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HENRY CABOT LODGE, MASS., C. AN.
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HARRY S. NEW, IND.
GEORGE H. MOSES, N. H.
O. F. REDMOND, CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 1, 1919.

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

My dear Boys:

There is little new to tell you of what is transpiring here. I don't know whether you can quite understand the stunning and dulling effect upon one's intellect in every other direction of a contest like that in which we are engaged here. I can only liken it to a lawsuit, in which you have given every ounce you have, and during the trial of which you can not think of anything else or do anything else. With our intense natures, in such a legal action, we not only have it in court, but we eat with it; it goes home with us, goes to bed with us, and never leaves us for an instant until its conclusion. That is what the League of Nations fight is here. There are many angles to the contest. I told you recently what conclusion I was gradually forced to, and this conclusion has been confirmed. If I only had some facts instead of an intuition that has seldom failed me, I would stand up on the floor of the Senate and denounce men on both sides, and tell of the sham battle in which we ~~are~~ are engaged, out of which the international bankers will have a profit of billions of dollars. My difficulty is that if challenged for the facts I could not give them, and a mere charge resting upon my suspicion could be met by ridicule and denial, and all the publicity being on the other side, would perhaps make me ridiculous. Since

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I told you that we were fighting the old sham battle of the Southern Pacific days, in which the losers after the vote is taken on the League of Nations will be the people, and the gainers our Wall Street bankers, I have had all of the Republican members of the Foreign Relations Committee at home for dinner with Messrs. Coolidge and Williams of Boston, and last night, I dined at Lodge's with Brandegee and Borah, and Prof. Davenport, of New York. Last night in conversation with our "peerless leader" I think I developed enough to justify my suspicion. When we're all through this struggle, the good people who have hysterically demanded the League of Nations will have their League. The Republicans who have insisted upon reservations will have their reservations. The international bankers will have the receivership of the world and billions of profit.

I would like, however, whether my suspicion be well founded or not, to talk to our people about this League, and to make plain its iniquities. Wilson has been "stalling" about his trip across the continent, and I should not be surprised if he has changed his mind all these times in order to prevent anybody else from going out to the people. It is so terrible traveling now in mid-summer that I shrink from a long trip, or from any trip; and yet, I feel I ought to undergo any effort, physical or mental, to do my duty in this peculiar crisis. For it is in my opinion a crisis. It saddens me beyond measure to think how little our people know about it, and how their emotionalism has been played upon. Another thing, the Treaty that we have with Germany is the wickedest thing since civi-

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lization. It justly destroys German militarism and German military power. We'll all agree this ought to be done, and be done just as thoroughly as possible. But stalking all through it is the greed and avarice of the trade rival, who wants to destroy his rival and take his trade and profit. The sordid portions of the Treaty are the most prominent, and by these, England and France simply squeeze to the last dollar their enemies, not only for today, but for an absolutely indefinite time in the future. The result of the war was utilized, not to punish Germany, but, literally, to steal her trade and destroy her economic life, and take from her her industries. The Treaty is so full of bartering and theft that, of course, it has within it possibilities of many future wars. And yet, nobody reads the Treaty, and nobody pays any attention to it. In it, we are bound indefinitely with European broils and troubles, and with a collection of the indefinite sums levied upon Germany. In respect to tying us up with Europe, the Treaty is worse than the League of Nations. You simply can not, however, get our people to pay any attention to this. You can't get even the newspapers to write concerning it.

Life goes along pleasantly at our home. I enjoy it immensely. Some of my flowers have blossomed, although not all, by any means. The yard, however, is, I think, very much improved, and my happiest moments here are sitting in it, and carefully examining the progress of the things I myself have planted. The dog is developing into a really fine dog. I think he will be a source of great pleasure to us. He has some bad habits concerning my flowers, and his

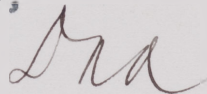
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great triumph recently was running down one of our chickens and bringing the poor thing to us in his mouth.

We're meeting daily now with the Foreign Relations Committee and fiddling 'round rather aimlessly. How long this will continue I don't know. When the Treaty is disposed of, we ought to adjourn, and this should give an opportunity to be in California for a month or so before the regular session in December.

With all our love,

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "D. A. Johnson", written in dark ink.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, MASS., CHAIRMAN.

PORTER J. McCUMBER, N. DAK. GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR.
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HARRY S. NEW, IND.
GEORGE H. MOSES, N. H.

