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August 1, 1918.

NUMBER THIRTY EIGHT

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Army Post Office 731,
American Expeditionary Force,
France.

My dear Arch:

Why in the world we get no letter from you is beyond me. This is a dickens of a way to start writing to you, I know, but as day follows day, as Thursday succeeds Monday, and Monday comes again, in my regular routine of writing to you, the uppermost thought in my mind is, that your last letter is dated May 29th. I'm sure you have received my letters because of two brief references in two of your telegrams, one to Scott, and the other to O'Laughlin. I feel each day quite like you described yourself when you were at the Staff College. The mail is delivered at this office nicely tied in red tape, and each time a bundle comes, we anxiously go through it looking for a foreign letter. I have decided, if I don't get a letter in the next day or two, to cable you at Neufchateau.

The day before yesterday I received a very nice note from Otto Kahn, the banker of New York City, in which he

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 2

said he had seen you at Neufchateau, and that you were well. His few kindly sentences touched your mother and me very much, and I tried to make him understand in my response how very thankful we were to him.

Yesterday I received from Odgers in California the enclosed picture. She endorsed on it, "Does this not look like somebody we know". Your mother and I were quite excited for a moment, and with magnifying glasses, we endeavored to make out your beloved contour. I reached the conclusion quickly, however, that the printing related to somebody else. Because it caused such a flurry with us for a brief period I am sending it to you. It evidently hit Odgers from the fact that she sent it to us.

I received a telegram from Mrs. Bowles yesterday saying Amy was slightly better. She has had such a trying and terrible fight that we are thankful for the least encouragement. The telegram stated that while her fever had lessened, it still continued, and, of course, we cannot hope for any real improvement until her temperature becomes normal.

Rolph got off with a flying start to his campaign in California in a meeting at San Diego last week. Those surrounding him think that he is going to win. Indeed, they believe he has an absolute cinch. I wrote Jack yesterday that if I was to make a book on the result of the contest,

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 3

I would give one to two on Stephens, five to one against Rolph, and permit the purchaser to write his own ticket as to the others. The over-weening confidence of the men about Rolph arises from their ignorance of the state. They labor under the delusion that San Francisco is California, and in this they are sadly in error. I understand the Los Angeles Times had some very nasty articles on Theodore, and that the little fellow was terribly cut-up about them. He commenced, I am informed, a couple of libel suits in consequence. If he has commenced these suits, I hope he has the nerve to press them, and press them quickly. This paper, The Los Angeles Times, has been irresponsible too long, and too long has indulged in brutally malicious attacks upon those it did not like.

Mr. Kahn, who saw you at Neufchateau and so kindly wrote me, in very kindly fashion in an interview with the New York papers, voiced the protest of the men about the mail facilities. This, however, while adding force to what some of us have said here, will have no effect upon the authorities. I am beginning to think that France is a great long distance from the United States, and that the civil government of the United States seems to the military government in France misty, nebulous, insubstantial, and a thing not to be considered except in supplying men and mil-

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 4

itary necessities. There is a strong under-current here against the system, which has been emphasized in the last three weeks, concerning the operations of our troops, their casualties and losses. Although the battle has been going on for three weeks, there has not been one single word concerning our casualties or the men who have been captured. I should not be surprised at an outburst any time on this subject.

We're working ~~hard~~ on a new draft law. One will speedily be passed when Congress meets. It will give, I think, ample manpower without invading the deferred classes now existing. I'll write you about this in a few days again.

Mother is well. She's still troubled and annoyed with the deficiencies at our house, but withal happy in its possession. We had ten days of awful weather. We were enabled to bear it with some degree of philosophy because we're so delightfully situated in the country. The last two days have been a relief, but the weather reports now are all, "Fair and Warner".

I wish I could write you freely about the big things, the world politics. I hesitate to do so because I do not know what may happen to my letters. If you think it's entirely safe let me know, and I'll gossip with you then about some of the things that are in the minds of many of us here

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 5

concerning the world war and the various currents and cross-currents relating to it.

I close as I began expressing to you my longing for a letter. You're mighty good to send us the cables and I can't tell you how much they are appreciated by your mother and myself. We actually hug them when they come. But I do pray for a real letter.

With all our love,

Affectionately your father,

August 2, 1918.

NUMBER THIRTY-NINE

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Army Post Office 731,
American Expeditionary Forces,
France.

My dear Arch:

In my letter yesterday I forgot to tell you what Raymond recently stated to me concerning the staff officers of the various divisions. Raymond came to Washington a few days ago for General Lyons and during his stay, of course, called. Formerly the officer in charge of the Personnel Division was a Colonel or a General Graves. He recently was ordered to Camp Fremont. With his intimate knowledge of the men who had been sent to France and of the fact that their retention in France deprived the various divisions of their staff officers, he insisted to the Chief of Staff here that Pershing's retention of these staff officers was unfair and unjust and left the various divisions here without adequate trained staff men. Graves succeeded in having the original order altered, and another has been made which directs the staff officers in France to report to their various original commands; to report to them in the United States if they were not soon to be enroute, and to report to them in France if already there or about to come there. I repeat this to you, because I assume that it is accurate and that Raymond had ascertained exactly the fact. Your old division has its orders.

It will sail about the 15th day of August. Lyons division will sail sometime just after the first day of September. Unless you are now attached to some particular division, you may find yourself back with your old crowd. You will be able to tell this better than I will.

I am writing this to you today after my usual letter of yesterday, because of my forgetfulness when dictating to you last evening.

The news looks a little better today. It comes to us, however, in such homeopathic doses that we are more or less confused.

Mother joins in all our love,

Affectionately, your father,

DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA., CHAIRMAN.

GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN, OREG. KNUTE NELSON, N. Y.
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D. C. THORNTON, ASST. CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE.

August 2, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I am receiving now letters from California about the situation. Today brought me a long letter from Beasly at San Jose. As you know, he is a very intimate friend of Roche. I won't attempt to quote you what he says. Suffice it that his opinion and the opinion of very many whom he interviewed in order that he might advise me accurately, is that Stephens will carry Santa Clara County; that the drys are sufficiently organized and sufficiently numerous to put him over without question, *both in Santa Clara County and the State.*

I am watching the fight from afar and speculating upon the possibilities. I see no reason to change the view I expressed to you a couple of days ago. If you remember in 1910 during the three months that I refused to become a candidate for Governor, the Lincoln-Roosevelt League had two candidates - Mott and Belshaw. Rowell finally threw his hands up in disgust and said if we win with either, we'll win nothing. The men about Stephens in Los Angeles who divide his favor with McCabe are only less ^{obnoxious} ~~obvious~~ than Gavin McNab. I am not writing riddles, but sometimes I think with all my love for Eustace, Matt and Theodore, that they could only divide and

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - #2

by reason of not being on the job all of the time, possess but a small fraction of the favor of Rolph, while the real man at the helm if Rolph were Governor would probably be the most wicked, insidious, diabolical, ruthless, relentless, cruel, lying, hypocritical, indecent and putrescent political ^{man} in California - McNab. When I think of this sort of thing I become more reconciled to the result than perhaps I otherwise would be, and yet I think if I were in San Francisco at the primary, I probably would do just as you expect to do.

Affectionately,

Dad.

P.S. I have just received a letter from Arch
Lafit Paris, June 28, and I hasten to enclose
you copy. This is our first letter since
May 19. As I read his brief sentence
about Chateau-Thierry, I thought perhaps
nothing matters now but the war. I cannot
tell you how peculiarly and despondently
the lad's letter has affected me. I'll not
try to write you of it now, but perhaps
Monday.

Dad

(COPY)

Paris, June 28th, 1918.

Senator Hiram W. Johnson,
U.S. SENATE,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

My dear Chief,

This will be a very brief narrative of all that has happened to me since leaving the staff college.

I have not written since then, first because I had no opportunity to write and next because I did not believe it necessary as I fully expected to proceed home at the termination of my three weeks at the front. The orders under which I came, if you recall them, required me to proceed to France "for a period of instruction, then to return to his proper station".

At the staff college we were given to understand that upon the completion of our instruction we would be returned to our division. I, therefore, up to the ~~present~~ time I received my present orders, firmly believed that I was coming home to rejoin.

I wrote you in detail all of the facts concerning our efforts to get some indication from the staff college of the recommendations which were to be given to us. Finally, we were given them in the form of a letter from the Commandant of the schools to ourselves. Breckenridge, Howe and myself all received precisely similar recommendations. I understand that these recommendations stood about no. 4 on the list of the recommendations that were given. I am not at all certain, however, but that we were given one recommendation while a totally different recommendation was incorporated in the confidential report which is rendered to the Division commanders. This report is on file in the War Office and you, of course, as a member of the Military Affairs Committee, have access to it. Since it is a matter which affects my own records, I, too, might have access to it, were I in Washington, and could, with perfect propriety, ask to see it. I am of course quite anxious to know exactly what recommendations Breckenridge, Howe and myself received. We were most indignant at the recommendations because we believed them totally unfair and unjust; first because no adequate means of judging our work was in the possession of those who made the recommendations, next because the recommendations themselves were rotten with favoritism and preferent of those with large outside influences. The recommendations of Parsons, Murphy and Straight are shining examples of this. I had an opportunity of seeing some of the work of these gentlemen and their work was not to be compared with the work of Howe or Breckenridge or Wickersham. There was a visible partiality to all regular Army officers and very few National Guardsmen or Reserve Officers, other than those I have mentioned, received that which was their due at all.

Upon leaving the staff college, I went immediately to the Division that stopped the rush at Chateau-Thierry; you can imagine that I had a very, very busy three weeks. Somehow or other I haven't the heart to

write about it. I had so planned upon being able to tell it all to you in detail that it seems next to impossible to put it all down on paper. For a portion of the time I was with the Marines and my hat is off to them; they were perfectly splendid. I saw a great many sights which I never want to see again and I went through a great deal of fighting. When I tell you that I took in a Battalion of 1000 men and 27 officers and came out with 360 men and 7 officers, you will imagine that we had a pretty rough time of it.

After things had quieted down there and my period of instruction was finished, I was ordered to Paris to await orders from the Corps. I have today received them. I have to report for duty in another Sector, I do not know as yet in what capacity, but as soon as I determine I will write you about it and give you my new address. I had heard from one of the officers what my orders were to be and I therefore called Frederick Palmer on the phone at G.H.Q. and ascertained from him exactly what they were. I am going to stop at G.H.Q., on my way, to see Palmer and have a chat with him about them. I am of course utterly heartbroken at not coming home to join my division. I had planned and had hoped to be either with the 40th division, with Lyons, or back with my own battalion. I think when all is said and done, I would have infinitely preferred my own battalion although a place with Lyons would have been attractive. The third choice would have been the 14th division, because I am known there. The third choice would, however, be a perfect heaven compared to what I am up against now.

I have written you very fully in the past of the trials and tribulations of a "casual" (that is an officer detached from his organization) in France. When things were at the bluest and I felt very low, I always bucked myself up with the thought that I would be a casual officer for but a very limited period and that at the end of it I'd get back to where the work I'd done was known and I myself was known and that thought made all my troubles quite bearable. I confess that I have been so low at the prospect of the months to come that it did not seem possible that my spirits would ever rise again. It is however, I presume, all in the game and there is nothing to do but shrug my shoulders and start in all over again to club out a place for myself in some new and strange organization. I will, of course, do it to the best of my ability and, though I confess I am tired and weary, if I fail it will not be through lack of effort.

I have had no mail since I left the Staff College, so I have been out of touch for practically a month. I hope, however, to find some of it sometime. Upon my arrival here, I was shocked beyond all measure to learn of the death of Livingstone Baker. He was the best of all that family and the only one with whom the flapper was on any terms at all. I only wish that I could have been there to have rendered such aid to her as I might have. I do wish, if you have an opportunity, you would write her a note and do what you can to buck the poor kiddie up.

I'll keep cabling you till my letters begin to arrive again. I

leave tomorrow for the front.

All my love to both of you.

Affectionately,

Arch.

DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA., CHAIRMAN.
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United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE.

August 2, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

The following is a passage from a letter received
today from Lissner:

"Stephens indicated to Rowell that he would like Rowell and myself to get actively into his campaign in order to offset your Jack's influence, Stephens at that time having been informed that Jack was on Rolph's committee; but neither Rowell nor I have any stomach to comply with his suggestion. McCabe is doing all he can actively for Stephens and says he will continue to do so unless you call him off."

I don't like the statement that you are on Rolph's committee, and my opinion is that it was made designedly by Stephens, knowing it was untrue. It may be wise for you to say to McCabe that you declined to go upon the Rolph Committee and that when I was asked to have you go, that I expressed my preference you should not. You may say to McCabe for me, if you desire, that if Stephens and those about him are going to claim that we are assisting Rolph and indulge in manufactured statements such as I have indicated, I think it would be wise for me to get into the fray instead of doing as I have done thus far, and instead of your doing as you have done thus far - remaining wholly out of it. Of course, McCabe is running Stephens' fight, and is thoroughly familiar with everything Stephens says or does. I quoted you the last sentence of what Lissner wrote merely to be fair in the matter of quotation. I smiled rather cynically at this particular portion.

Affectionately,

Did

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.
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SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 3, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
Care of P. E. Bowles, Esq.,
The Pines,
Union and Macadam Sts.,
Oakland, California.

My dear Daughter:

The tremendous event with me in the past week has been the receipt finally of a letter from Arch. A copy of this letter I sent to Jack and I presume, therefore, you will see it. It is dated "Paris, June 28". Between the 29th day of May, when he was about to graduate at the Staff College and this letter of June 28th, I received no letters at all from the lad. I have had one or two brief cablegrams, as you know, and copies of these I have sent to you. His letter written in Paris, just received, has little of description in it, and little of his experiences at the front. I quote to you the one paragraph dealing with his fighting, a paragraph which made me feel quite solemn and very thankful that our lad had come through all right:

Upon leaving the Staff College, I went immediately to the Division that stopped the rush at Chateau-Thierry; you can imagine that I had a very very busy three weeks. Somehow or other I haven't the heart to write about it. I had so planned upon being able to tell it all to you in detail that it seems next to impossible to put it down on paper. For a portion of the time I was with the Marines and my hat is off to them; they were perfectly splendid. I saw a great many sights which I never want to see again and I went through

Mrs. Amy Johnson -2

a great deal of fighting. When I tell you that I took in a battalion of 1000 men and 27 officers and came out with 360 men and 7 officers you will imagine that we had a pretty rough time of it. "

It is difficult for me to imagine our boy in charge of a battalion going through the fighting, which took seventy-nine per cent of his officers and sixty-four per cent of his men. In the celebrated infantry attack at Balaklava, rendered eternal by "The Charge of the Light Brigade", the losses were only thirty-seven per cent. In the Civil War, the highest loss was in the First Minnesota at Gettysburg, about eighty-two per cent. And yet, here is a boy of ours, with less than a year of soldiery training, his life work a learned profession, and his activities wholly mental, leading against veterans, and veterans of the greatest military power the world has ever seen, his battalion, and coming through gloriously, with losses almost equal to those in the severest actions of all ages. Can you wonder how I have read and re-read, how I have dreamed, and dreamed again, of my boy, and how very, very solemnly thankful I am that he has thus far been preserved!

