transpired I can best present to you by adding here the congressional record:

" Mr. Johnson of California. I have, Mr. President, somewhat the same intention of the Senator who has just propounded his query. I am a very humble Member of this body, but, like every other Member here, I am willing to give of my blood just as you are ready to give of your blood; but we ask for the blood that we give a fair chance in fighting this war. I take it the Senator understands and knows just what the situation is, and therefore, with his permission, I want to ask him what was the aircraft program for July 1 of this year?

" Mr. New. I think, while I had not intended to mention it, it is fair and just to say that the original program called for delivering in France 12,000 combat planes by the 1st of next July.

" Mr. Johnson of California. Then I ask the Senator if he can answer, and if the answer violates no confidence, how many were delivered or how many will this Government deliver on the 1st day of July in France.

" Mr. New. Thirty-seven.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 5

" Mr. Johnson of California. Mr. President, with the permission of the Senator from Indiana, I desire to ask concerning the accuracy of a startling statement which has been repeated all over this building today. Is it in testimony before the Military Committee that the condition of our boys in the trenches today is that without let or hindrance German planes are flying over them and flying so low that our boys are shooting at them with revolvers? I want to know whether that is the testimony before the Military Committee?

" Mr. New. It is.

" Mr. Johnson of California. Then, Mr. President, in answer to the animadversions of the Senator from North Carolina and others, I say that there is just one way to correct this sort of outrage upon American youth, and that way is, in the language of a distinguished Executive, "pitiless publicity". (Applause in the galleries.) "

" The Presiding Officer. If there is any further demonstration in the galleries, the Chair will direct the Sergeant at Arms to clear the galleries. The occupants of the galleries must understand that they are here by the courtesy of the Senate, and that manifestations of approval or disapproval form an infraction of the rules. "

As New answered each question there were really audible gasps in the galleries, and when I made the last remark, rather dramatically, I was astonished at the great outburst of applause. I don't know whether this r e -action of the galleries will be a general reaction throughout the country, or whether the reaction of our people will be that described by our Democratic brethren as one of contempt and hatred for men who expose any bad conditions of today.

The next day, Williams came into the Senate, drunk as usual, and made a bitter attack upon us all, and because of seniority in the matter of recognition I was crowded out of the opportunity of replying, and we had to listen to Smoot in a prepared attack on the President's partisanship. This attack to my

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 6

mind was most unfortunate, because it got off the real issue that I would have kept before the people concerning our aircraft production. Some day in the near future, perhaps, the opportunity will come again. Apropos, of our preparation I could take two letters - your brother Bob's, and Paul Herriott's, and demonstrate how derelict we have been. Herriott writes me that since he passed his examination at San Antonio and went to Dallas to begin flying, he, and the fifteen hundred others who are with him, have simply marked time. They have a hundred and fifty capable, experienced flyers, with them, who were to teach them, but who, as well, are just marking time, and all of them merely undergoing a perfunctory sort of infantry drill. I received a second letter from Bob which told me of how much better he was situated, and how much more comfortable was his lot now, and how very much happier he was. I was delighted to have this second letter.

We have heard from Arch only twice; first, his cable from London, and secondly, his cable from France. There has not been sufficient time yet to have any letter from him. Bob's letter took exactly twenty-one days to reach me and I understand that this is the briefest possible time in which we may receive letters. Arch was in France on March 20th and I do not expect, therefore, to hear from him for at least eleven days. I've been wondering if the boys were in sound of the guns.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 7

Mother has been working all of this week on the possibility of getting a home in the country. I have told her that I shall be satisfied with whatever she does, and for her to do whatever will make her most happy. Confidentially, I say to you, but I beg you not to say anything to her concerning it, that she is probably undertaking something which she will very greatly regret, and which will not add to her pleasure in remaining here. It makes little difference to me, because I am so wholly engrossed with current events and my work, and any abiding place I can put up with as I have since we've been here. I trust that her hopes may be fulfilled and that she may accomplish what she is now striving for, and that it will prove a boon and a blessing. We have lived all of this session at the Shoreham, and while, we are in two very small and wretched rooms, the activity and the bustle of the hotel, and the constant meeting of people there, have, I think, eliminated much of the loneliness Mother felt at the past session. Indeed, I think she is rather enjoying the life at the Shoreham. For us to go into the country now, where we would see nobody at all, nor get out as we have been accustomed to at this hotel may accentuate our peculiar mode of living. On the other hand, Mother may be entirely right in believing that the added comfort will bring increased happiness. Please let the first news of any change come from her.