G. F. REDMOND, CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 7, 1919.

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

My dear Boys:

I don't want to begin every letter I write you by telling you how busy I am, and hereafter I will leave to your imagination the hours I endeavor to keep here. We have begun our public hearings in the Foreign Relations Committee upon the Treaty. I very soon discovered that there was no system in these hearings, no examination worthy the name, and that everything was conducted in a perfunctory sort of fashion, so that various individuals might get their names in the newspapers asking wholly immaterial things. Accordingly, the last couple of days I have got into the examinations, and wound up yesterday practically leading. I am sending you the testimony thus far taken. I do this because I want you to read the testimony of the Secretary of State. In cold type it might not present the picture as it was presented to us yesterday, the picture of indifference, vacillation, hesitation, and downright ignorance. When I finished with Lansing, I walked over to the office saddened and humiliated, because my country was in the hands of such men, and at the mercy of their dullness, stupidity, and worse. What he showed to us yesterday was exactly what I said in my speech, that in the Peace Conference we knew nothing at all about what was transpiring, and that the other nations did exactly as they pleased, distributed territory as they desired, and used the United States simply

for their own selfish ends, tying us up irrevocably with their sinister designs. Lansing finally cried for mercy during my examination. I told him that I would not attempt further to question him, inasmuch as he knew nothing of the important element of the Treaty, that relating to reparations, which binds us for thirty years in the European muddle. It is a horrible situation, and when I think how little our people apparently care I get quite pessimistic.

Wilson postponed his trip ^{to} California, in my opinion, in order that he might have the last say. He did not want to go across the country while this Treaty was pending, and then be followed by men, who might answer him. He put up one excuse, and then another, so that he might delay, until such time as he knew he would be unable to go. I am still anxious to make my trip. The dispatch saying McCabe was to leave yesterday and be here on Sunday has made me to pause, and so I have let everything wait until next week, and then I'll determine upon the course I shall pursue.

I am glad McCabe is coming, so that I may talk to him about the present situation, which has become increasingly plain to me. There is no possibility, in my opinion, that I can win the nomination next year. I am writing to my two boys with utmost frankness. Don't put this down to pessimism on my part, because I have not any in this matter. I am going ahead and do the best I can. I don't propose, under any circumstances now, to quit. But, nevertheless, I am not going to lie to myself, or indulge in pretensions to you. I am a

pretty intimate part of the game here now, and fairly close to what is transpiring. I see that while a pretty intimate part of the game, I can not become head of the game. It is simply not in the minds of these people who control delegations to accept me within the period now of a year. The value of the fight for next year will be in the possibilities four years from now, if I live. This does not greatly appeal to me any more than it does to you probably, and it is not upon that theory I am continuing the fight, but I am continuing it upon the theory that the attenuated millionth chance may by some unlooked for miracle come our way. If I had some millions of dollars and many organizers I could make a showing, but even then, I am not clear that we could be successful. I don't know that I have told you before, but Mr. Hughes and his friends are extremely bitter, and they lose no opportunity to raise the 1916 campaign and the falsehoods concerning myself in that campaign. There is a basic groundwork of common people in many places, and it is these I would like to get together, so as to make something of a showing. Just how to do this I don't know. but if I attempt to do anything I shall have to have somebody here who can be of some service. Confidentially, while Havenner is a very nice boy, I don't think his health is good, and he is unable to attend to the work of the office here, the detail of which drives me simply frantic. However, all this I will discuss with Al.

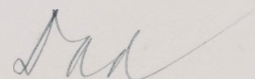
We are living in an artificial atmosphere here wholly. It is one of excitement, surcharged with all the human emotions. With my peculiar temperament it is very wearing, and yet I would not be out of it for anything. Your mother enjoys it just as I do, but it is telling

upon both of us. I can not take situations as men like Knox do, with utter equanimity and indifference. My whole being is absorbed in the things in which I believe, and I am constantly, therefore, being torn and rocked with my varying emotions. I am so interested in what we're engaged in, that it was difficult for me to write even as I did above concerning politics.