Joseph Scott has just returned from France and came to Washington today to see me. I told you something of his difficulties in getting there. He comes back ripe in experiences and having done a really great work for the Knights of Columbus, and having seen many of our lads. Unfortunately, he could not ^{check} keep up with Arch. Just after he arrived in Paris, Arch was ordered to Neufchateau, where he has since been.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 3

I am not entirely clear as to his activities at Neufchateau, except that he is there in active service in an American division, the 82nd, I think. Scott tells many anecdotes, but one about Chateau Thierry I relate to you, because of the quotation from Art's letter. Scott says that, undoubtedly, the Americans at Chateau-Thierry saved Paris, that they showed such dash and courage, they imparted a new esprit to the French, and then they actually bent back the German line, and held portions of the town of Chateau-Thierry for three days against tremendous and ferocious counter-attacks. The American fighting there electrified the allies, and particularly the French. Since January last, there has been a little play on in the theatres of Paris called "The Abbe Constantine". In the course of the play, a little boy rushes upon the scene, and says "The Americans have declared war and France is saved!" Hethen turns, and in his sweet treble voice, sings "The Star Spangled Banner." This play has been on since January last, and in the early months of its production, the boy's exclamation "The Amerucans have declared war and France is saved!", and his singing of "The Star Spangled Banner" were listened to either in silence or with scarcely concealed contempt. After Chateau Thierry, the audience went wild. The boy was encored seven, eight, ten times, and sung until he had no voice amid the frantic cheers of the audience. On the anniversary of our entry into the war last April, the common expression in France

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 4

was "You have been in war a year, and America holds eight miles of the line, and the Portugese ten". All this is past now. The French really regard the Americans in the light of their saviors.

While Scott was in Paris at the beginning of the last German drive, preparations were made for the evacuation of Paris, and the best informed had little hope of saving the capital of France from the Germans. In pursuance of his duties, he was at one of the largest of the American base hospitals near Paris, a hospital designed to accommodate 1500, but when he reached it, after the fighting around Soissons, there were 2100 wounded American soldiers crowding every bit of available space, and upon the lawns about. We don't know anything of what is transpiring in France. Our casualty lists are kept from us. A week ago, I asked the Chief of Staff and the Secretary of War about these lists, and they said they would telegraph and ascertain. This morning I asked again concerning the lists, and they said they had telegraphed Pershing, and rather testily said, they had ordered Pershing to send those lists at the earliest moment, but they had not yet received them. I asked General March if he had any details of the losses of specific organizations at Chateau-Thierry. He said he did not. I asked if any organizations had lost seventy per cent of officers and sixty per cent of men. He said he had heard it but had nothing of-

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 5

ficial. I asked why we should not have official information in matters of this sort, and he said he hoped that we would in the future. Our nation is doing, in this respect, exactly what it is doing in every other respect, concealing from the people what is transpiring, acting upon the assumption that the people have not the right to know, and that all of us should be satisfied if our loved ones die in France. Even knowledge of their death will come to us tardily, but we must not complain, or we are disloyal.

At the War College this morning I asked as to the numbers of our entire army in order that we might determine concerning our draft law. We have 1,300,000 men now in France, 1,700,000 in camps and cantonments, and we have a few hundred thousand, probably, in addition, and only a few hundred thousand in addition, and the total constitutes the entire draft of 1917, and that resulting from the registration of June 5, 1918 of those who had become twenty one after the first registration in 1917. Secretary Baker and General March agreed this morning that the deferred classes would not be drawn upon, and that in order to fill our quotas for the remainder of the year, if necessary, we would take our men from those in camps and cantonments, and if required even, reduce their number in this country below the contemplated reserve of one million. Secretary Baker, notwithstanding all that has been published, indicated that there was not an immediate hurry about enacting new draft legislation, and that certain considerations would

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 6

soon be submitted to us.

In the senate on Thursday I made a few remarks about the wretched mail facilities. I have before me on my desk, from various places in the east, letters corroborating what I then said. Yesterday I received four letters from France, one from Art from Paris, as you know, that took thirty^{six} days to come. I had one from the General Headquarters - Major Palmer - that took thirty three days,^{one} from Army Post Office 614, thirty-four days, and one from Army post office 731, thirty five days. I showed these figures to Baker this morning, and he was rather perplexed. He said, "Is this better than it has been?". I replied, "Oh, infinitely better. I got the letters." He looked at me quizzically, and then I proceeded, "Heretofore, I have received some letters in twenty-one days, but I have received about one in five of those written to me, and about one in six or seven of those I have written have reached their destination, so I presume I ought to be content in actually receiving letters written in thirty six days." Scott told me, subsequently, that on the eighth of July he had written to me, and again about the tenth. I have received neither letter, yet Scott left Paris a week ago last Tuesday and is here with me today. One thing that Scott told me that various distracted people had asked him during his trip, that he dared not repeat, that no man dared repeat in this country, is, "What are we fighting for?"

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 7

or, the question was varied by "For what is all this slaughter?". Of course, Americans answer, "To make the world safe for democracy", and this is ample.

In the recent actual fighting, we were told this morning, we have 200,000 men. I mean by this men actually in the conflict. In addition, we have a certain number of men brigaded with the British, and in addition to this, we are holding now quite long sectors of the line. In the actual fighting, we have about seven divisions, but in reality in the line, we have twelve to fourteen divisions. What struck me this morning is what has occurred to me before and which is gradually being emphasized, and that is, that the war office here is not in touch with the actual military operations of the army in France. More and More I am reaching the conclusion that the Generals in charge in France, being three thousand miles away, designedly feed the home office with petty and immaterial matters and keep to themselves just what is transpiring from the military standpoint. Now, it is possible this may arise from what they call "unified control" - the fact that all of the troops are under the command of one general and that one, Foch, the Frenchman, but, in questioning the Secretary and General March about aircraft, casualties, plans, etc., either they carefully conceal from us these matters of importance or they, themselves, are ignorant of them.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 8

I have been so busy this past week that I am very glad I did not attempt to leave here during the vacation. I find, too, that, more and more I am becoming familiar with the war situation, and more and more anxious, with a real familiarity and industry, to be of substantial service. I don't mean the service, which has grown so nauseating and to which I have adverted so often with you, the yelling and shouting of my own loyalty and patriotism, telling how I would lay down my life for my country; but in actually studying the ever recurring problems and preparing for the days that are to come in our nation after the war is concluded. Of course, with the peculiar position that the congress occupies, there is little that any man can do, but I feel that some of us can dedicate ourselves to the preservation of the institutions of the country, and while actually endeavoring to preserve them, can, as well, by protest, keep our course as near the idealistic as possible.

We had this week a couple of days fortunately of pleasant weather, The ten days of wretched heat and oppressive stickiness were succeeded by forty eight hours of refreshing coolness. We are back again now to our regulation nastiness, but, really, at our home in the country, I don't mind it very much. I recall last year how uncomfortable and wretched we were in the hotel, and then I contrast that time with the present, and I am very thankful that Mother made the move that she did.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 9

We have not solved our home problems at all as yet. I am trying to take no chances with our water and adopting chemical devices for its purification, but I will not feel safe respecting it until we have had a thorough **all over** overhauling of the entire system, and also of the sewerage system. It seems impossible to get the requisite help to do this, but I am hoping against hope that some day we'll succeed.

These long evenings you can imagine us sitting outside, watching the long shadows grow into darkness, listening to the last notes of the birds, who keep me such company, and thinking very very often of our dear ^h little home on the hillside in California, and of you, and Jack, the kiddies. It is during these hours that Mother and I talk of you and of Arch, and long for you most. Some day, just as the light fades from the sky, you may be thinking of us, and if you do, you can picture two people upon a lawn, thankful for the open air and the little liberty that it gives in this climate, and talking of the far west, and of all the dear ones there. We've been so glad to learn of your improvement. We'll be out, I feel very certain, before election time in November, and then, if I can, I will paint you all the pictures that I am unable to paint in letters to you of our peculiar, quaint, but not unpleasant home life.

Give my love to your father and your mother.

Affectionately,

Dad

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYO.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 6, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

We were paralyzed yesterday to receive the cablegram from Arch which I relayed to ^{you}. I haven't the slightest idea what it means, nor when to expect him. Today, I am in receipt of a very brief note from him dated July 18th, Headquarters Fourth Army Corps, in which he tells me that he is very hard at it as assistant G - 2 of the Fourth Corps, and as such has charge not only of the training of the Intelligence Personnel of the Division, but of the G - 2 themselves. This letter has just reached me, and I have quoted to you practically all it is. Now, ^{I should} ~~to~~ cease with the quotation and leave you to wonder as I am what the "G - 2" is, or are. I confess I don't know, but I'll learn tomorrow. Were I to speculate about Art's cable I would imagine he is likely to arrive on this side next week, but where he is going, and when he arrives, or the circumstances of his detachment from command over there, I can't fathom. I am waiting and hoping that he will have one or two days with us.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I have been with the military committee from ten thirty this morning until one o'clock. We have before us the administration draft bill fixing the ages eighteen to forty five. There was considerable opposition in the committee, but probably the measure will be adopted exactly as the administration wishes it. There is something besides opposition in the committee - there is not a little indignation at the sudden and tremendous flop made by the administration without consultation with anybody. Indeed, Reed read into the record of the committee proceedings this morning statements made by March and Baker only recently to us concerning their desire to have us not act, etc. We examined only Crowder today. There is evidently friction between him and the War Department, and he was exceedingly careful to protect himself in his responses. He said, however, that the Department intended a very different and much larger program in respect to Europe, which he did not feel at liberty to reveal. We, thereupon, summoned Baker and March and we'll learn just what their program is before we adopt it. There is a suspicion that armies are intended across the water at places other than France. If you will look in the Congressional Record of yesterday, you will see the various estimates made by Crowder, computations, etc., put in the Record by Chamberlain, the chairman of the military committee. Some of the members of Congress are feeling

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

a little peculiar today. They are those who are below the age of forty five. They don't want to vote against the measure because of the effect they think it will have on their constituents, and they are sweating blood for fear the measure will be adopted, and compel them to claim their exemption. Of course, these gentlemen all wish the deferred classes invaded before we alter any draft law. I do not think, however, that these deferred classes will be invaded, and ~~and~~ the little sentiment there is in that regard, I don't think will get very far.

I received yesterday a letter from Eustace, well written, in good tone, presenting a consistent argument, and asking me to intervene in the campaign in California in behalf of Rolph. I will not get an opportunity to answer it until probably tomorrow or the next day. Pursuing the policy that I have indicated to you in my former letters I shall not comply with his request and I shall not get into the contest. The letter impresses me from another standpoint as well, and that is, it is a cry for help in a mighty desperate fight. I received also a letter from Bill Langdon today, which was quite interesting to me. He says in Stanislaus County Rolph's support is negligible, and that is true everywhere in the San Joaquin Valley. He says as well that the only active organization in the country is the dry federation and that an attempt ~~was~~ made by this or-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

ganization to have Democrats and Prohibitionists change their registration to Republican so as to vote for Stephens and Young at the primaries. The registration shows that 51 Democrats changed to Republicans; 14 Progressives to Republicans; 212 Prohibitionists to Republicans; 5 Socialists to Republicans; 94 declined to state to Republicans; 10 declined to state to Democrats; 2 Prohibitionists to Democrat; 1 Republican to Democrat; 2 Democrats to Prohibitionists; one Republican to Prohibitionist; one declined to state to Prohibitionist; and one Republican to Progressive. Apparently, the drys have accomplished some result in their changes. Langdon's letter confirms what has been told to me about Fresno County, and other counties in the San Joaquin Valley. The counties in the Sacramento Valley, I understand, are in like position. Unless, therefore, Rolph receives an overwhelming majority in the Bay counties, so overwhelming as to be almost unanimous, how is it possible for him to win?

I received today a reply from V. S. McClatchy to my recent letter to him regarding the reclamation matter. I enclose you a copy. I think I will let the record stand as it is in this particular matter now.

The Washington weather here is in its real style. Last night was the hottest night I have ever spent. Yesterday and today have been simply frightful. The prospects are that the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

next week or two will be of like character. It is quite impossible to think well during this time, physical exertion is out of the question, sleep is difficult, and mental activity is beyond us.

I will tell you a little secret now that I had not intended to impart until arrangements had been definitely made. I have been contemplating a trip to France. I telephoned Knox Sunday because he is the only company I prefer to have go with me, and he is to let me know tomorrow. I thought I would like to see this world adventure first hand. I wanted the intimate touch which would enable me to act with better judgment, and I wanted, too, to get the atmosphere of England and France on the war, so that from the American standpoint for America I could better determine future events. Not that my determination of what may come before us will be of any consequence, or direct, in any degree, those events, but I wanted the information and the knowledge for my own personal satisfaction. I have thought much on this subject, and had reached the conclusion to undertake the trip. I shall not now go with Arch coming over, but will postpone any ideas I may have on the subject until I know what will happen here.

I have your telegram to your mother today in response to mine to you of yesterday. I am glad you wired her. I am glad to note in your communications of late that Amy is a little better. While her improvement is not great, still the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

improvement is something.

Both mother and I wrote you on Sunday for your birthday. I am sorry I don't send you some birthday gift, but I am at a loss what to send, or to do what would be appropriate. I think you realize this, and realizing it will take in lieu the desire that I have and the affection that I send.

Love to Amy and the kiddies.

Affectionately,

Dad

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 8, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I received this morning your letter of August third. I note your expressions about having little news, and not having written particularly often. Please don't worry over this. I understand fully, and I think that as correspondents both of us are far, far above the average. Mother comes in with me in the morning each day, and walks up to the office to see if there is anything new, and when, as this morning, we find a letter of yours, we read it together.

I was very greatly interested in what you said of your conversation with McCabe. I told you in my last letter that Eustace had written me and wanted me to do something in behalf of Rolph. I don't see how it is possible. I expect to write Eustace this afternoon, if I get the time, and I will send you a copy of my letter. I want to be perfectly frank with so good a friend, and perhaps in no activity is there such possibility of misunderstanding frankness as in politics.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

My correspondence continues in about the same line, so far as the political situation is concerned, as I have indicated to you. I don't see where Rolph is going to get his votes, except in San Francisco. I can't understand the tactics which started him in a campaign in the next to the largest state in the Union, with more varied interests and more different kinds of population than any state in the Union, with just thirty days. However, these gentlemen, I suppose understand what they are doing.

We have been meeting every day for several hours in the military committee upon the new draft bill fixing the ages at eighteen to forty five. In my letter to Amy on Saturday I will try to explain the new army scheme, and just what has been told us during the week. The story of what we have got to do now reads like a prophecy of mine of a year ago.

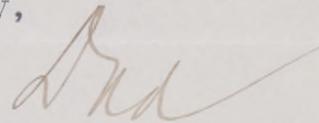
We are waiting daily in the hope that we are going to hear that Arch has arrived. I don't know whether he will come here to Washington, or just what he is going to do. He is ordered, as I understand it, to the 40th Division, which is his old division at Camp Kearney, and this division is expected to sail on the 15th of this month. Perhaps he will come over here and immediately turn around and go back. At any rate, I won't know anything about it until he comes.

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I shall try, today or tomorrow, to write something of a comprehensive letter to you. McCabe was quite right in saying to you that there is only one real organization in California now, and that is, the Dry Federation. All of the letters I have received, like from Whitmore of Visalia, and fellows in Riverside, and from various counties that are dry indicate it is the only organization indulging in any political activity. The people who are "wet", if there are still any in California, ought to realize that there'll be a very speedy end made of them if the "drys" are successful in the campaign.