Next Friday I am going to Pittsburgh to open the Liberty Loan campaign there. I have declined so many invitations and refused to go so many places in behalf of the Liberty Loan that I

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 8

thought I would accept this one, and let it go at that. I did it at Knox's earnest request. He goes with me to the city of his ostensible residence, and presides at a great banquet on Saturday, and a great public meeting on Sunday. I am not in the humor to make the sort of speech that ought to be made and it will take tremendous effort on my part to rouse my spirits sufficiently. We are developing more and more men every day who eat raw bones and drink hot blood, all of whom neither go to war themselves, nor send their own. Their enthusiasm for slaying others is only equalled by their scrupulous regard for their own safety. And, as we develop more and more of this kind I feel myself unable to talk in flamboyant terms of my patriotism. For many of our brethren here, who tell constantly of how anxious they are to shed their blood and yield their lives for their country, I have the utmost contempt. Probably one of the best examples of this kind of patriotism is afforded by our own well beloved Congressman - Julius Kahn. Kahn, through no fault of his, would be unable to recognize a principle if he saw one, and his activities concerning a principle are determined wholly by expediency and by the power upon either side. He has the heart of a rabbit, and he would not face in battle array an aroused rat, and yet, in this time of war, he has become a big man by iterating and reiterating how he would cut his legs and his arms off and put his eyes out for his country, and how he'd work himself to <sup>the</sup> bone in the service of the Republic and give his last drop of blood in its defense. It might be remarked, parenthetically, that he loses neither his arms nor his legs nor his eyes, nor gives any drops of blood, But

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 9

it all sounds well and it gets over with our people. It makes some of us, who have our own thoughts of the Republic and its perpetuity, and our own vision of the war, less ready and less able to tell of the possibilities and aspirations of the great republic and of the necessity for its perpetuity, and the preservation of its ideals. I presume all wars have been of like sort and have created this particular class whom we now designate as patrioteers. I said publicly recently that I had little less contempt for those than I had for the profiteer. And, speaking of profiteers, our investigation in the commerce committee of shipping, drags along with an occasional meeting devoted to the justification of Hog Island. Fortunately, we demonstrated what an outrage this Hog Island project was, and fortunately, I think it became deep seated in the public mind. After the demonstration every avenue of publicity was closed to us, and every source of information. Today, witnesses do not dare testify against Hog Island. Those who work upon the plant will lose their jobs if they do testify. Shipbuilders who might criticise it believe, whether justly or not, that they would lose their contracts with the government if they told the truth. The consequence is that the men in charge of Hog Island are maintaining a tremendous propaganda. They have bought many of the correspondents here, and they fill the eastern papers with articles. They are producing high-priced experts who tell of the progress of the work, and the like. And thus, we have another phase of war.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 10

Tonight, mother and I dine with the Pinchots to meet the new English Ambassador, Lord Reading and his wife. I have read something of the career of the Ambassador. He strikes me as a product of conditions similar to those that we have become familiar with in this country. He became exceedingly rich and was involved in some scandal. His riches were his protection. Undoubtedly, he is a man of ability, and he finally reached his present high estate. But I suspect he is an English Barney Baruch, and that, without his money, he would be practising in the Police Court, or would be the proprietor of a second-hand clothes shop, or pawn-broker establishment. I may change my entire view after I meet him and talk to him tonight.

From what I can learn, Wilson has stood firm on his Japanese question, but my news is exceedingly limited. At any rate, the Japanese have not yet taken Siberia. I have such an abiding fear of their diplomacy, however, and of their success in negotiation, that I feel sure some morning we will read in the press that an agreement has been consummated with all the allied countries, including our own, by which Japan will do just exactly as she sees fit in the Pacific and in Asia.

I was very glad to learn from your last letter and from Jack's that you have practically recovered from the attack of a week ago. I hope you will have no more of them, but if on the road to recovery occasionally you stumble it should neither

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 11

surprise nor discourage you. The big thing, after all, is that your recovery is in sight, and everything will be well, if you continue in your good fighting attitude.

With all our love.