The utter fallacy of the League of Nations is demonstrated by two facts, first, the alliance with France, which is substantially an offensive and defensive alliance, and secondly, by the demand made day before yesterday for a peace time army of ^{576,000} 510,000, with, substantially, peace time conscription. These two things ought to make men like Rowell blush for the position they have taken, and yet, as I read his letter, in which he said the highest honor in the world would be to preside when Wilson spoke on the League of Nations, I had an utter sinking of the heart. If every argument were omitted, and we had only the facts of the League of Nations, the alliance with France, the new army with its practical conscription, there ought to be no difficulty in deciding it. Yet, I believe that Rowell and men like him have got themselves into the situation where Wilson could have come back with new England ceded to old England, and they would have justified it on the theory that the League of Nations was there to correct the infamy. Read Mr. Lansing's testimony of yesterday and see how the United States was represented at Paris.

Good-bye temporarily, with all my love.

Affectionately,



HENRY CABOT LODGE, MASS., CHAIRMAN.
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G. F. REDMOND, CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 9, 1919.

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

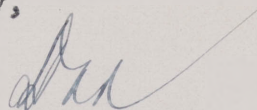
My dear Jack:

I received recently your letter concerning Bowles's offer. I think it was more than kind of him. I thought the appropriate thing for me to do was to write to him personally, and so I have written today, and enclose you a copy of my letter to him. What I have tried to say, and in my many words perhaps have not wholly succeeded, is that I am very grateful to him, and that I don't want to at present avail myself of his offer, and yet if the time comes when I think there is any chance, I may take advantage of it.

This is the day before your birthday. Yesterday we received your wire that you had gone to Tahoe. Mother and I wrote you last Monday a little note and we're sending you a wire of congratulations today to the Tavern. I am not sure they have telegraphic service on Sunday, and so I am not clear the telegram will reach you, but I hope it does.

With all our love,

Affectionately,



August 9, 1919.

P.E. Bowles, Esq.,
The Pines,
Union and Macadam Streets,
Oakland, California.

My dear Mr. Bowles:

A couple of days ago I had from Jack a letter in which he detailed his conversation with you, and told me of your very generous and thoughtful suggestions concerning myself and my possible candidacy, and your more than generous offer of financial assistance. I can't tell you how much I appreciated what you said, and how very deeply it touched me. You have been so very good that I think I ought to tell you just exactly how I view the situation. I have made up my mind that if there is any chance at all to realize the highest ambition an American can have, I will take that chance. I am doing this under no illusions or delusions. I realize fully that Presidents are made by a certain group in our Nation, and that next year will be no exception to the rule which during my life, at least, has prevailed. Those who thus make Presidents will not for an instant consider a man of my sort, and the chances of success for me are infinitesimal. With a full realization of this I shall not permit my equanimity to be disturbed, and I will accept philosophically whatever may transpire. In addition, I am deeply engrossed with what is occurring here, and I will not let any remote possibilities of the future either dictate or modify, in any degree, what I think I ought to do in the position I now occupy. This very

P.E.B. - 2

tude, of course, renders even more remote any personal ambitious hope. I say these things to you that you may know I am not taking myself or any candidacy in my behalf too seriously, although I want to make perfectly plain that what effort I am capable of I will put forth. But because I understand the situation I don't want, too, to do things which are unnecessary, or draw too heavily upon the kindness and affection of friends. The country is in a peculiar state of unrest at present. Nobody can tell what the next six months may bring forth. The world outside of us, apparently, faces some sort of revolution. I don't think it can now be foretold whether the effect upon our country out of the metamorphosis of the rest of the world will ^{be to} make us more radical or more conservative. My own opinion is that it is quite as likely to be the latter as the former. Our politics are in a like condition with our social and industrial life. The next six months may see quite an overturn. If at the end of that period, I think there is any reasonable probability of success I will not hesitate to talk to you frankly and to take advantage of your kindness. Until then, it will be unnecessary and perhaps wholly futile.

I wish that I could adequately express to you all that I felt when I read Jack's letter. I can only say it went directly to my heart, and that I thank you very, very much.

With fondest personal regards, I am

Yours most sincerely,

HENRY CABOT LODGE, MASS., CHAIRMAN.
PORTER J. MC CUMBER, N. DAK.
WILLIAM E. BORAH, IDAHO.
FRANK B. BRANDEGER, CONN.
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O. F. REDMOND, CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 15, 1919.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco.