I can't realize that tomorrow you will be thirty one years old. I hope that this birthday will find you in fairly good shape. Mother and I are so sorry we can't keep it with you, and we send you all our love.

Affectionately,



GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 10, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
Care of P. E. Bowles, Esq.,
The Pines,
Union and Macadam Streets,
Oakland, California.

My dear Daughter:

I am writing this letter to you on one of the great days of history, the natal day of my older son and of your husband. I am utterly unable to realize that he has reached the ripe old age of thirty one. It is quite as difficult to make myself believe I am nearly fifty two, and when I look at mother my incredulity increases, and I can scarcely credit that our first-born is now practically a middle aged man. I suppose parents never can get out of their heads that their children are still children. I remember when I was a boy, I used to resent the fact that my father always acted on the assumption that I was yet a babe in arms, and could never, as in my precocity and adolescence I thought, treat me as my growing importance demanded. Many times, when as a youth, I was hot with indignation because my maturity and man's ability were not sufficiently recognized, I resolved that when I had boys I would always

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 2

recognize the passing years, and the fact that they had grown, not alone in stature, but in wisdom and manhood. And yet, I find myself now as I get old thinking of my boys, both successful men, still as my boys. It comes to me with a sort of a jolt that they are playing their part as men in the world, and that in all but obesity and grayness they are wholly my equals, and probably my superiors. I tried to tell Jack in writing him the other day that the picture of him which was clearest upon the retina of my imagination is as he was when four years old, with his round, chubby face, and his long, blond hair, clinging desperately with his little hand to me, and accompanying me wherever it was possible to take him; and as I get to be a very old man, this will be the image of him I will carry with me. I say to you again I can't realize that he is now thirty one years old.

During this week we have had two or three people out to dinner, one of whom was our old friend, William Hard. He is a very, very strange character, but with an intellect of very high order. His youth was spent in India, where his father was a missionary; his education obtained in England; and since, by the very force of his intellect, he has been able to carve his way as a litterateur. He is radical in sentiment, almost too radical, but honest with

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 3

himself, independent, and fearless. He is a very strong war man, with an utter contempt, in the main, for President Wilson. He has such a clear mental vision that he is impatient at the hypocrisy that seems to be directing our war efforts and at the patriotic twaddle so generally indulged in. He is a thorough democrat, and because he is, his sympathies, like mine, are with the great mass of the Russian people - the ninety three per cent, - with contempt, of course, and hatred for the few scoundrels who may be in power for the moment. He told me that the recent decision about intervention in Siberia had been brought about because the French bullied us into it. They said, in so many words, "If you don't intervene in Russia, we'll quit the game." And he thinks that our President had a very rude awakening. Instead of finding himself directing and commanding what should be done, under any circumstances, he found that when the true feeling of our Allies was expressed, they were determined to direct and command, and make him obey, and, in this instance, they did. He distinctly told me that he heard one of the French Commission make exactly the same remark that I have detailed, and, which corresponds to what I have before written you, and what has before come to us from Robins, and others.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 4

We have devoted the week in the military committee to the new draft law changing the ages from eighteen to forty five. We have had before us General Crowder, General March, and Admiral Palmer of the Navy, and today, Secretary of War Baker. The sudden change of the plans of the War Department has been brought about, apparently, by the realization finally of the serious position in which we find ourselves, and the necessity for putting forth every ounce of our strength. General March testified to us, and today, Secretary Baker corroborated him, that France and England were practically at the end of their man power. The best they can do in the future is to supply their wastage, and very likely, they can't do this. They are tired and weary. Their morale must be stimulated. The freshness has gone from their troops, and they are fighting now, and fighting well, of course, but automatically; and because they have become so hardened in discipline that they will do as commanded, but it is done without the esprit of a new or a fresh army, and the enthusiasm of the beginning of the conflict has with the passing years crystallized into a lethargic sense of duty. America has added the necessary spur, the freshness, new vitality, and spontaneous activity essential for success.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 5

General March very solemnly said if this war was to be won at all, it must be won by the United States, and it could only be won by the United States if we supplied the pre-dominating man power. There are two conflicting expert views of how to fight the war. One of these will put armies in Russia, the Balkans, Archangel, and in every place on the face of the earth; the other believes success can be attained only on the western front. Our General Staff have adopted the latter view, and in answer to a question from me this morning to Baker, he said that the issue must be fought out and must be won upon the western front. And fighting it, as it must be fought, means, according to these gentlemen, that we must prepare an army of five million men, and the plan, under the new draft bill, is, by June first, 1919, to have between four and five million men in France, ready to do the job, and do it thoroughly. I asked distinctly, "Do the military necessities and exigencies require and demand that our draft ages be fixed at from eighteen to forty five?", and the response was in the affirmative. All of these men furnished by the new draft probably will be utilized, as expected, by the middle of next year, and then, it is contemplated, if necessary, to invade the deferred classes, and send these deferred classes abroad. This army, March emphasized, will be under American

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 6

command. While he did not say so, the tenor of his testimony was that America would command the entire military situation. The placing of this army in France is dependent upon obtaining a large part of British shipping, and the utilization of that shipping until February first, 1919, when probably our own now under construction will enable us to replace it. This is the one thing that is under negotiations now, and which, it is expected, will be consummated. Pershing has complained about the lack of shipping and the furnishing of adequate supplies, and the like; and our Allies have been appealed to to furnish 1,200,000 tons per month until February next, and, in my opinion, they will gladly do it. The army estimates for the maintenance of a man overseas have been forty five (45) p o u n d s to the man. This will be cut to thirty per man, and may make the task of our soldiers abroad a little more difficult. I have asked both March and Baker whether this army program contemplated sending a large force to Russia. Both have answered in the negative. March, quickly, and rather testily said, that a military expedition by way of Siberia was, in his opinion, ridiculous, and when very mildly, I suggested, according to the President's declaration, we were going to send a "few thousand" troops there, and that probably then, we would have to send many thousands more to rescue them, he

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smiled, and said that he could not speculate as to that. So, we're going ahead now raising the largest army the United States has ever known, and perhaps the largest active army that has been presented in this world war. Protests are coming to me, and to all of the members of Congress about lowering the draft age to eighteen. I don't like it, I'm sure, but I don't like draft laws at all. I voted for the first draft law only because dire necessity required it, and I will vote for this draft law only because, as has been expressed, our military condition and the exigencies of war require and demand it. It has been stated in these hearings this week that this war is practically in our lap, and that it is our treasure and our blood which must win it.

There is a gradual crystallization of sentiment here, too, about those who are benefited by the war. The very great corporations, apparently, have to be bribed by millions of profits to be patriotic, and, in like fashion, Union labor must be bribed by granting its hours and its tremendous increases in wages. All of the rest of us foot the bills and pay the price. Between these two classes, the very rich, who manufacture the things required for war, and organized labor, which does the work, the great middle class of people are ground. But I presume just as

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 8

long as Mr. Gompers continues to get what he wants for his people, and the Schwabs, Stettiniuses, and Morgans continue to get what they want for their people, the Nation will continue patriotic, and the contemptible bourgeoisie will minister to both, and cheerfully furnish the sinews of success. However, we ought not to think about these men, or these things at all. Certainly, we ought not to debate with ourselves, or with one another. We must close our mental eyes, grit our teeth, and see it through, and win.

We are all expectancy and anxiety to see Arch. We are wholly in ignorance of what he is to do, or where he is to be, or whether he'll turn right around and go back with the 40th Division, which is about to sail for France. I learned incidentally from the War Office that originally when he graduated from the Staff College he was assigned to his old 40th Division. He did not, however, go there, and I am not clear whether the assignment still exists or not. If it does, we may not see him, for even a day. If he has been sent here as some sort of an instructor we may be able to be with him for quite a little while. I do not know either what his remark "recommended for promotion" means. I certainly had not expected anything of this sort, and it is wholly useless for me to speculate, I presume, upon it. When I received his cable

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on Monday I was a little suspicious that perhaps he had been hurt, and on Monday I cabled Tobin. On Thursday I received Tobin's reply that Arch had left in good health and spirits. He is, I take it therefore, on the sea now and early next week we shall have word from him. Singularly enough, on Sunday, the day before I received Arch's cablegram, I telephoned to Knox at Valley Forge, and wrote him, asking him to go to France with me. I reached the conclusion that I wanted to be on the ground to get the atmosphere, if I could, and learn, if it were possible, what these men, who are fighting this world war, and who are going to rule this world after the war, are thinking. Monday, my plans were knocked into a cocked hat by Arch's cable, and I shall postpone them, of course. I probably would have had to do so, anyway, because I received a letter from Knox in which he thought the trip would be of little consequence unless we could go accredited in some capacity. I wrote him rather sarcastically today that I had no thought of visiting the King of England, or the King of Italy, or the Mikado of Japan; that I did not wish to dance attendance in the ante-rooms of the great, or the regal palaces of rulers; nor did I desire to exchange pleasantries with the diplomatic corps of any Nation; but that I thought we could learn more in our private capacities than as Wilson's or Lansing's accredited representatives. My thought was that

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 10

our membership upon the military committee would pretty generally give us an entree where we wished, and, as well as could be done by outsiders, we could inform ourselves. But, above all, I wanted the trip because I know on the ground I could get different angles and have an understanding which I never could have at this distance from the real scene of activity. Well, that is all past now, and I will not think of it again until after Arch's departure.

We've had some weather this week. The only possible virtue in what we have undergone since Saturday last is that it was a fitting preparation for those who are hereafter to go to Hell. After living through this week I feel that if it shall be my fate hereafter to go below I will need a blanket there. On one day this week the thermometer was 114, another day, 112, and yesterday a little over 100, and the whole week has been blistering in its intensity. The nights have been quite as bad as the days. The night before last we had one little relief in a two hour electrical storm. I stood upon the porch during that whole time, and saw an awe inspiring sight which I have never witnessed. Flash after flash of long duration of lightning lighting up the surrounding country like the most brilliant of electrical lamps, and then again tinting the landscape in a most fearful and wonderful fashion.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 11

At times, it was really frightening, but all the while beautiful and awesome. Mother and I stood the days as we did not think possible, but the nights were terrible. Our only relief during these nights was to turn the electric fan, which usually I detest, upon our beds, and then we would swelter continuously, and the darkness seemed interminable. Today, there is a little breeze, but nevertheless, it is very warm. Of course, Washingtonians say there never had been such a hot summer before, and the newspapers demonstrated that the days were the hottest days in August since the Signal Service was established. I heard this last summer until I grew sick of it, and then, in winter, when it was cold, I heard the same sort of stuff, until it was nauseating. However, I grew so accustomed to this kind of weather talk in Los Angeles on every hot day I ever encountered there, and I never encountered anything else in summer, that I felt, after all, the individuals of different localities were quite the same.

The daily routine this morning in the War Office developed nothing particularly new. Everybody there, however, is in a very different humor now. A few weeks ago our meetings were pretty solemn, and the anxiety all felt manifested itself in little personal irritations. The immediate crisis is now passed, and unless the infernal Germans turn upon us in a way

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 12

we don't think possible, the initiative has come to our side. The casualties are yet unknown at the War Office. They have no other information than what is published in the newspapers, and from the time of the first Chateau - Thierry fight, early in June, until the present, they do not have the slightest conception of the losses upon any particular day or any particular battle. This seems an amazing thing to me. If I were the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States I certainly would be in touch with the military situation abroad, and I would have the people who are looking to me as their leader know every possible detail. The aloofness of the President from this war is almost incredible. I do not think that he has the slightest idea of the actual war, and I am gradually reaching the conclusion that the subject, except from the academic standpoint and the possibilities of writing history, doesn't interest him at all. It is the most amazing and astounding situation ever presented in a great Nation; and what is more amazing and astounding is that nobody seems to care a rap that this is his attitude.

We have been so delighted to learn that you are gradually improving. Keep it up. We're pulling for you all the time because we wish to be with you a good deal when we come out just before election.

Give my love to your father and your mother.

Most affectionately yours,

Dad

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 10, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

Very late Saturday afternoon now I am sending you a copy of a letter I sent to Eustace Cullinan in response to his recent cry for help in the Rolph campaign. I am by no means satisfied with this letter, but I felt I ought frankly to tell Eustace, because of our intimate friendship, just how I feel. The fact of the matter is Rolph waited so long before announcing his candidacy he made impossible the accomplishment of what is now asked.

This is August 10th, your birthday. I wired you last night so that you would know Mother and I were thinking of you. I hope you have had a half way decent time, and that your birthday finds you in good spirits and good health.

I think we'll pass the 18 to 45 draft bill. There is some agitation concerning it, however. Protests are coming from all over the country about drafting boys of eighteen. There may be some new rulings about exemptions, but these rulings can only be, in my opinion, more liberal as to men of families, because of the increased age. There are some people who take malicious satisfaction in the in-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

creasing of the age, so that some of those who pointed
fingers at others in the past year will now have to in-
dulge in explanations, etc.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be "Dad", written in dark ink.

August 10, 1918.

Mr. Eustace Cullinan,
Attorney at Law,
Phelan Building,
San Francisco.