Affectionately,

*Dad*



BY APPOINTMENT

HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 30, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

The one outstanding thing in your good long letter about political conditions in California, and the one thing in that I received from Lissner yesterday was that a definite situation was to be put up to Stephens. He was to make a definite response, and from that, as one of the important questions, the gentleman in conference were to determine their attitude. This one definite thing - the one definite, concrete thing in all the talk, was not put up to Stephens, and no reply has been received from him. This one definite thing was the reappointment of Williams as Bank Commissioner. I have written Lissner asking him to insist that there shall be, not from Madsen, but from Stephens, a definite statement on this. I want you to put it up plainly to McCabe, and get McCabe's reply. The reason I do this is because an inspection of Stephens' committee in the south makes me exceedingly suspicious of what he may contemplate. I know that he and Madsen have been dickering with all kinds of people. I know what sort of promises have been asked of them in relation to patronage. I do not know that Williams' scalp has been demanded, but the very fact that they have been dickering concerning patronage in the south, and the very fact that there are certain men upon his committee who hate Williams more than

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

they love Stephens, and the added letter of Essick, of which I have sent you a copy, seem to me to point with ~~a~~ fair clearness to a bargain respecting Williams, and this bargain ought to be investigated before, at least, I commit~~ff~~ myself. I don't mean by this that there is any danger that I shall commit myself to Stephens in the primary, but with the primary he has gone a mighty short distance in the fight.

There is one other thing that I tried to make plain in *one* of my letters, a copy of which I have sent you, and that is the protestations so often indulged in of the necessity of our people to support Stephens in order that I might realize any of my political ambitions in the future. Some of these protestations are made in the utmost good faith but some of them are the veriest pretense and hypocrisy. Indeed, I do not believe I shall ever wish to be here another term. I say to you what I can not say to others, that physically, 1922 will see, in my opinion, the end of my activities. I mention this in passing as a mere fact which I feel, and which it is unnecessary to discuss, and which no kind of suggestion can alter. If, in the interim, I shall develop, my political future will take care of itself, and if I do<sup>not</sup> develop, there will not be the slightest occasion for any effort concerning my political future. If, in the next couple of years, I can make myself - what I now know to be impossible - by following my own bent and my own conscience, a place in the Nation, all the Stephens~~s~~ who ever lived could not take from me California's support, and unless I make a place

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

here for myself, there will be no occasion two years from now for any political support. When any one of our good friends, therefore, places his activities for Stephens upon his far-seeing vision of my political success just tell him - to forget it.

We have a beautiful movement in California and we have done great things. What we have done will not be undone in a generation. As a concerted movement for real accomplishment we have lasted longer than any similar movement I think that has existed in our political history, and we have done more than any such movement has ever before accomplished. It is not to be wondered at that the fine edge of endeavor and idealism has been worn off, and that the individuals who would have marched to the stake in 1910 and even in 1914 have grown slothful in the ease and the comfort that victory has brought them. It is just weak human nature, my boy, and this weak, human nature justifies itself in the possession of the fleshpots. I think I understand, very, very fully, what is transpiring in California since my departure, - the gradual placing in the background of the fine and the ennobling thing we have put in our politics. I have no harshness for any of those who are responsible. I feel just a great sadness over it all. Moreover, I never was under any delusions as to some of the instruments I used. I picked them haphazardly, and sometimes, without a nice discrimination, and, so long as I was over them, they did their work, <sup>and</sup> whether knowingly or not, they did it for the best and the highest things in our

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. -,4

political life. Some of these instruments I used have acquired positions of very large influence, because I used them and trusted them, giving them the positions that they might accomplish the big things for me. Some of these people had been accustomed to the petty trading politics with which all of us were familiar, and which had been the only mode of doing things in political life. It is but natural that now finding themselves with influence, and in positions where they can select candidates, and the like, and finding themselves relieved from the clutch that was on them during the six years that I was in California, and from all of the rigors of hewing in the straight path, they should go back to the only methods they knew - the easier ones after all, and do their politics in the same old fashion. To tell you the truth, my son, responding, as I do, to human emotions constantly, and acting upon those emotions, and upon my likes and my dislikes, my resentments, and my affections, I am unable to understand how I ever succeeded at all politically.

I did not intend to write you, when I started, with any length at all. I wanted simply to impress upon you the two things - first, that there should be a definite statement by Stephens on Williams, and secondly, that suggestions that support of Stephens was dictated by concern for my political future is all nonsense.