My dear Boys:

Last night I finished my first article for Sunset. Of course, I left it to the last minute. I am bothered by the necessity ~~for~~^{of} writing an article a month in advance of its publication. I could only write upon the one subject that fills my mind, the League of Nations. I fear my first article will be a very great disappointment to the publishers, and perhaps to the readers of the magazine. If the sentiment in favor of the League is anything like it has been represented to me, the Magazine will get a return swat on this article that will make them want to break their contract, I fear. However, my agreement was that I could write just as I pleased and upon any subject I desired. I am incapable now of writing but ~~just~~ upon one subject.

In the Foreign Relations Committee, which meets daily, I have been taking quite the leading part. I am unable, however, to get personal publicity. This, however, will come ultimately and it does not worry me, although it distresses your mother to observe the publicity given to many men here, when she thinks I have been playing an important part in directing policies, etc. I insisted yesterday that the Committee take advantage of the offer of the President to meet us and give us such information as he had concerning the Treaty

and the league of nations. I did this because I wanted to relieve the Committee and myself hereafter from the charge that he had offered us every facility for knowing all that he knew, and we had not availed ourselves of what was within our reach. He knows nothing, in my opinion, and he will tell nothing. But I wanted to be in a position hereafter to present him as he is, and some day, in the not far future I am going to do this. I insisted as well upon calling the various witnesses, and although concerning the signatories to the peace treaty who are abroad, I failed by a vote of 9 to 8, I did get the experts by a vote of 9 to 7 called, who will testify as to Shantung, etc. I have not changed at all my view of what the outcome will be. This view I expressed to you some time ago. It becomes increasingly evident that Morgan and Company, Kuhn, Loeb and Company, and the Guaranty Trust Company, and the smaller international bankers are determined to have a league of nations and their determination, unfortunately, is the law of the land. On this subject all we seek is just a little information to break forth.

The President claims now that he is going out to the nation just after we report the treaty from the Committee. If he does, and I can get any assurance of how long the treaty will be before the Senate, I shall start as well. I really feel after my experience in New England I can do more in talking to our people than in talking to the Senate. I will take one blast in the Senate before my departure and then go upon the road. My difficulty is, as I told you, in not knowing what will be done in my absence, but gradually a little group consisting of Borah, Moses, Reed, and one or two others, are getting together with the purpose of keeping discussion going in the

Senate for such period of time as will enable me to get across the continent. It will be an awful tough trip because of the stops and the jumps, but it is perhaps the greatest contribution that I can give to the Republic.

I can't tell you what memories were revived with your mother and myself by Jack's trip to the Lake and his letters upon exactly the same kind of paper with exactly the same sort of envelopes we formerly used there. A great longing came over both of us for Tahoe's beauty and quiet. Sometimes I think how futile is my life here anyway. There is so little that can be done, so much of irritation and disappointment, when at my hand, there is quiet, and peace, seclusion - I was going to say happiness, but I am not clear that the quiet, and the peace, and the seclusion of private life would bring happiness now.

We were very sorry to read in Art's last note that he had not been feeling well again, and mother immediately upon reading it, wired. I do hope that the illness was only temporary and that there is nothing continuous or alarming about it. Please write us. If you don't advise us, and we have no word, we both worry unnecessarily.

We have had a remarkable August here. It has been fairly cool and pleasant, with more than half the days raining. The old house is fine and delightful, and the yard a constant joy. Our pup is developing into a really fine dog. He is active and intelligent, and both of us have grown to be very, very fond of him. The cat is the same sly, shy, fluffy thing, always stealthily moving around, thinking of herself alone. The pup stands and looks into your eye to see what you want. The dog loves the people, the cat the place. The dog is

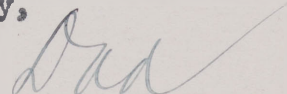
unselfish in his affections, and the cat has none, so far as human beings are concerned.

I have been waiting, as I have repeatedly written you, until an organization in California was formed, in order to communicate with some one officially, and have some official committee start the work. Thus far, I have had no notice of what has been done in this regard. I received Jack's wire about McCabe coming. Then I wired Arch to make sure, and Al. telegraphed me he'd probably leave this week. I have heard nothing further from him. If you can just get a committee with somebody who can devote himself to the work there are things that may be done that will keep him fairly well occupied.

There is the possibility of a break in the league of nations fight at any time. The pussy-footing Republicans who want to be on both sides may coalesce with the Democrats and take the treaty away from the Committee, put it upon the floor, and then they may adopt very mild reservations which will be of no consequence at all, and end the thing. The impatience of the country at the delay, too, may contribute to this result. As I study the treaty I believe it is a more infamous thing than the league of nations itself, and that under the treaty, we will be embroiled in Europe's quarrels at least until 1950, and, of course, that will mean for all time.