My dear Eustace:

A day or two ago I received your letter concerning the political situation in California and suggesting that a word from me would insure the nomination of Rolph. I am very glad that you wrote me, and wrote me frankly. With men between whom exists such affection, as I know exists on one side between you and me, there is no suggestion which can not be dealt with candidly and frankly. I am writing you just as frankly as you wrote me. In the first place, I do not believe a word from me would insure the nomination of Rolph, and in the second place, I do not think I ought, in this Republican Primary, to interfere. I have a horror, notwithstanding the assertions of those who do not like us, of assuming to dictate the political activities of those about me, and of those with whom I have engaged in political fights. It is only the most crying necessity would induce me to alter this peculiar attitude I have ever maintained. Moreover, were I disposed to endeavor to direct the support and advocacy of those who have been my political intimates I could not at this time succeed. The extreme

Mr. Eustace Cullinan - 2

delay in Rolph's candidacy permitted all of those who were my appointees to office to become fixed in their predilections, to make their political arrangements, and, in many instances, to become active participants in the Stephens' campaign. The sort of men with whom you and I have associated politically, after they have thus declared themselves, will not for any person change, and get themselves into the attitude which they think is stultifying. The very few men in California with whom I have really been intimate, like Rowell, Lissner, and McClatchy, have held themselves aloof, and so far as I am aware, have not pledged themselves definitely in the campaign. But there are very few men like these I name. Weak human nature, you, with your philosophy, fully understand, and for it you must make due allowance. Nearly all of the men who formed the Progressive movement in California now hold offices. It is true that most of them hold offices by virtue of my appointment, but, in the last six months, I have become familiar, and you, too, with the specious arguments of many of these gentlemen, by which they've reached the conclusion they must drift down the stream with the ^{current} ~~course~~, and actively support the reigning power. These men would not, if I asked it, oppose Stephens and support Rolph. I do not need to indulge in names, but go over in your mind the men whom we both know, who have been a part of our

Mr. Eustace Cullinan - 3

councils since 1910, and who are now holding offices in California, and as you dissect each individual you'll understand what is in my mind, and you'll see, I think, the utter impossibility of having those men, after they have pledged themselves, and they quickly pledged themselves that they might not get into such a situation as you invite, now change. Some of them, too, honestly are for Stephens, and honestly believe Stephens to possess qualifications greater than those of Rolph. Our kind of people, who thus believe, can not be moved. From, therefore, the expedient or the practical standpoint, I could not, if I would, do what you wish done. If Rolph had started his campaign early in the year before the sentiment became crystallized, and before those who were considered a part of the Progressive movement, had announced their advocacy of Stephens, an entirely different situation would have been presented. If he had announced his candidacy before Stephens made his public pronouncement he might have obtained a fair proportion of the Progressives who are now in office and have altered the entire complexion of the contest. But, there are other reasons that present themselves to me, too, why I should not undertake to whip into line, and this is just exactly what it would be, the Progressives of California, no matter what consequences may ensue from the election. I appointed Stephens. I will not now talk to you about that appointment. I have expressed myself concerning it in your presence, and in

Mr. Bustace Cullinan - 4

the presence of ~~all~~ most of our Progressive friends. There is not a single one of our Progressive brethren that is not familiar with my views in that regard. But I did make the appointment, and since the appointment, the personnel of the administration has remained practically unchanged, and the appointments made by Stephens, in the main, can not be justly criticized. While it is true that he has drifted rather aimlessly as Governor, he has not, so that at least it could be demonstrated publicly, interfered with what I did, nor has he destroyed it. Were I to oppose Stephens publicly now, it would be assumed that that opposition was based wholly upon personal pique or personal prejudice, and the paradoxical position in which I would find myself seems to me obvious. There have been cross currents as well in the past few months which have carried to Stephens the support of certain of our Progressives, and, much as these men might care for me, they would not change their position now. Take such men as Arlett, with his intense dry views, or Tyrrell, or Stetson, with their predilections arising from favors done. No word of mine would alter their course or change their attitude. As I think of our old Progressive friends individually, I've met with situations exactly like those I indicate, and so, I believe that I could not accomplish what you suggest - to have the Progressive leaders come out in the open for Rolph. There is just one thing

Mr. Eustace Cullinan - 5

I could do, which I feel certain I ought not to do, and that is, openly to announce myself for a specific candidate and come to California, and before the mass of the people try to put that candidate over. I do not think I am unduly conceited when I think that by this course I could be of service to the candidate I might espouse, but my service would be with the mass of the people, what I used to term the great unknown multitude, and the results would be accomplished with them, and not with the so-called Progressive leaders. Were I to do this, the so-called office holding Progressive leaders in very, very few instances would change from their present position, but would remain the active advocates of the appointing power.

It is late Saturday afternoon, and after a very bruising day, I am dictating this note. I am by no means certain that I have made the matter clear or that the reasons I present are convincing. I do know that I feel I am entirely right in sitting tight in this Primary campaign, and taking no active part. This may ^{be because of} ~~be because of~~ intuition or that intangible something which unconsciously often directs our course, but I am personally not doubtful upon the subject.

I trust I have not disappointed you in this matter. I do hope you'll write me upon the receipt of this note, and tell me just what you think of it, and tell me, too, how you believe the contest is going.

With very fond regards, I am

Yours very truly,

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, ORE., CHAIRMAN.

GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYO.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
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CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 14, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I received your short note yesterday enclosing various things that had come to the office, and in which you said you were going to write at length. I received as well your letter dated August 6 concerning Detective Skelly's request about T. W. Kaneen. Tell Detective Skelly I'll go to the bat at once in this matter, and I'll advise you just as soon as I can get a definite response. The request seems to me so reasonable and in keeping with humanity, that I think it ought to be readily granted. However, requests of the military authorities are determined neither upon their reasonableness nor their humanity; and this reminds me, by the way, and I know you will pardon me for speaking of it, and understand that I do it only because both of us wouldn't for the world make a misstep regarding him - I think it was a mistake to publish that Arch was coming home or that he had been recommended for promotion. I confess these damned military authorities have got my goat, and I am very fearful of doing anything which may affect anybody else. In my personal relations with them, I'll not deal with them otherwise than I deal generally with other

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - #2
8-14-18.

people, but I am in constant terror that I may injure some innocent person by my own independence. I don't know a thing about Arch except just what I wired you, and whether he had any right to wire me his orders is exceedingly doubtful and to state that he was recommended for promotion, if he should not obtain it, might be disagreeable to him. But beyond all this, the military resent any such publicity, and for that reason I have been exceedingly careful in the matter.

The one engrossing subject here has been the new draft. It comes into the Senate with the ages fixed at 18 to 45. I find more and more bitterness concerning it. I could make a tremendous fight against the 18 age, but it would probably be a useless contest and a thankless one. I feel, too, that probably March's judgment is sound in the decision at once to put forth our full man power rather than to do it gradually. The testimony will be ^{printed} ~~revised~~ in a day or so and I'll send it to you. There's really nothing to it, however, other than what I have written you.

I neglected to say, in speaking of Arch, that I haven't heard anything from him since his telegram. If he caught a fast boat, he ought to be here by this time. There are two U-boats operating along our coast, and I have been watching the news of their operations with intense interest. I am expecting any day to get word from New York that he has come, but whether he can come down here or whether we can be with him, I don't know.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson - #3
8-14-18.

My mail contains more and more letters about the political situation in California. Outside of San Francisco I find nobody who thinks Rolph will win. I have now letters from Kern, Fresno, Stanislaus, Santa Clara, Sacramento, Riverside, Orange and two or three other counties, and I think there is positive unanimity in these letters, outside of San Francisco, that Stephens will be successful. If I were in Rolph's place, I would organize San Francisco and Oakland so that I'd come out of those two cities 50,000 to the good. This is his one possibility. How little those about him know the state is indicated in Eustace's letter, in which he says Rolph will carry Humboldt by 3500. There'll be very few more votes than this number cast in the Republican primary. Why do the Rolph people let Stephens get away with his offer to a dozen men of the lieutenant-governorship, with his failure to appoint a railroad commissioner, with his straddle in the Mooney case, with his secret promise to support social insurance, at the same time telling Christian Scientists he will not do so and obtaining their votes under false pretenses? In breaking up the Board of Control and its activities, in appointing Dickson on it, and having a secret agreement now, after the election, to appoint Brundige on the railroad commission, so that Earl has the finances of the state government and the finances and regulation of all the public utilities of the state? But what's the use of asking you these questions? I might better ask why doesn't Rolph make a real fight? He

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson - #4

has the only platform that has been presented, and he has a personality, but as I gather it, his fight is to out glad-hand the incumbent glad-hander.

Mother had your letter the other day about Amy's condition. I don't know what to write to you about it. We've both felt horrible in learning just what it was. We can only hope and hope for something which will change the whole aspect of the matter.

Mother took a great deal of pleasure in sending you the birthday gift. The gift was of little consequence, but it represented something of her creation, the duplicate of which is in our house now, and which Mother loves very dearly. If you could have understood how with all of the obstacles here, she persevered until she had the same thing made for you, and then her tribulations in packing and the like, you would realize how much loving thought to her big boy she sent with it. It was good of you to wire us, and we more than appreciated it.

With all our love,

Affectionately,

Dad

My personal stenographer is off for a week and the substitute has the devil's own time transcribing what I dictate. Love to Amy and the kids.

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, OREG., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYO.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
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HOKE SMITH, GA.

CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

August 15, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I received this morning your letter of August 9, relating to Mrs. Spreckels and her difficulties over her charity work for the Belgians. Sometime ago, this matter was placed before me, and finally Mrs. Spreckels wired me asking me if I would meet Judge Harry Melvin. I responded that I would, thereafter met Judge Melvin, talked to him about the situation and then took it up with the Belgian Minister. It seemed to me obvious from my long and courteous talk with the Belgian, that he weighed the advantages of the Crocker-Kellogg help on one hand and the Spreckels help on the other, and reached the conclusion that he and those he represented would gain more from the Crocker-Kellogg crowd than from the Spreckels people. At any rate he based his decision upon the general nationalization of the relief and the selection of the sororities, and the impossibility of having relief under one sort of organization in one state and another sort in another. He was exceedingly courteous, of course, spoke in the highest terms of Mrs. Spreckels, but made it absolutely plain that his decision was final. I

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - #2
8-15-18.

enclose you copy of letter I sent Judge Melvin after my interview. There is nothing that can be done. Mrs. Spreckels is up against the wealth and power of the Crockers, to which is joined the Hoover forces, and Crocker, with his tremendous pull and the real good that I think, probably, Mrs. Crocker has done in Belgium, and Hoover, with his extraordinary power, of course, have won the day and will continue highest in the affections of the various "majesties" interested.

Affectionately,

(Enclosure)

P.S. I received today, also, your bully, fine, long letter of August 8 on the political situation. What you write confirms my views. I had a good smile over your interview with McCabe. I haven't mentioned before Rolph's chances in the Democratic primary, because, as you rightly surmised, I deemed it of little importance. Heney will be nominated by the Democrats, and this I have never doubted. Rolph, with a six months' fight, could have won the Republican nomination. I think he undertook an impossible task for thirty days. Stephens' troubles are ahead of him. He'll be nominated by the Republicans, but if Wilson goes into the state and takes up, even in left-handed fashion, the Heney fight while there, Stephens will have a real struggle. If Wilson keeps out of it, Stephens ought to win.

Affectionately,

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, OREG., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYO.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
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KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
HOKE SMITH, GA.

GARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

August 17, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
C/o P. B. Bowles, Esquire,
The Pines,
Union and Macadam Streets,
Oakland, California.

My dear Daughter:

The event of this week with us, or rather the lack of event, has been waiting expectantly, anxiously and impatiently for word from Arch. We have nothing at all as to his home coming beyond what I have already written you. I have learned, however, that he returns by the order of General Pershing upon ^{the} direction of the General Staff here to send back a certain number of men who could train the various new divisions being formed and who would then with these divisions thus trained, go abroad and direct their fighting. The selection of Arch as one of these is a compliment in itself, and naturally I feel very, very proud of the record our boy has made. This week I received a note from him scribbled in pencil, and the only part of it that is recitative I quote to you:

"This is being written from an observation post in the front line, where I have been practically all day studying the ground for tonight's work. When it gets nice and dark, I am taking a few of the boys over to see just what Brother Boche has on his side of the wire. I do hope the old dears are heavy sleepers, because it is the first time out for these men, and they look rather heavy footed to me.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - #2

"Because of the number of other things I had to tell you in my former letters, I believe I forgot to tell you that when Fritz blew me out of my billet in the Chateau-Thierry sector, I lost most of my equipment. Ever since I have been trying to replace it, but it is extremely difficult to buy any stuff here. Prices are simply outrageous, and the French are past masters at gouging."

With the lad's experiences in the actual fighting when the Germans attacked in June, with his activities then upon the Toul front, his going over the top, etc., how interesting he will be. When he comes, if we are permitted to have him with us at all, I am going to have him dictate some descriptions of the things in which he has participated, and if I can succeed in this, I'll send you and Jack a copy. Mother and I have been getting more and more nervous during the week as each ^{day} has passed without word from him. There are two fast boats between France and here - the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern. These boats come across in eight days. If he had been fortunate enough to come on either of them, I assume he would have been here some days since. The French boats take twelve days and two weeks, and if he is on one of them, I can see no reason why we have not by this time heard something of him. However, we can only wait. Every time the telephone bell rings either in the office or the house, we imagine it is a call from New York telling us the boy has arrived. The other day my hopes rose when it was reported to me that New York wanted me on the 'phone, and I was disgusted when in answering, I found it was Will H. Hays, the chairman of the Republican National Committee. Mr. Hays is a most

Mrs. Amy Johnson - #3

excellent gentleman, for whom I have really conceived some little regard, but the keen disappointment he occasioned me has prejudiced me against him, and it will take me a long time to feel toward him just the same as I did before.

At this morning's conference with the War Department we were told that, counting the troops embarked today, we have upon the ocean enroute to France and in France more than 1,450,000 men. The increased program called for by the so-called man power bill fixing the draft ages between eighteen and forty-five General March says can be successfully carried out and will be successfully carried out. The shipping will be forthcoming, and our army in France by the middle of next year will approximate 5,000,000 men.

I have been agitating the inefficiency of the mail service with France on the floor of the Senate recently. I have been astonished at the response which has come to me from all over the country. Apparently, I touched a sore spot and voiced what was in very many people's minds. We took the matter up with General March this morning, and he very frankly admitted that the mail service had been a shame. He thought, however, that it was gradually improving, and he said everything was being done to make it better. He was quizzed about the cables, and he told us something that was very confidential, that, of late, the cables with Europe had been cut many times, and it was supposed that the submarines operating off our Atlantic coast had done this. Immediately upon their cutting, they had been repaired, but, nevertheless, with the very few

Mrs. Amy Johnson - #4

cables they had to work with, after these cuttings it was very difficult to transact the business of the world.

These new submarines that have been operating just off our coast line have been an added source of worry to me about Arch. Singularly enough Mother has not observed the activity of these submarines, and the thought apparently has not occurred to her that the ocean travel for these few days is much more dangerous than ordinarily. Needless to say that I haven't enlightened her.

The protests to all of the members of Congress are very, very numerous against the new draft law. The arguments are repeated again and again of robbing the cradle for the army, of interfering with education, of forcing youth who ~~do~~ not participating in government into military service, etc. All of the arguments have more or less force, but as between the man who has a family and the youth who has none, I think from the economic, the social and even the sentimental side, the argument is wholly in favor of the man with the family. The difficulty in the question is that encountered in all such matters as this. The most pathetic, earnest and even violent arguments are made by those who have eighteen year olds who will be subject to the draft. They can see naturally only the wrong done in the specific, individual instance, and from that they argue the injustice of the case from their standpoint and the favoritism shown to others. It ^{is} like the situation of people who have already dear ones in the army. They resent that the dear ones of others are not also in the army, and their resentment often is voiced in unfair criticism. There

Mrs. Amy Johnson #5

is a real opposition to this new draft law. Whether it will crystallize into votes enough to endanger its passage, I doubt.

If this man power bill shall pass, practically all of the nation will be under military rule. It is a marvelous and a wonderful change for our country. What it portends, few understand. Indeed, I find none of my fellows who think at all of the future or of the possibilities to our kind of government of this sudden change from an easy-going, happy-go-lucky people into a stern militarism. I really think, although, perhaps I am unjust in this thought that the President has very gladly placed us all under military rule that his power might increase and our right of opposition decrease. The suspicion has been growing with me that he thinks of just two things - the political situation in 1920, and what, academically, he will do in writing world history. If my suspicion is at all justified, this war will continue until the spring of 1920, and if the political exigencies of the time ^{then} demand it, peace will be made; or it will continue until after the November election of 1920 that we may be entreated not to change horses in the middle of the stream, to continue in office those who are familiar with the conflict, etc. I am going to make you a prophesy about our present intervention in Russia. We have been driven to it by our allies, first, and, secondly, because we have no state department, and in our diplomatic relations with Japan, we have been bent to Japan's will. Finally in homeopathic fashion, we have dispatched just a small expeditionary force to Vladivostok, and have announced to our people that this is not a punitive expedition nor a hostile armed invasion in any sense. What I

Mrs. Amy Johnson - #6

prophecy to you is that you will now observe a propoganda ever increasing for the establishment of an eastern front for sending more men or requesting Japan to send more men into Siberia, and gradually such opposition as there has been to armed, hostile invasion of Russia will be beaten down and this opposition will be stilled, because it will be designated disloyal, pro-German, etc.