Affectionately,

Dad.

*Of course, the foregoing was dictated very hastily. As I read it, it seems to me rather concisely and as arrogating to myself much more than I ought. You'll understand though, and not think I've developed into a splendid egotist.*

(To Major Archibald M. Johnson (son) with Army in France)

Hiram W. Johnson Papers  
Bancroft Library

SHOREHAM HOTEL  
11 STREET NORTHWEST AT FIFTEENTH  
Washington

Number Seven

ROBERT C. DOVE  
Managing Director

Sunday, March 31, 1918.

My dear Arch:

As you'll observe from the paper and penmanship, I'm writing you this Easter Sunday evening from the hotel. I'm doing it thus that you may have just a note of greeting from Mother and me, and that I may keep my promise of writing you twice a week - keep it at least in some measure.

We have just returned from lunching (rather dining) with Stanley Washburn and his wife. Stanley was made a Major last year when he went about the country lecturing on Russia. He is now ordered to France and leaves tomorrow for New York. He is to report to the Commanding General and will be in the Intelligence Department. He leaves with all sorts of obligations on our part, and promises on his, to look you up at the earliest possible moment. We are so fond

of him that we wish you two to come together. Knowing as I do, Stanley's very intimate knowledge of Russia, his unusual acquaintanceship with many of those presiding over the destinies of our allies, I can't but think he could have been much more useful in some other direction than in mere military activity. But perhaps the very fact he has views and knowledge, pronounced views and accurate knowledge is the reason he is placed where there can be neither expression of views, or use of his knowledge. Mrs. General Wood was with us a part of the afternoons I wish I could write you many things we have recently learned, but perhaps the censor would think the mere recitation bad for your morale. Oh, if our government could only understand that the men who fight America's battles need not be fed upon misinformation and half truths! I have such an abiding confidence in our democracy, such supreme faith in our fighting force, that I would not hesitate an instant

2- Amg.

SHOREHAM HOTEL  
11 STREET NORTHWEST AT FIFTEENTH  
Washington

ROBERT C. DOVE  
Managing Director

not only to boast of our prowess and our strength, but frankly to expose our weakness and lack of efficiency. I'm sure we'll come to the point where we'll realize this is the only mode of correction, the real road to prepared effectiveness.

Last night we dined with Lord Reading and others at Gifford Pinchot's. The one subject of conversation there indeed the absorbing topic during the week, was the great battle now being fought. I've traced every move on the map and greedily devoured every scrap in the Washington, Philadelphia and New York papers. In the Senate lounge room we had regular press bulletins and most of us have been more interested in these despatches than in the Senate proceedings. It's useless for me to speculate to you or to tell you the feelings of dread we have. We can only hope

and pray. The pictures you in all sorts of  
places, some near the battle, some far removed.  
I can understand your feelings during its  
continuance. It's impossible, of course, for you  
to be a part of it; but it's probably the last  
battle in which you will not participate.  
How I wish I could be by your side - ay,  
take your place!

We count the days until we shall  
hear from you. If you reach France about  
20 as your telegram indicated, by  
April 10 we should have a letter. If you  
come from England and you arrived in England  
when the War Department notified me, then  
we should very soon have word; but I  
suspect that you didn't get to England when the  
Department said, and that in this, as in  
many other particulars, the information of  
the Department was at fault.

The news from California is chiefly  
about politics, which seem so petty in this  
great crisis. Army has had a set  
back, a sharp attack of pleurisy, but again  
is apparently on the high road to recovery.

3- Amy

SHOREHAM HOTEL  
11 STREET NORTHWEST AT FIFTEENTH  
Washington

ROBERT C. DOVE  
Managing Director

The Congress is going along in its usual fashion. General Wood's testimony given in Executive Session to the Military Committee, greatly affected those who heard it. I fear to detail it to you.

Paul is trying to get into active service, has passed in high rank the examinations in the preliminary school, but he and his fellows have nothing to fly with.

I'm at it for the Grizzlies but can get no honest response. Haskie however, is now being made in sending our men across, and I'm rather hopeful they'll soon be on their way. I had a pathetic letter from Stuart White last night to which I shall reply tomorrow.

Goodbye, dear boy. Wherever you are, we are with you. If spirits could talk, you'd be bound to death with Mother and me.

All our love.

Affectionately,

H. W. Johnson