With all our love,

Affectionately,



HENRY CABOT LODGE, MASS., CHAIRMAN.

PORTER J. McCUMBER, N. DAK. GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR.
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HARRY S. NEW, IND.
GEORGE H. MOSES, N. H.

G. F. REDMOND, CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 16, 1919.

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

My dear Boys:

I want you to take Lodge's speech, which has aroused so much interest and enthusiasm here, and read it side by side with mine made two and a half months ago. Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. When Lodge had his debate with Lowell, and subsequently when he spoke in the Senate, there was little strength or virility to his utterances. The other day he made a finished speech, an artistic literary effort. Of course, in the speech I delivered I did nothing of the sort, but I want you to follow the sequence of ideas in the two. I take it that you notice also that attacks upon the league of nations have followed pretty closely the assault I made. I enclose you, just as a bit of interest, something that came into the office, I don't know from whom, of a poll of a few people upon the Congressional Limited. Frank received another poll on the same ship containing soldiers as the former one, but, of course, two months later. This you'll doubtless see.

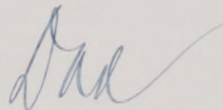
Mr. Harrison of Nebraska was in this morning and said he had never received a communication from California, and wanted to know whether we had given up organization there. I explained the difficulties. I do wish there would be something of a committee formed there that might receive correspondence and communicate with

different individuals. The biggest thing, in my opinion, as I wrote you in the commencement of the game, to be done immediately, is to get someone in California (a mere skeleton of organization would have done this) who would write to people in other states, and who would be a sort of central repository for information, letters, etc.

Hitchcock, by the way, the former Postmaster General and manager of the Hughes campaign, etc. is, I am told, managing the Lowden campaign. It will be a tough fight between him and John King, Penrose's protege, who is running the Wood campaign, to see who can buy, and having purchased, retain the colored delegates from the south.

With all love,

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be "Dad", written in a cursive style.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, MASS., CHAIRMAN.

PORTER J. McCUMBER, N. DAK. GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, ILL.
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United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

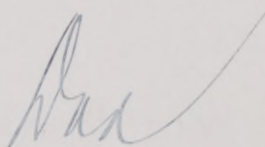
August 16, 1919.

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

My dear Jack:

I enclose you a letter from Mr. W. Winsor, of Oroville, California. I don't recall him, but I have written him a pleasant little letter saying that I have sent his letter to our friends in San Francisco. My difficulty in the present situation, as I have repeatedly written you, is that there is nobody with whom I can communicate officially. Al will not write letters, as you know. The first effective thing that we can do is to get some San Francisco organization and some person who will attend to the detail necessary.

Affectionately,



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WESTERN UNION



TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Receiver's No.
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Time Filed

Send the following message, subject to the terms
on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

August 21, 1919

Hiram W. Johnson Papers
Bancroft Library

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

Confidential. Dad much discouraged over inactivity in California, in regard to committees etc. Letters arriving each day asking for information about committee. Can you not spur things up a bit, and send him some definite report? Shame to lose precious beginning. Is Al McCabe on the way or not? Love.

Mother.

Night letter
Charge to Senator Hiram Johnson.

ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a message should order it REPEATED, that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this, one-half the unrepeat message rate is charged in addition. Unless otherwise indicated on its face, THIS IS AN UNREPEATED MESSAGE AND PAID FOR AS SUCH, in consideration whereof it is agreed between the sender of the message and this Company as follows:

1. The Company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any UNREPEATED message, beyond the amount received for sending the same; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any REPEATED message, beyond fifty times the sum received for sending the same, unless specially valued; nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines; nor for errors in cipher or obscure messages.

2. In any event the Company shall not be liable for damages for any mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of this message, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of FIFTY DOLLARS, at which amount this message is hereby valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing hereon at the time the message is offered to the Company for transmission, and an additional sum paid or agreed to be paid based on such value equal to one-tenth of one per cent. thereof.

3. The Company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this message over the lines of any other Company when necessary to reach its destination.

4. Messages will be delivered free within one-half mile of the Company's office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or towns. Beyond these limits the Company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender's request, as his agent and at his expense, endeavor to contract for him for such delivery at a reasonable price.