Thank **Heavens**, the weather moderated somewhat this week. After two weeks of the most dreadful climate I ever experienced, the thermometer dropped to ninety or just above ninety, and we have been able to breathe again. The house, with its thick brick walls, really was bearable, and I think during these dreadful hot days and nights it repaid all the troubles and difficulties we have had. We are still seeking to get various workmen and seeking in vain. They promise regularly enough to come to us and then never come. The bright spot in it all has been the rapid growth physically and mentally of Princess Bacardy. With her rapid growth, however, she displays a disposition for night explorations which have somewhat alarmed me. I feel she will soon begin to sing her love song. Already at night we can distinguish above the chirping of the crickets and the base of the frogs, an occasional anguished call from some nocturnal feline visitor, and I feel quite certain we have many anxious days ahead of us with the young lady who now dominates our household. The fact of the matter is I have sat upon the porch the last few nights with a choice collection of symmetrical rocks which I think I could

Mrs. Amy Johnson - #7.

throw with accuracy, and have strained my eyes for the disgusting interlopers who have made their presence known by their seductive songs.

My opinion is we will adjourn here before the 15th day of October and, of course, Mother and I will then at once come to California. I am very glad we remained here during the vacation. It has been a time of interest and of **real** hard work. I accomplished quite a bit and disposed of a proportion of my unanswered mail. I have attended regularly the Military Committee meetings, and gradually I am becoming a very intimate part of that committee. Two months ought to see us in our old home again and ought to see us once more with you. We are looking forward to being with you again, but I want you in the interim to devote your gigantic energies and your very strong will power in getting yourself in real shape to receive us. I feel that this will be so anyway, and I think I can talk to you with some interest about the big world adventure in which the nation is engaged. It has become a very serious matter with me, of which I constantly think not only in the aspect of the present military operations but in the possibilities after those operations shall have ceased.

Give my love to your Father and your Mother.

Most Affectionately,

D.D.

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

Riversdale, Md. Sunday Aug 18, 1918

My dear Jack:

I've just come from a long walk, a real long walk for me, and I have the urge to write you - not really to write but chat in the intimate way I feel like doing occasionally here when I'm not busily occupied. At such times I can imagine you sitting by me listening while I ramble on, and this personal contact, I wonder if ^{it is} a sort of mental telepathy accompanying old age, is rather a sweet pleasure to me. The weather broke two days ago and the oppressive heat almost unbearable stickiness has given place to a most acceptable coolness. It rained the greater part of last night and most of this morning. The thermometer now registers

sixty-six, and the overcast sky and
 moist air are a welcome contrast
 to the previous two weeks of hell.
 Mother insists it is too cool and
 insinuates a preference for the hot
 weather but I ascribe this to the
 peculiar mood induced by the
 grayness of the day. After breakfast
 late as usual on Sunday, I took
 my stick (you gave it to me) and
 went on an exploratory excursion
 up the road leading past our
 house. I had never been in
 that direction and I was surprised
 to find a mile or more of
 rather ramshackle but large and
 somewhat pretentious houses forming
 a continuous settlement until I came
 to a little station marked East
 Rivdale. The landscape is
 different from anything familiar to
 us in California and I cannot
 quite get used to it. Slightly

United States Senate,

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WASHINGTON, D. C.,

Rolling trees plentiful, undergrowth
or shrubbery in profusion, its is
pleasing to the eye and rather re-
freshing in its vivid greenness.

It's wholly country here, and yet I
observed in nearly every home some
sort of an automobile. Descriptions
of this kind of village or settlement
I often read, but I have not work
enough to draw the picture for
you. It's different; it's not Califor-
nian, it's new to me, and on a
day like this not uninteresting.

I've returned now from my walk
tired, but better for it, and am waiting
you in the yard with the possibility
of being driven indoors by a shower.
George the chauffeur who is the living
demonstration of the Darwinian theory
has been chasing into Washington for
ice and has just returned. Mother

you know, so the angle of all ice men,
but they always forget us on Saturday
and Sunday finds us ever with a
wild scramble for ice. It's immaterial
whether ice is necessary. The fact
it didn't come yesterday makes it
essential we get it today, and I
honestly think this will be the case
in midwinter with the thermometer
below zero. To tell you the truth,
we are both nervous and on edge.
We've waited each day for word
from Atch and none has come.
We probably worry almost as much
as you do, my boy, over your
troubles, and then again our weather
detracting as it has been has
taken a part of our resistant
power. Your brief description of
Amy in your letter to Elsie, which
reached her yesterday, has saddened
and depressed us. How it must
have affected you! And now just

United States Senate,

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WASHINGTON, D. C.,

A word about the war and yourself
I've thought and thought about you.
There's no way in which you could
now enter, comparable with your desert
or in justice to yourself, even if
your family and dependents did not
absolutely forbid it. The new draft
law will give you plenty of
company in deferred classifications
even if already there were not so
men between thirty-one and forty-
five and you are now in this
category, will not be expected to go
if they have establishments and de-
pendents and to the class IV will
now be added literally eight millions.
The fervid enthusiasm heretofore
existing in men between 31 and 45
to send those between 21 and 31 will
wanish, and at least with them there

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United States Senate

will be a more tolerant attitude.
 I realize that with those who have
 to go and their connections there
 will be greater intolerance and
 more hasty criticism; but this
 intolerance and criticism will be
 diffused among such an increased
 number that I hope its dilution
 will make it ineffective. Baker
 gave out an interview here about
 automatically exempting married men
 over which there has been not a
 little controversy. Yesterday Chamblain
 commenced to denounce it at our
 Saturday morning conference and I
 took issue with him. He was told
 by March that nothing definite had
 yet been done and that the interview
 was erroneous. I suggested if we
 were going to change exemptions
 we ought to eliminate national and
 State officials, and I'll continue
 this kind of attack if what seems to

United States Senate,

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WASHINGTON, D. C.,

me a harmful and outrageous rule
be insisted on. Many members of
Congress interested in young men
would like to invade the deferred
classes rather than adopt the proposed
draft law and will probably have some
bitter things said when the measure
is before us. However, the situation
so far as you are concerned, precludes
you from going to the war, and you
better make up your mind definitely to
this. Of course, it's impossible to tell
what your draft board may attempt;
but the matter seems now res adjudicata;
and you should let it ride as the
law directs. There is the possibility
after June 1919 that deferred classes
will be invaded and everybody will
have to go. When that time comes
you'll have to do your part, but there
is no part you can honestly and
conscientiously and in justice do, until

United States Senate

the necessity of the nation's war power requires it. I sent you the other day the testimony taken and the Chamberlain report. Better look them over so you may be familiar with the situation. The lawyer proposition we brought up designedly because I read up what Hutton wanted to do in your draft board's meeting. As for me I thought Baker agreed with Hutton and I was up in arms but he made plain we were misunderstanding each other and was absolutely firm that he would never countenance under the cover of fight order the sending of lawyers to the army because they were engaged in a non-essential occupation. So go your way, laddie, insist on your rights maintain your present classification and ascribe to your misfortune and your present position your inability to participate in the war. At the least

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

5

sign up difficulty advise me. I add now just one thing. I understand fully how you feel. With a sensitiveness as great as yours even in my old age, you could not make me feel more plainly your exact situation than I do now. And with this knowledge and this feeling, I would not have you do otherwise than you have done, nor in the future otherwise than I here suggest.

I sent Army yesterday rather than to you, the only parts of Art's letter that were not the conventional beginning and ending. I knew you'd understand this was for you as well, and that you would see it quite as soon as if sent you. It is sometimes difficult to fill the pages of my letters to Army and I wouldn't miss one of them for the world. If there was only something I could do for her here, it would make

me feel better. I hope these long sermons
of mine to her give her some little
surcease. If they in the slightest
degree, relieve the tedium of her illness,
I'll feel more than repaid for writing
them.

Tomorrow we meet again in the
expectation of getting the session started
by Thursday and passing the draft law
in two or three days. We failed on
Thursday last, but there has been a
determined effort on the Republican side
to have our people present tomorrow,
and the Democrats aware that we intend
to place any delay at their door, will
probably be on hand.

Have you observed my justification
on war taxation? The President
Mr. McAdoo and others in power are
insisting on 80% of war profits.
If only I could get some publicity
this could be turned to account,
but I can't get the mention. However

United States Senate,

6

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

Made a half hearted try for it but
didn't succeed. He hasn't succeeded as
a secretary either but he is a decent and
loyal boy, so I must be content. He's
now in an awful sweat because of
the new traps law and is trying to
get into the Intelligence Department.
But about taxation, look at the
reports of the Treasury and the Federal
Trade Commission. The profiteering has
been open and shameful. Capper men
(Ryan is their chief and the head of the
air craft) packers (Remond's man Cotton
is Hoover's confidential man) clothiers
and food purveyors of all kind.
Steel by Steelmakers of Morgan Co. is
1st Ass. Secy War. Schwab in charge
of shipping) have robbed the people
right and left. When we meet
the revenue bill, I shall say this and

United States Senate

Say the responsibility rests with the Administration.

The allies are taking it for granted the war is won. We've done well of late. Our vigor in the fighting has had a wonderful effect; but overconfidence at this time may lead to serious consequences. If you will look at the map, you'll observe we have recovered in our recent victories about one third of the ground taken from us in the German drives since March of this year. We have taken 70000 prisoners. In the two drives in March and June the Germans took 190000 of our men. I've felt bully over the way our people have been fighting but I think it's too early to crow - certainly too soon to begin to parcel out the fruits of victory. Watch the Japanese now they have obtained their way!

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

In six months on one pretext or another, they'll overrun Siberia and they'll never come out. Watch the propaganda from now on!

My shower is coming. I could sit here scribbling to you indefinitely now I have found an indelible pencil, but perhaps the infliction on you ought to make me quit.

I've thought much of the Campaign in California. You satisfied neither with it nor with myself; but I don't know whether I'd been any better satisfied if I had come to California and tried to put Roosevelt over. I doubt if it could have been done anyway. The letters I'm receiving from the boys make me sick. They don't care a rap what a man has been or what he is or if he only declares they. Every other qualification may be lacking, he may be

stepped in every infamy, but he says
 he's dry now, that's sufficient for the
 active and enthusiastic and even fanatical
 support of the Dry Federation. Perhaps
 this is the desired result of the long
 tyrannical intolercant and indecent
 domination of Booz, but at any rate,
 I don't like it. This thing however,
 is going to make Stephens a sure
 winner, and unless I'm vastly mistaken
 quite a big winner. How ridiculous
 Stephens could have been made with a
 real fight! Ralph presumably could have
 refrained, and made a dignified glad
 hand campaign, but his speakers could ^{have}
 taken that cue and I believe they
 could have laughed Stephens to death.
 One intowent like that of Pauline Jacobson
 in the Bulletin would have sufficed
 but there was other material in
 abundance.

Older wired me for a telegram
 to him on assuming control of

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

the Call, and I send him a true
response. I didn't know what in the
world to say. At any rate, he was
entitled to congratulations from me.
As I said to you recently, he's all
done. His day has passed with his
new employment.

Goodbye, lad. Lots of love. How
I wish you were here with us. We
could have a bully time just having nothing.
Affectionately,
Dad.

SENATOR JUSTIFIES CONGRESS INQUIRIES

Hiram W. Johnson Papers
Bancroft Library

California Senator, in Speech Upholding Railroad Bill, Vindicates Recent Investigations of War Preparation Activities

Special to The Christian Science Monitor from its Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C.—In his address on the railroad control bill, delivered in the Senate on Tuesday, Senator Hiram Johnson of California, besides putting himself on record as a strong advocate of government ownership of all transportation systems, took advantage of the occasion to vindicate the congressional investigations, the promoters of which, he said, had been accused of "partisanship" and of "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." Approving of the stand President Wilson has taken regarding the elimination of secret diplomacy in all dealings with foreign powers, the Senator from California intimated that the same policy of taking the people into the confidence of the Government should be adhered to by those officials responsible for the conduct of the war, while he characterized as "un-American" the policy of "repression and suppression," which, he said, had been adopted by the Administration in the first months of the war.

"Disloyalty and treason cannot thrive in the light; neither can incompetence, that strong ally of failure; official suppression and concealment are as vicious as the secret diplomacy and private bargaining which President Wilson so justly condemns," Senator Johnson declared.

Turning to the pending investigations, he declared that these had already vindicated themselves and have been of "incalculable benefit" in remedying patent and "concrete deficiencies" and restoring a "modicum of free expression."

With reference to the Hog Island affair he declared: "In one of the contracts entered into by the Government, namely that with the American International Corporation, a state of affairs begging description has been developed. The evidence demonstrates a wild saturnalia of extravagance, a brilliant phantasmagoria of patriotic pretense, and the pity and the shame of it are, that those who, with a cheerful and almost studied disregard for every principle of economy are wasting the money of the taxpayers, are some of the great captains of industry of the nation.

"I have read recently the utterances of some of those responsible for those conditions, and singularly enough, they unctuously express, as great patriots, their sorrow that such disclosures should be made public, and as lugubriously they shake their heads, they explain that publicity of the delinquencies is giving aid and comfort to the enemy."

In his speech also Senator Johnson denounced in scathing terms the railroad bill, saying that at a time when the nation is called on to make every sacrifice the treatment accorded to the railroads is not only generous but a hardship on the American people. Senator Johnson thus not only agreed with the minority report of Senator Cummins that the compensation proposed in the bill is indefensible, but was the first openly to assert that this is the time to convert government control into government ownership or "at least leave the way open so that immediately upon the termination of the war we

(Continued on page four, column four)

sive national gains in its constitutional position toward Hungary.

The present leader of the South Slav Club in the Austrian Reichsrat, Korosec, was not long since one of the most powerful parliamentarians. There is no doubt that to him was due the fall of the Clam-Martinić Government. Now, with this defeat of Slovene policy, he will have to reckon with opponents within the sphere of this policy who are making their presence clearly felt. They have found their point of union in the person of Sustersic, Landeshauptmann of Carniola, who has taken a dominant position as recognized leader of all the Slovenes, except the not very influential liberal opposition. Sustersic recently felt himself obliged to resign the leadership of the Southern Slav party and to turn his back on the clerical Slovene party, in so far as it was led by Korosec. His opponents interpreted his retirement as a great victory for their own party. Now, however, it appears that Sustersic well understood the signs of the times. With the advocacy of Austro-Slovene policy he is preparing the way to future power. As a politician he is shrewd enough to know that the Austrian Government will not leave unrewarded the services of those who set themselves to moderate Slovene wrath over the destruction of Southern Slav ideals.

This much is clear at least, the Hamburger Nachrichten concludes. The state right declaration of the Southern Slavs has had a hole knocked in it by the secession of the Croats. The merit of having achieved this may be ascribed to Hungarian policy. It certainly required extraordinary energy but this has never been lacking in Budapest when the preservation of the Hungarian National State was at stake, Southern Slav ideals had their protectors in the highest circles of Vienna, among them being the chief of the Imperial Cabinet, Count von Polzer. His political fall is due to an earnest remonstrance from the Hungarian Premier, who demanded an unqualified renunciation of the trialist policy at the Viennese court. Swiftly and surely he attained his end, for the announcement of von Polzer's "indisposition" coincided with a hint to Serajevo, which was followed by the now well-known memorandum of Archbishop Stadler. Finally, and semi-officially, the Vienna Fremden Blatt and the Pester Lloyd adopted such a tone in their references to the Southern Slavs as has not been equaled in bitterness for many a long day.

This account of the effect pro-

alleged interview in a Boston paper, which, he declared, "any man who read it would have known to be largely fictitious."

Lord Derby, Secretary of State for War, addressing the House of Lords, said he strongly supported the plan adopted at Versailles. He deplored the attacks in the press and had offered to resign, he added, but Mr. Lloyd George had asked him to remain in office.

Lord Curzon, Lord President of the Council and member of the War Cabinet, said that under the new scheme, Sir Douglas Haig would have the same power over the movements of his troops as before. The only difference was that the Versailles council would have certain troops at their disposal, which they could add to Sir Douglas Haig's forces or send elsewhere, according to the exigencies of the moment.

The Prince of Wales took the oath and his seat in the House of Lords yesterday. Queen Mary and the Princesses Mary and Victoria were present in the royal box. The Prince wore royal robes and the collar of the Order of the Garter. He was introduced to the Lords with the usual ceremony. The peers in the procession wore their parliamentary robes.

It is many years since the last occasion of this formal ceremony, King George having taken his seat in the House while Duke of York.

Tuesday—In the House of Commons yesterday Mr. Kelloway made out a strong case for the 12½ per cent bonus which has been a subject of considerable controversy. The bonus was granted by Mr. Churchill and on the War Cabinet's responsibility. Mr. Kelloway said the result of the bonus had been fewer strikes, and he also gave the following increases of production in the last half year's output, when the bonus operated for part of the time: Guns, 48 per cent; machine guns, 20 per cent; aeroplanes, 42 per cent; aeroplane engines, 68 per cent, and shipbuilding material, 25 per cent.

Gen. Sir Henry S. Rawlinson, who has been appointed British Military Representative on the Supreme War Council at Versailles, was educated at Eton and Sandhurst. He was for three years aide-de-camp to Sir Frederick Roberts in the Burmese campaign.

On his return to England he served with the Coldstream Guards, and in 1892 went out to the Soudan. He took part in the South African War, 1899-1902.

When the present war began he was commanding the third division with the rank of major-general, and went to France with the first British troops. For his brilliant work at Neuve Chapelle in March, 1915, he was made a Knight Commander of the Bath.

Government Crisis Unlikely

Special cable to The Christian Science Monitor from its European Bureau

WESTMINSTER, England (Tuesday)—A political crisis is less likely than ever, as a result of Sir William Robertson's acceptance of the eastern command. That command, while of supreme importance in the event of invasion is, in ordinary circumstances relatively unimportant, and Sir William Robertson's action is regarded generally with great approval, as indicating that he is not desirous of allowing his actions to be influenced by personal feelings.

A crisis should certainly be avoidable, since there appears to be no widespread desire for any change of government, no particular ideas as to an alternative government, and substantial agreement that the object aimed at in the Versailles Conference is sound. Apart from these things there is nothing much left to make a crisis about.

SENATOR JUSTIFIES CONGRESS INQUIRIES

Hiram W. Johnson Papers Bancroft Library

(Continued from page one)

might follow to its logical conclusion what already we have partly done."

The sons of the nation, said the Senator from California, are sent to the front to fight in the name of "patriotism and the Republic," and they get the "miserable pittance of \$30 a month," but in the case of these great corporations it is proposed that the compensation made to them should be based on their maximum earnings over a period of great prosperity. The roads, said Senator Johnson, had clearly proved their inability to handle the traffic of the nation as heretofore operated. The favorite pastime of officials, he declared, had been to side-track cars and equipment whenever an increase in rates was desired.

To the plea that "politics would play an important and injurious part in the management of the roads," Senator Johnson replied: "I'll risk any kind of politics under government ownership rather than the politics I have seen under private ownership."

"I would now take the inevitable next step in government control of our railroads, and do whatever might be essential to make the government control permanent government ownership, or at least leave the way open so that immediately upon the termination of the war we might follow to its logical conclusion what already we have partly done," said Senator Johnson.

"After some months of useless and impotent endeavor, the railroad men, as well as all others, realized that under the system existing in our country, neither service nor efficiency could be accorded in this crisis.

"Now the lesson is what? The great trunk lines of the country must be nationalized and there must be one central directing power. It is plain that this nationalization cannot be accomplished by competitive roads. There must be an absolute unity of purpose, and with private ownership such coordination and nationalization are utterly impossible. The conclusion therefore is irresistible—that we must ultimately do in time of peace what we have been driven to do by stress in time of war, and the logical outcome is, of course, government ownership.

August 19, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

In confirmation of the telephonic information upon which my telegram to you was based last week, I have received the enclosed letter from the Assistant Commissioner of Lands in regard to the Thomas patents. I do hope that after this long delay the patents are now actually on their way to Nevada. The Department of the Interior is notoriously the most slipshod of the government departments here, and I suppose my experience in this case is very similar to that which one is apt to encounter in that particular department at any time. The next time I have to go up against them, however, I will know better than to rely upon their mere assurance that something has been done.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,

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

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

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM



NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

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

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WASHINGTON DC AUG 20 1918

HIRAM W JOHNSON JR 2736

MILLS BLDG SANFRANCISCO CALIF

YOUR TELEGRAM ABOUT ROLPHS ADVERTISEMENTS RECD IN ACCORDANCE WITH
IT WILL DO NOTHING WIRED EUSTACE TODAY AS I WIRED YOU ADVISE HIM
YOUR REPLY WIRED YOU TODAY ABOUT ARCH

HIRAM W JOHNSON

AUG 21 258AM

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

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

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

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

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

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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1918 AUG 20 AM 10 43

1918 AUG 20 2AM 10 14 39

F25CH 50-1 EXTRA RUSH

ST WASHINGTON DC 1110A 20

HIRAM W JOHNSON

326

JR MILLS BLDG SANFRANCISCO CALIF

HAVE TELEGRAMS BULL SNOOK AND OTHER STEPHENS SUPPORTERS SAYING
 ROLPH ADVERTISEMENTS GIVE IMPRESSION I AM ACTIVELY SUPPORTING
 ROLPH THEY ASK DECLARATION I AM TAKING NO PART PRIMARY I THINK IF
 ADVERTISEMENTS DECEPTIVE PERHAPS I SHOULD MAKE BRIEF
 STATEMENT OF NON PARTICIPATION HAVE WIRED LISSNER GLAD TO HAVE
 YOUR VIEWS

HIRAM W JOHNSON.

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

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

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM



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

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

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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156W GH 42 BLUE

918 AUG 24 1918
Duplicate of Telephoned Telegram

ST WASHINGTON DC 1145A AUG 24 1918

HIRAM W JOHNSON JR

1363

18P

MILLS BLDG SANFRANCISCO CALIF

NO
OF COURSE I WILL/MAKE STATEMENT FOR STEPHENS MY TELEGRAM TO YOU AND
FINAL
LISSNER/WOULD NOT RECEIVE WIRES RIVERDALE TUESDAY NIGHT SO UNNECESSARY
TO SEND EXCEPT ONE NIGHTLETTER ARCH LEFT TODAY WILL PROBABLY BE STATIONED
TEMPORARILY FUNSTON LOVE TO ALL

HIRAM W JOHNSON

547P

TELEPHONE No. *Long 267*
da 68
8.18p
BY *zc*
TO BE *quit raise del moran*

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, OREG., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYO.
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CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

August 24, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

This is just a stop-gap. Art left at eight o'clock this morning for New York. He was with us Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. I gave him a dinner last night and then sat up with him most of the night, and I'm quite unfit to write intelligently today. Will write you soon.

I received your good, newsy political telegram today, and I wired you in response. It would be impossible to get any real news from California Tuesday night because of the difference in time, and then again, there is no telegraph office at Riverdale, and to get any news would necessitate my remaining in here until after midnight. In my telegram, therefore, I said to send me just one night letter. However confident Rolph's friends may feel I find myself unable to share that confidence in the slightest degree. I will try to write you Monday.

Affectionately,

Dad

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, OREG., CHAIRMAN.
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CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

August 27, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
C/o P. E. Bowles, Esq.,
The Pines,
Union and MacAdam Streets,
Oakland, California.

My dear Daughter:

Arch arrived Sunday night a week ago, the 18th. He was required to report on Monday at Camp Dix. This he did and was detained in New York until Tuesday, the 20th, when he came to us here. He remained with us Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, departing early Saturday morning, the 24th. He is now reporting again to Camp Dix with the expectation of receiving orders today for Camp Funston, in Kansas, and leaving soon for that post. He and five other Staff officers, and about sixteen hundred other officers of the line, have been ordered to this country for the purpose of instructing new divisions and preparing them for the grand army which next year it is expected will decide the fate of the war. How long he will be in the United States it is impossible to tell. It may be a month or it may be two months. After the division, however, is in proper shape for active service, he will depart with that division for Europe again.

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 2

I don't know just what to say to you about the lad. With my peculiar nature, I think that I understand the changing moods and the temperamental peculiarities of my two sons. What Arch has been doing in France has not been wholly congenial. He has worked, I believe, very faithfully, and I am proud to say successfully. In the enthusiasm of the moment and the hysteria of actual warfare he has undoubtedly felt wild exultation and the primitive emotions like most men so situated. When the time of action has passed and the relaxation has come, I think that he has felt humbled and saddened. He appeared to me to be very tired, tired both physically and mentally. This weariness led to a sort of depression, I believe, and this depression was upon him during the few days he was here. I felt an infinite sympathy and tenderness for him, and yet, I was wholly unable, except possibly in ^a the few hours of his stay, to rouse him from the peculiar mood I found upon him. He has been in real, active service. He went as an Observer, after graduating from the General Staff College, to Meaux. He arrived there just as the Germans were coming down, and as the Marines were about to be thrown in to stem the Hun advance. When he reported to the Commanding General as an Observer, he was asked if he didn't want to go to work. He replied, of course, in the affirmative, and he was sent in with a battalion of Marines whose

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 3

Major was sick, but who pluckily was nevertheless insisting upon doing his part. Art practically took command of that battalion. He was first the line of support of the front line, and then, when the front line was blown to pieces, he became the front line. He was under shell fire for ten days or thereabouts in the very thick of the severest fighting, ^{at} Bellewood ^{au-} near Chateau-Thierry. He saw the officers of the battalion, one by one, go, and the men falling about him. He saw this little band of Marines stand their ground when decimated, and when they were without food or even water for more than twenty four hours. He was a part of the carnage and the killing. He stood within a few feet of an officer blown to pieces by a shell. He lay upon the ground hugging it so closely that he and those about him seemed a part of the terrain, and saw the men falling and dying. He came through it all untouched, thank God! After three weeks of this sort of activity he was ordered to Neuf Chateau, where he became Chief Intelligence Officer of the Division there stationed. He taught the Intelligence Department, and not taught them not only theoretically but led them practically. Of all of the thrilling things to me in this war, the most thrilling is the raid across No Man's Land in pitch darkness and into the trenches of the foe. During his time at Neuf Chateau he led various raiding parties and various patrols,

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 4

and inculcated the doctrine, which rendered him somewhat unpopular, that the Chief Intelligence Officer should himself know the ground between his own troops and the enemy, and should with his own eyes see the enemy's trenches. Art didn't like to talk of these raids. Indeed, I observed in him what I have observed in others who have been in the actual fighting, an utter reticence concerning the real clash of human beings. I have never found any of those who have actually been in the game who liked to talk of the supreme moment, and this was so pronounced in Arch that it was only by the most searching cross-examination I was able to obtain any details from him. He finished his work at Neuf Chateau, and I think, with flying colors. Then came his orders for here. He has had anything but a bed of roses across the water. No sooner did he create an environment, and establish for himself a little circle than it was broken up by orders to go elsewhere. The Staff College, as such things usually are in the Army, was a mere place of favoritism for Morgan and Company and Wall Street millionaires. Men like Arch at the Staff College were wholly at a disadvantage. The consideration was for the multi-millionaires of New York and those who had very great pull. When he got out of the Staff College, though, and in competition with the pampered favorites of that institution he demonstrated, I think, not only his worth but his superiority. He is or-

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 5

dered now into a new environment and this I think with his weariness depresses him more. He goes to the Camp in which Wood was ^{and I think still is} Commander, but he and I agreed that neither of us would advise Wood of who he was or anything concerning him, and we'll see what the result will be.

I am dictating this letter to you the day of the Primary, in California. I am restless and uneasy because of this Primary. I am disgusted with myself and with my fellows politically. Out of this Primary, no matter what transpires, I can see little that makes for that of which I have been such an intimate part in California in the last eight years.

Today we'll pass the Draft Bill and pass it just as the Administration has desired. My opinion is that the American people are in such a condition of adulation for the National Government that we could draft the babes and octogenarians and the great mass would throw their hats in the air in wild huzzas. What a marvelous thing war is! How it takes from us every preconceived idea and destroys within us every intellectual and logical faculty! I am unable to write you as I'd like to today. I am confused and perplexed about Arch and about the big situation here. I am like one in the first few moments of waking in the morning. My head is filled with all sorts of thoughts, hazy and confused, and I cannot, for the instant,

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 6

mentally see precisely and clearly. I shall, therefore, postpone until Saturday further comment with you.

I forgot to mention that Arch is more than anxious to get out to California. He applied for leave here but was unable to obtain it. He may make a new application at Funston and try to get fifteen days to run out and back. I do hope he obtains it, because it may give him a change and the rest he needs, and it will enable him to see you, too.

Give my love to your Mother and your Father.

Affectionately,

Arch

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, OREG., CHAIRMAN.
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PHILANDER C. KNOX, PA.

CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

August 27, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

Theodore Roosevelt has very kindly apportioned to your Mother \$500 to be expended in war charities or war activities in California. This is out of the Nobel Peace Fund which Congress recently returned to Roosevelt. I don't know just how best to distribute this little sum. The obvious way perhaps would be to divide it among the Y.M.C.A., the Red Cross, Knights of Columbus, Jewish charities, etc.; and yet, if there is any necessitous, particular charity which is doing good war work, it might be better to give it to this necessitous one. Can you help me out and give me any advice concerning it?

Affectionately,



August 28, 1913.

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

My dear Jack:

I am dictating this note to you at a quarter to ten Wednesday morning and will finish it after I receive your dispatch today relating to the Primary yesterday in California. At the present moment I have not the slightest news of what transpired. The morning papers in Washington, while giving the results of yesterday's Primary in Michigan and South Carolina contain not a scrap from California. I've had one distribution of telegrams this morning but nothing whatever relating to the Primary fight. Of course, I am eager for the news but I have so little doubt of what it will be that I can more easily possess my soul in patience. After I get the news I will finish this note.

I was very much interested in what you said in your recent letter about the possibility of the reclamation matter. It'll be fine if we have no litigation, but I will delude myself with no such fond hopes. If it should thus turn out I could either stay here during the autumn if we remain in session (and it begins to look as if that might be the case)

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson - 2

or else Mother and I could go for a vacation some place. However, I am ready to go to the bat and expect to come out to California for that purpose before elections in November, at least. It'll be a stroke of luck quite unusual with me if the whole thing should turn out without the necessity of a lawsuit, and as you desire.