5. No responsibility attaches to this Company concerning messages until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices; and if a message is sent to such office by one of the Company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender.

6. The Company will not be liable for damages or statutory penalties in any case where the claim is not presented in writing within sixty days after the message is filed with the Company for transmission.

7. Special terms governing the transmission of messages under the classes of messages enumerated below shall apply to messages in each of such respective classes in addition to all foregoing terms.

8. No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

INCORPORATED

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

CLASSES OF SERVICE

TELEGRAMS

A full-rate expedited service.

NIGHT MESSAGES

Accepted up to 2.00 A.M. at reduced rates to be sent during the night and delivered not earlier than the morning of the ensuing business day.

DAY LETTERS

A deferred day service at rates lower than the standard telegram rates as follows: One and one-half times the standard Night Letter rate for the transmission of 50 words or less and one-fifth of the initial rates for each additional 10 words or less.

SPECIAL TERMS APPLYING TO DAY LETTERS:

In further consideration of the reduced rate for this special "Day Letter" service, the following special terms in addition to those enumerated above are hereby agreed to:

A. Day Letters may be forwarded by the Telegraph Company as a deferred service and the transmission and delivery of such Day Letters is, in all respects, subordinate to the priority of transmission and delivery of regular telegrams.

B. Day Letters shall be written in plain English. Code language is not permissible.

C. This Day Letter may be delivered by the Telegraph Company by telephoning the same to the addressee, and such delivery shall be a complete discharge of the obligation of the Telegraph Company to deliver.

D. This Day Letter is received subject to the express understanding and agreement that the Company does not undertake that a Day

Letter shall be delivered on the day of its date absolutely and at all events; but that the Company's obligation in this respect is subject to the condition that there shall remain sufficient time for the transmission and delivery of such Day Letter on the day of its date during regular office hours, subject to the priority of the transmission of regular telegrams under the conditions named above.

No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

NIGHT LETTERS

Accepted up to 2.00 A.M. for delivery on the morning of the ensuing business day, at rates still lower than standard night message rates, as follows: The standard telegram rate for 10 words shall be charged for the transmission of 50 words or less, and one-fifth of such standard telegram rate for 10 words shall be charged for each additional 10 words or less.

SPECIAL TERMS APPLYING TO NIGHT LETTERS:

In further consideration of the reduced rate for this special "Night Letter" service, the following special terms in addition to those enumerated above are hereby agreed to:

A. Night Letters may at the option of the Telegraph Company be mailed at destination to the addressees, and the Company shall be deemed to have discharged its obligation in such cases with respect to delivery by mailing such Night Letters at destination, postage prepaid.

B. Night Letters shall be written in plain English. Code language is not permissible.

No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, MASS., CHAIRMAN.
PORTER J. McCUMBER, N. DAK.
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FRANK B. BRANDEGEE, CONN.
ALBERT B. FALL, N. MEX.
PHILANDER C. KNOX, PA.
WARREN G. HARDING, OHIO.
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CLAUDE A. SWANSON, VA.
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KEY PITTMAN, NEV.
JOHN K. SHIELDS, TENN.
C. F. REDMOND, CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 23, 1919.

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

My dear Boys:

The event of the week with us, of course, was the visit to the President and its subsequent developments. It was upon my suggestion that the Foreign Relations Committee asked the President for such knowledge as he was able to give us concerning the league and the treaty. My suggestion was made, not because I expected information, or anything in the matter of publicity, except the worst of it, but because I wished to relieve the committee, and the individuals, of the imputation constantly indulged, that we were holding hearings, taking testimony, etc., and yet refused to go to the source of information, after his cordial invitation. The result was quite as I expected. In a foxy and cunning fashion, worthy of a White House politician seeking a petty advantage, the President read a speech to us, which, as his supporters here exultingly said, gave him the first publicity and enabled him to put it over us. This was quite true. After he made his speech, in a desultory fashion, he was questioned, the stenographers transcribing as we proceeded, and handing the transcripts to the newspaper men waiting below. In the first place, legitimate cross-examination of the President could not be indulged. Our people yet have too much worship for power, and are too cringing in the presence of royalty, for an instant to tolerate an adequate exam-