I noted also in your recent letter what you said about Mikulich. I enclose you herein check on The Bonhoe, Kelly Banking Company for Five Thousand Dollars (\$5,000) in his behalf. This is in accordance with your suggestion. If there is any other sum that Bill needs, please advise me at once and I will send it.

Yesterday in the Senate we passed, as I predicted, the draft bill making the ages eighteen to forty five. There is going to be a lot of heart-burning over this bill and a lot of bitterness. I can sense this even without encountering it. However, keep your position exactly as it is, as I have before written you. We have in the Senate about half a dozen men under forty five, all of whom are physically fit, but none of whom, in my opinion, will now go to war. I do not fear that any one of these half dozen will in the future scornfully refer to any man in deferred classes. If any of our colleagues will make remarks hereafter we can point to the men who are sitting among us sending others to their death and declining themselves to go. From now on, in my opinion, we will have

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

more and more repression in the country. No man in uniform will dare express his opinion, of course, because if he does, he is likely to the summary justice of a court-martial. No man out of uniform will dare express his opinion, because if he does, immediately he will be thrown into unffocm. Thus we preserve intack and inviolable our democracy.

Yesterday I wrote Amy concerning Arch. There is little that I can add to what I then said. He is not happy, and I think he is very, very tired mentally and physically. He shrinks from beginning all over again the tutoring work in which hehas been more or less engaged abroad. He must establish his school, pick his men, and teach them the intricate and technical work of the Intelligence Department, the Department which constitutes the strategical part of the Army, furnishing to its particular unit the information upon which the military decisions are made. Mother is sitting here with me this morning awaiting a telephonic message from Arch from New York. He leaves at five o'clock tonight for Camp Funston. He and the other five Staff Officers who came from abroad were promised/on the other side promotions of one rank, but on this side, the promotions seem to have been lost in the shuffle. This is another disappointing feature for him. My own opinion, however, is that this will come out all right and the promotion ultimately will be his. It was a most difficult thing for me to get from him his specific personal experiences, a

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

little of which I tried to write to Amy yesterday, but, aside from what I wrote to her, there is little that I could add in this regard, except that he has had actual personal encounters, in one of which he used his French knife. The incident "got his goat" as he expressed it, but beyond telling me the fact and that it had "got his goat" he would not talk. He was given a raw deal with many others who had no great influence or great wealth at the General Staff College. Men like Willard Straight of Morgan and Company, Herbert Parsons, the millionaire Republican Boss of New York City, the son-in-law of the Chief of Staff, General March, and others of that ilk were treated with the utmost favoritism, but the coterie of which Art was a part were shamefully treated. I gather, however, that Art's coterie made things interesting to the rest of them, and when subsequently they came into competition in active service they demonstrated the rotten favoritism of the Staff School. The Staff School is but the deflection of the Regular Army where often snobbishness rules. Arch didn't relate to his Mother his encounter while raiding the enemy lines and I have not told her about it.

It is now ten forty five and yet no word from California. I will end this note and write you subsequently when I get your news.

Affectionately,

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

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

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM



NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

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

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364W QB 48 BLUE

ST WASHINGTON DC 220P AUG 29 1918

HIRAM W JOHNSON JR 1723

MILLS BLDG SANFRANCISCO CALIF

THANKS YOUR WIRES TELEGRAPHIC SERVICE NOW AS ROTTEN AS RAILROAD SERVICE
SO WIRES COME VERY LATE ROLPH MADE MARVELOUS RUN I AGREE THIS IS FIRST
CHRONICLE TIMES VICTORY SINCE WE STARTED NINETEEN TEN BUT IT IS
DEMONSTRATION INHERENT WEAKNESS OF SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE WILL WIRE NO
CONGRATULATIONS WRITING TODAY

TELEPHONE No. *7-1-5048*
 TELEPHONE TO *self*
 TIME *9:50 PM*
 BY *gl* TO BE *Dely am*

HIRAM W JOHNSON

752PM

Duplicate of Telephoned Telegram

August 30, 1918.

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Camp Funston,
Fort Riley, Kansas.

My dear Arch:

There is nothing to add to the telegram I send you to the Blackstone yesterday. Joyce at first thought the matter might be accomplished by pressure and bringing to bear those elements which generally accomplish such results. When subsequently at my request he interviewed the various parties in interest he telephoned me that he had erred in his original thought and that interference would be disastrous and would not accomplish the desired result. He advised very strongly in his last message against any activity at all in the matter, and nothing, therefore, has been attempted.

Kenyon said he did not think General Lyon's division would go over for some little time yet. In this I think he is mistaken, but, nevertheless, it was the view he expressed after some investigation. He thinks, therefore, any of the General's wishes might be accomplished a month hence better than at present. I am enclosing you herein the original request which you sent to me, which is a copy of the document filed by the General.

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 2

Rolph made a remarkable run in California, but with all the returns in he was beaten by fifteen to twenty thousand. Considering the vote cast this is an astounding thing. The most astounding thing, however, about his run is that he not only did this in the Republican Primary, but he has defeated both candidates in the Democratic Primary, Heney being one of these. He finds himself, therefore, in the predicament of having lost his own Party's nomination, and under the law being forbidden to run, and having won the opposing Party's nomination, which, under the law he cannot utilize. Just what the outcome will be, I don't know. SS

It is just possible your Mother and I will go to New York tomorrow. I've been quite wretched the last few days, and your Mother is very anxious for a brief vacation, and I think she is entitled to one. Perhaps at the last minute we'll not go, but we're now talking of it.

The news from Amy is a little bit better, although her fever has not abated, and, of course, we can't indulge in much exultation unless that fever departs.

This is just the beginning of my notes to you. You may rest assured that I shall write you with exactly the same regularity as I wrote you when you were in France. You will always have from me two letters a week, generally

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 3

written on Mondays and Thursdays. I felt very wretched after you left because I knew how depressed you were. Words are useless between us under the circumstances. I am hoping that your surroundings at Funston will rouse you from that depression and make you your old happy self. At any rate, there is nothing to do but buckle down to it, my boy, and get such happiness as you can from a life now of onerous duty utterly different from what any of us ever contemplated. There is one thing that you ought to keep ever in mind. Kansas is not only a bone dry State but fanatically bone-dry. Since you departed for France more than six months ago there has been a tremendous change in the attitude here toward intoxicating liquors. It doesn't make any difference what is permitted in France to the French soldiers, or even to our own. Here the rule is absolute, and not only the Army but public opinion will crucify either man or officer who indulges, and when I say indulges, I mean indulges at all. I feel because of your activities in France, and because you saw there an entirely different rule, that I ought to make this opinion wholly plain to you, and I impress it on you, therefore, just as emphatically and strongly as I can. I hope you'll write me as soon as you get settled, and let me know just what you think of your new environment. Your Mother joins me in all our love.

Affectionately your father,

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, OREG., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYO.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
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KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
HOKE SMITH, GA.

CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

August 30, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

It has been awfully good of you to telegraph me as you have about the California results. The first telegram I had, as I wrote you on Wednesday, was yours, filed very late election night. Thereafter, I received one wire from McCabe, and since then, I have received your other two telegrams, and I have had two from Eustace, and one very brief one from Lissner. Isn't it remarkable that after one year's absence from California the only people who remembered me in a contest of this sort have been those I have mentioned. McCabe's telegram was only sent me, in my opinion, as a matter of exultation the day following the Primary when he felt that he had won. If he had lost I don't think he would have wired me at all. But for your thoughtfulness in the early stages I would really have been without news. Lissner and Eustace, beside yourself, are the only ones of all of those in California in whose memories I held a place.

When your first telegram came as I appended in a little note to my letter of Wednesday I felt the news was too good to be true. I sat down then picturing California and

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its various counties, and I reached the conclusion immediately that Stephens would be nominated. I had never doubted this, however, and yet the moment of hope made me feel somewhat bitter with the reality. I wired you yesterday my true feeling. I wired McCabe in like fashion. The victory is not McCabe's victory, or heavy-headed Madsen's. It is in reality not the victory of Eddie Dickson or Edwin T. Earl, although, it is much more theirs than Percy Long's, Al. McCabe's, or the group of Progressives who, because of their offices supported Stephens. In the final analysis it is the victory of Mike deYoung and the horrible, distorted, malicious, and malignant shade of Harrison Grey Otis. I've followed the California clippings very closely the last few weeks. I find the Chronicle openly supporting Stephens, and the Los Angeles Times carefully covering itself with very feebly saying it was for Bardwell, while devoting itself almost exclusively to wholly malicious lying attacks upon Rolph. I have no doubt that the meetings in the Chronicle office that Hickey detailed took place. I have no doubt that similar meetings occurred in the office of the Los Angeles Times. I have no doubt that such meetings were justified by the men around Stephens on the ground that they should accept every support that could be and should be accorded to them. I have

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little doubt of one other thing, my son, and that is, the candidate who receives the support in the coming election campaign of The Times and The Chronicle will have very great difficulty in persuading me to advocate his cause. If Messrs. Madsen, McCabe, and Long, and all those with whom I have fought in the past desire to fight under the deYoung-Otis banner, as seems apparent now, they will fight without me. Just what this will mean concerning my course in the ensuing campaign I am not at all clear at present, and I indulge in no definite prognostication respecting my activity. Perhaps I shall have to do, and this seems the more likely course, just what I have done in the Primary - sit still and attend to my business here, and let the people of California decide the issue. . . . One thing that bothers me, however, is whether there will be any issue to decide. I am not clear what the law is, but from published statements, apparently the candidate who does not receive his Party's nomination can't avail himself of any other nomination he may have won and cannot become a candidate. Whether this means, as applied to Rolph, that Rolph cannot be the Democratic nominee and is out of the game, with no Democratic nominee at all, or whether it means that the second man, Heney, becomes the Democratic nominee, I am unable to determine. The whole thing, as it has turned out, inures vastly to Stephens's benefit. Rolph has demon-

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strated the utter weakness of Heney, and Heney has received such a crushing blow in the Primary that I do not think he could recover in the finals. If Heney, therefore, is the Democratic candidate, Stephens, undoubtedly, will overwhelmingly defeat him. If there is no Democratic nominee, Stephens, of course, has been the luckiest man who ever entered politics. Of course, there is one other aspect, and that is, that the Court will hold Rolph is entitled to run as a Democrat. If he did thus run I think he would have a fair chance of election, but I believe the chances would be against him, and that the Republican South would round up such a majority he could not overcome it. This may be, however, a wholly erroneous view, because of the intensity of the wet and dry issue. If Rolph had received the legitimate wet vote of Alameda County his showing would have been even better in the Primary, and if he received what is really the wet vote of Northern California, San Francisco and the Counties about the Bay, he might overcome the big southern majority that will be given to the Republican dry candidate. It is a most perplexing and serious situation. I have been trying to think of it divorced from the smart of the recent Primary. My first thought would be with the smart upon me to hope that Rolph would run. My opinion arrived at logically and with cool judgment is somewhat modified and quite doubtful. My ultimate conclusion would be

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determined, if I were in Rolph's place, by just one thing - not the politics of the situation or Party nomination, -but whether I could win. This discussion, I think, is wholly academic, because the Supreme Court will use every endeavor to keep Rolph out of the contest. Their dislike of him is only exceeded by their dislike of Heney.

Of course, I've been thinking of the past. Had I come to California, after Rolph declared himself, and made the campaign for him, I think he would have been put over, and this I do not mean egotistically. But it would have involved a hard campaign on my part, and breaking with substantially all of the men with whom I have done politics in the past; and, because of my appointment of Stephens, it would have put me in a paradoxical, explanatory and defensive position where I would have been explaining unsatisfactorily during the whole campaign. I am inclined to acquit myself therefore in the matter. I can't see how I could have done otherwise with the facts before me in the past month than I have done. I do not mention the selfish aspect of the matter, which to the friends of Rolph will seem to have been the determinative factor in my decision. I assure you it was not that activity for Rolph on my part would have practically destroyed me. I do not doubt that it was upon no such basis that I thought I should keep clear. Back in my head all of the time were

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various mixed sentiments respecting Rolph, but I thought when he delayed such an interminable period and permitted all of those who had been kind to me, and all of those to whom I had been kind, to become fixed in their allegiance, it would have been unjust to them and to me to have undertaken the impossible wrench which my advocacy of Rolph would have entailed.

The fault, in my opinion, lies further back. It rests with our men who are in office in California, who were content to remain in office and who did not wish any change or any fight. It rests also with men like Rowell, and Lissner, and myself, who were unable to select an appropriate candidate. It was after all the lack of a man in the latter months of last year and the early ones of this year that has given us the present result. The only ones who wished to find this man, however, were the three I have mentioned, and one or two others, like Williams and DeLigne. So I think that fundamentally our present position is that which comes to all reform movements. We fight gloriously. We finally win. Power comes to us, with all that power means; and then, with the weakness of human nature, loving that power, we forget that for which we fought in our love of it and our desire to retain it. It is the usual breakdown of the moral fibre of men who attain ease, and influence, and distinction, and position. The process has ever been the same. Environment has seldom failed to work

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 7

its change. Our militant group of idealists became, with its years of office and pelf, soldiers of fortune. Unconsciously, the mental sclerosis, with its gradual destruction and disintegration, has been going on until in 1918 our fellows constituted ^{only} the "ins" and the others the "outs", and the age-long battle went on between the "ins" who wished to hold the offices, and the "outs" who wished to get into them. I have written you something of this before, and although I realize it more keenly even than I write of it, I can not get over its hurt.

I smiled yesterday at your telegram saying not to wire congratulations. I had no intention of doing so, and I shall not do so. Temperamentally, I think I am different from any other man who ever was in politics. I can't do the conventional things which are opposed to my real nature. To tell you the truth, there is not charm enough in political life for me to be otherwise than the Lord made me. I wrote Lissner a very hasty letter yesterday, and I enclose you a copy of it, because it expressed then the thoughts that were running through my mind, the thoughts that are still with me.

I think we must make up our minds to see Stephens elected Governor. The awful smash that has been given Heney puts him practically out of the running. The Supreme Court will prevent Rolph from running. I repeat to you that were I in Rolph's place, if I could run, just one thing would influence

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me, and that is, whether I could win. The war gives the excuse for non-partisanship. This year everybody is preaching it. The "partisan" could be put in a campaign in the category of the "disloyal". This year of all years, therefore, will enable a man saying that he is a Republican ordinarily to run with the Democratic nomination with Americanism and patriotism alone rather than partisanship. The burning wet and dry issue, too, would rob the campaign of its partisanship. Your Mother and I have been so glad to learn that there is even a slight improvement with Amy. How I do hope her fever abates. That is the one big thing with me and has been. Love to her and to the kiddies.

Affectionately,



August 29, 1918.

Mr. Meyer Lissner,
Lissner Building,
Los Angeles, Cal.

My dear Lissner:

I have just received now at nine-thirty August 29th your message dated Los Angeles eight seventeen a.m. August 28th concerning the Primary in California in which you state that the edge is for Stephens. Yesterday morning, I received Jack's first wire when the Rolph people were very confident, but, with my knowledge of the State and the fact that San Joaquin Valley and various other places had not been heard from I felt their confidence was not justified and that Stephens had won. I am astounded, however, at the remarkable run Rolph has made. I did not think that he would do anything like as well as he has done. I wired you this morning that it seemed from this distance, because of the small plurality by which he was beaten, that his very declaration on social insurance had probably defeated him. As I wrote you a couple of weeks ago, this was another instance of the astuteness of Earl and Dickson, and the cunning of Stephens. Rowell wrote me that Stephens had promised him a flat-footed declaration, and then he had been stalled in getting this declaration until finally Stephens personally called upon him and said he wanted to fool the Christian Scientist people and get their support, and, therefore, did not want to make any positive declaration upon the subject.

Mr. Meyer Lissner - 2

Rolph's declaration lost him the insurance people in San Francisco, as a couple of them wrote me, and lost him, doubtless, many Christian Scientists. Stephens by lying to Rowell won both the insurance people and the Christian Scientists, and all of the circumstances - Rolph's declaration and Stephen's duplicity - by some singular concatenation made Rowell, judging from the newspaper ads, the active partisan of Stephens. However, all this is done and Stephens has won. It is the first victory for Mike deYoung and the Los Angeles Times since we began our fight in 1910. I am thinking, of course, as I always do in matters of this sort, now only of the future. It is too early for me to say just what course I shall pursue. It will be a most difficult and galling thing for me to support a nominee of the San Francisco Chronicle and the Los Angeles Times. I shall try to decide the matter without the slightest regard for personal consequences upon what I think is my duty to the State of California. I shall endeavor to divorce myself from personal prejudices and animosities, and past differences, or personal feeling for the one or the other of the candidates. I think I shall be able to weigh the advantages or disadvantages to California, to the only thing I have done in all my life, coolly, dispassionately, and judicially, I shall make my decision in that fashion with an eye single to the State of California and to the perpetuation of what you and I and others undertook and accomplished.

I am puzzled over what the Primary means from the Democratic standpoint. Was the law changed at the last session

Mr. Meyer Lissner - 3

of the Legislature concerning cross nominees?

The Primary has demonstrated to me another thing, and that is the utter and absolute weakness of Stephens before the people. If we had had the nerve and the foresight to have picked our candidate and made the fight for him; for instance, if Rowell had concluded to go, and I had come to California as I had offered and had gone to the bat for him, I think we could have had a Progressive Governor. However, there is no use indulging in vain regrets. I frequently have remarked to you before our reform movement has gone the way of all such movements. The lure of office has taken the fine edge off our idealism and the jobs with most of our fellows (Thank Heavens there are some like you, and Billy Williams, or the world would seem very dark indeed) has made them compromise with their consciences, seek the line of least resistance, and upon the specious pretext of taking the easiest road, leave far behind them a great movement. It may sound like mock heroics to you but I mean it absolutely when I say that our movement in California, now disintegrating and about to be turned over to the San Francisco Chronicle and the Los Angeles Times, means more to me than my political future, and it is of infinitely greater importance than any partisanship of mine or my adherence to any political party; and I am just quixotic enough to support a man with any party or with no party, who represents what I think I represented while I was in California.

With very fondest regards, I am

Yours most sincerely,

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, OREG., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR. FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYO.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
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HOKE SMITH, GA.

CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

August 31, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
C/o P. E. Bowles, Esq.,
The Pines,
Union and MacAdam Sts.,
Oakland, California.

My dear Daughter:

It seems now as if Art had never been with us at all. So quickly do we adjust ourselves to our rapid changes and so many are the new ever recurring events that Art's three short days with us are now like a dream. He reported at Camp Dix on Monday and was told his orders were to Camp Funston, Kansas. He arrived at Camp Funston yesterday, having been delayed in obtaining his transportation, and I'm in receipt of a telegram from him this morning stating that he had arrived and reported for duty. As I told you in my last letter he is going to make an effort to get fifteen days leave and come to California, but, with the speeding up process of the War Department and the making of new Army divisions I am doubtful that this leave will be granted to him. General Lyon, who is now situated at Macon, Georgia, has made a request to the War Department asking that Arch be assigned to him as his Staff Officer. Inquiry here developed that officers such as Arch, who have been sent back here for training new divisions, had been carefully selected

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 2

for specific duty, and that it would be quite impossible for them to be detailed to any other service than that for which they had been chosen. Arch would have preferred, of course, to go with his old General, particularly to be his Staff Officer, but unfortunately, this will probably be impossible. The Camp to which he goes, as I wrote you, is that commanded, or presumably commanded, by General Wood. I am not clear whether I like this or not. Wood, of course, is an excellent soldier, but a strict disciplinarian, and something of a martinet, and undoubtedly a very much soured man. I do not know him personally. I voiced on the floor of the Senate the prevalent feeling in the East concerning Wood's treatment by the President and the War Department. I have never communicated with Wood concerning the matter at all. It may be that if he ascertains who Arch is, he will think it his duty to be more strict with him than with the ordinary subordinate officer; or again, it may be that if he recommends Arch in any particular his recommendation will be ~~well~~ discounted by the War Department which I assailed when defending Wood. I was a little suspicious at first of this assignment, but finally concluded that it was a mere coincidence. Arch and I resolved that we would say nothing at all to Wood about who he was or his relationship, leaving Arch to work out his own salvation. The boy thus far

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 3

has stood upon his own merits, and he preferred, and I preferred, that he should continue in this attitude. He has done so well that I have no doubt with anything like a fair chance, he will continue in the same successful course.

At the War Department this morning we were told that the various Allied Nations thought the tide has definitely turned. General March expressed the belief that the Germans would be driven back to the Hindenburg line, and that the driving process would not stop then. In answer to a query of mine he said that from the military standpoint he viewed the situation now as a continued offensive on the part of the Allies. We have in France or en route nearly 1,600,000 men. Our soldiers that have been brigaded with the British and the French are gradually being withdrawn to our own people, and under Pershing today there are one million prepared men. This means as I have told you before a little over sixty per cent combatants and the remainder in the service of the rear. The other 600,000 of our troops are in training and will be ready to be a part of the new Grand Army of the Republic in a very short time. Our ordnance program is developing slightly and shows improvement over what it has been in the past, but the output still is pitifully small. The aircraft program has been, up to this time, a ghastly failure. Not only have we been unable to manufacture combat planes but it is indubitably the fact that

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 4

planes in which we have placed our men in this country have been unfit for service, and in some instances, the deaths of many in training have been wicked murder. The promises of what will be done in the future, of course, are many. Apparently, by sending over what are termed our "DeHaviland Fours" for repair and modification on the other side, we may get together a considerable number of planes, but still we'll have no great aircraft production for some months yet. The Senate Military Committee, or rather its subcommittee, spent much time on the matter and rendered a really valuable report, which has attracted wide attention in the East. Its effect the Administration has endeavored to minimize, and because it has our press so cowed it has measureably succeeded. None of the newspapers published in the East containing the aircraft report of the subcommittee of the Senate Military Committee was permitted to go to their foreign subscribers, and none upon the border line of Canada was permitted to cross the border, and this, notwithstanding the fact that the Canadian newspapers published the aircraft report in full just over our line. As was remarked upon the floor of the Senate this order stopping the newspapers from going outside of the country was probably futile because the only people on earth who did not know of our failure was the American people. The prohibition upon the newspapers was of little consequence, but it was illustrative of our present absolutism. It was a gentle reminder to the

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 5

press to be very careful in what it said that might reflect upon the Administration, and very subtly told them the course they should follow.

The President not content with the repressive measures which make it treason to criticize him, and imprisonment to breathe a prayer that peace may soon come has lately conceived the idea that he would make Congress appointive. He has gone into various States, pretending that he was seeking only loyal representatives, but in reality, making the test of the State elections for Congressmen and United States Senators a servile personal subserviency to him. He claimed, for instance, against Vardaman in Mississippi that Vardaman had opposed the war, and, therefore, should not be re-elected. He nominated Henry Ford for the United States Senate in Michigan, and he had opposed the war, and had said more things disloyal and done more acts of pacifism than any other one man in the country. In Mississippi, much to our regret, he succeeded in defeating Vardaman. It is to be hoped that he will fail to elect Ford. In Georgia he has done the same thing with Hardwick, who has something of the same independence as Vardaman. The most of us here hope for Hardwick's success. My own opinion is that in the South he will be able to destroy every man who has shown an atom of independence, and thus we enter upon another chapter of our autocracy and absolutism. While I have little respect

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for many of the United States Senators, and while I think that the body, as a whole, has many shortcomings, I firmly believe it is the only forum in the Nation possessing even a measure of freedom today, and this new attempt to destroy its modicum of independence I bitterly resent. If it succeeds, then there is no place in all this land where there can be any freedom at all, or expression of any independence of action; and if it succeeds, of all the Nations on earth, we'll probably be the most autocratic and the least democratic.

Of course, I was very greatly interested in the Primary in California. It has been very distressing to me to see the gradual disintegration of our movement there, of which, rather egotistically, and vainly, I felt I was an important part. I try to be philosophic^{al}, and by historical examples of reform movements, console myself, but, after all, having never attained the height of the Stoic philosophers of old, I find my philosophy is poor consolation. I do not know how it could have been prevented, except in the original appointment of my successor, and as I review all of the facts of that appointment and my ignorance of the mutton-headed ass I chose I can't blame myself as much as possibly I should. His success, of course, I take it, is fairly assured, and with that success, our State politics will lapse finally into what they were before 1910. I was really very much astonished at the tremend-

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ous vote Rolph received. I did not think he could do anything like as well as he did, and back in my head is the thought that if he had succeeded we would have had to depend upon the few men, whom we intimately know around him to keep him in the course California has followed during the past eight years. I have a feeling, and I am seldom in error in intuitions of this sort, that the situation is slipping away from me in California, and that my political activities will end with my present term, here.

We had a good laugh at the conclusion of one of Jack's telegrams in which he said for me not to kick the Princess Bacardy. If he only knew how dear the Princess has become, and what an intimate part she is of our household, he would never have likened her to the usual tabby; and the suggestion that she might be lifted off her feet in irritation would never have occurred to him. She has grown now nearly full size. Each night I have to devote just so much time to her. We play and have wonderful frolics. My right hand is a continual criss cross of scratches, not done in anger, but in the very zest of her playfulness. When Art came he laughed immoderately at our tenderness for this wonderful kitty, but he had not been with us two hours before he was as idiotic over her as we are, and she was willing to substitute him (in this I do not blame her) for me, in her games. Mother

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says when we come to California she is going to bring the Princess with her, but I absolutely forbid this. If Mother perseveres in her wish, I assume you do not doubt at all what will happen. So, perhaps we may have the opportunity of introducing you to the new member of the family.

We are having more trouble with colored help. I did not think that Mother ever could have the racial prejudices which she has developed. She feels that she could be a female Simon Lagree, and that she could wield the lash with a species of joy over all the "blacks". They are a shiftless and a stupid set. They really don't want to work and they cease on any excuse, and delay and hinder, and impede what you most want to do. If the chauffeur can take an extra half hour looking into the hood of his machine at the very time you want to keep an important engagement he is sure to do it. If you have invited somebody to dinner, and the cook thinks she can leave you in the lurch, she will say she is sick and go home. Our cook disappeared without warning last Saturday night, and yesterday, Friday, we received a note from her saying she was sick. They know they have us at their mercy, and so they show none. We really appear to have found a competent and a conscientious maid, but Mother says it is because she is a northern negro, and that the northern negro is entirely different from the southern.

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I think it is likely we'll go to New York a couple of days next week, simply as a matter of a vacation. I really don't care for it. The fact is, I will spend most of our time indoors reading a book, but Mother says, and justly, that we have stuck this whole, miserable summer out here, and have gone no place and done nothing, and that she would like a couple of days in the "big city". Outside of seeing Roosevelt there, and talking to him of the war, and the general situation, there is nothing that I shall attempt. Arch saw Major Theodore Roosevelt in Paris. I feel a great pity for the "old boy", and for Mrs. Roosevelt. One son has been killed. Arch Roosevelt will be a cripple for life with a paralyzed arm, and it looks as if young Theodore will have a useless leg all his life. It is pretty tough on the old people, and it is a great tribute to that family.

This is Saturday afternoon and I wonder if you can picture where I am dictating this letter. The Senate is in session and I was asked to continue in my seat in order to make a quorum. I have therefore had Miss Connor come over to the Senate Chamber that I might immediately respond, if called upon, and we have gone to the porch adjacent to what is called "the Marble Room" where visitors wait after their cards have been sent in to Senators. We are in the open air on this porch talking to you. I wish that you were sitting in one of the rockers here with us. It's not a bad day - a bit sticky but with a little

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breeze. What I wouldn't give if you and Jack and the two kiddies sat here with us. We've been so glad lately to learn of your improvement. I am looking forward to seeing you in the near future, although my hope for early adjournment is gradually dwindling. I think there is a job on with the Revenue Bill, and that the Democrats don't want to pass this Bill before election. It had been my belief that they would conclude it early in October, but I am by no means certain of this now. Within a few days we ought to be able to tell definitely.

Give my love to your Mother and your Father.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in brown ink that reads "Dad". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

GEO. E. CHAMBERLAIN, OREG., CHAIRMAN.
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA.
HENRY L. MYERS, MONT.
CHARLES S. THOMAS, COLO.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
J. C. W. BECKHAM, KY.
WILLIAM F. KIRBY, ARK.
JAMES A. REED, MO.
KENNETH D. MCKELLAR, TENN.
HOKE SMITH, GA.

FRANCIS E. WARREN, WYO.
JOHN W. WEEKS, MASS.
JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., N. Y.
HOWARD SUTHERLAND, W. VA.
HARRY S. NEW, IND.
JOSEPH S. FRELINGHUYSEN, N. J.
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CAL.
PHILANDER C. KNOX, PA.

CARALYN B. SHELTON, CLERK.
SHELDON S. JONES, ASSISTANT CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS.

August 31, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I have just received the following telegram from
Eustace:

"STEPHENS HAS JUST DEMANDED CARNAHAN'S
RESIGNATION EFFECTIVE TOMORROW. THIS IS THE
FIRST REMOVAL OF ONE OF YOUR PRINCIPAL AP-
POINTEES OF COURSE STEPHENS IS TAKING REVENGE
FOR CARNAHAN'S PUBLIC SUPPORT OF ROLPH CHRONICLE
WHICH IS STEPHENS PRINCIPAL ORGAN ACCUSES WHOLE
JOHNSON ORGANIZATION OF TREASON TO STEPHENS CHARGE
OF COURSE UNTRUE BUT TO MY MIND INDICATES STEPHENS
EXCUSE FOR FURTHER REMOVALS IF ROLPH GETS ON BAL-
LOT AS DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE HE WILL UNQUESTIONABLY
BE ELECTED WE ARE HOPING THAT IN EVENT ROLPH IS
ON BALLOT YOU WILL NOT FEEL CONSTRAINED TO TAKE
ANY PART IN THE ELECTION ON BEHALF OF STEPHENS. "

I dislike exceedingly to write future plans of mine
or of what I will do in the future. I know not only the
peril of this sort of thing but how in changing events
one may blunder most egregiously in definite and positive
statements as to the future. I will not, therefore, give
any definite assurance of my future course. It is impossi-
ble for me to foresee what may transpire. I can only say
that if Rolph should become a candidate upon a Progressive
platform such as he had in the Primary I do not see how it
would be possible for me to get actively into a campaign
against him. Of course, this is my present tentative view -

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point involving neither absolute definiteness nor promises of the future. With my knowledge of shifting conditions and mutations of time it would be silly to say now with certainty what my course might be during the campaign. If you believe it desirable you may read this note to Eustace.

Affectionately,