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ination; and then again, an obstacle quite as great, is the fact that you can not conduct any sort of examination with sixteen men, all of whom seek to be in evidence, and all of whom realize that their words ^{are} going out to the public almost as soon as uttered. I was fortunate in being able to ask, in practically continuous form, the few questions I desired to present, and in asking these questions I accomplished what I sought. Wilson asserted that he did not know of any of the secret treaties until he reached Paris; that he did not write the celebrated fourteen points in January, 1918, to supplant these secret treaties; that he deprecated the Shantung decision and had been against it; and he declined to give the documents which would afford us real information. In my opinion, his memory played him false concerning the secret treaties. He didn't know of them when we entered the war, but he did know of them when he made his speech of January, 1918, in which his famous fourteen points were stated. He stated these points for the very purpose of eliminating the secret treaties, and in their stead, substituting the war aims of that message. I happen to know this to be a fact from one of those who assisted in the preparation of the fourteen points, Walter Lippman of The New Republic, but Wilson denied it. His denial I do not think was an intentional falsification, because there are too many people who know the circumstances and facts themselves to show the contrary. When we entered the war, there were various groups of treaties in existence among the belligerents. There was that group of treaties which dealt with the Pacif-

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ic Islands and Shantung - the most cynical, corrupt, and outrageous bargainings concerning an ally's territory it is possible to conceive of. There was the group of treaties determining the western boundary of Europe and the Saar Valley, practically as the treaty with Germany now disposes of them, and ^a group of treaties as well disposing of territory in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and the various colonies of Germany. All of these treaties were published by the Bolsheviks in the latter part of December, 1917, and the early part of January, 1918, and at that time, I purchased my copies of them from The New York Post. The President unquestionably knew of these treaties in January, 1918. And the peace now being made, if you've observed, is being made exactly in accordance with these secret bargainings during the war. The President, during the day we were with him, bore himself, I think, with equanimity and courtesy, and generally excellently. He was ready in the expression of his opinions. He exhibited no hesitation in saying what he thought of various matters. He refrained, of course, from giving any real information. I rather think the day was his, and that if our people took the trouble to wade through the three pages of questions and answers they would believe he came off with flying colors, and particularly so, if they started with the address he delivered, in which he took us to task for not acting; then told about how necessary it was to ratify the treaty in order to stabilize business, and of the sufferings of industry and the business world from delay. All this is the veriest stuff in the world, but I rather think he has put it over. Our difficulty is that we are utterly without leadership, and that there is no real solidarity of

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action. The Republican members are generally suspicious of one another. There are so many candidates for President among them that no individual's prominence meets with approval, nor will the program outlined by any individual be followed ^{by} any particular number of others. After the presidential examination, we had luncheon with him at the White House. I observed him very carefully during all of the time. I rather think he was interested in me too. He is alert, fairly quick thinking, but with a mind which does not and can not grasp detail. He is an uncanny thing to look at. When he turned, as he did as I began my few questions, he was quite tense, and his whole expression, although not so intended, was quite wicked. His face in repose is hard, and cold, and cruel. When he smiles, he smiles like certain animals curling his upper lip and wrinkling his nose. His is not the infectious laugh of the red-blooded individual. His ponderous lower jaw gives a very strange appearance to his ordinary talking, and his brow, which is like the receding brow of a vicious horse, has in connection with the lower part of his face a singular sort of fascination. As one watches his profile, it is not of the intellectual man you think, but of some mysterious ill-defined monster. And yet he was very courteous and very pleasant, and I think extremely forbearing during the day. I am perfectly frank to say to you that I would have seen the Foreign Relations Committee in Halifax before I would have sat there for three hours or more permitting a lot of asses to question me. Nothing demonstrated so pitifully our lack of leadership as Lodge's opening questions. He represents not only the Foreign Relations Committee, a service of more

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than a quarter of a century in international affairs, but he represents the leadership of the great opposition party that for the greater part of its existence has ruled the land. His resources in the queries were limited to a word or two about the other drafts of the league of nations and the Isle of Yap. It was a humiliating spectacle for the Republican Party. By virtue of his position, he could have proceeded with an examination with few interruptions. No other member of the committee could. You can imagine what it is if you had sixteen vain men sitting round a table, each of whom was certain that the world hung upon his words, and each of whom knew his own marvelous ability to outshine that of his fellows, ^{and understand} what the possibilities would be for an adequate examination of a witness. It just happened when Lansing was before us, no individual knew what he wished to ask, and he was about to be dismissed when I commenced. And, because I was so very courteous and quiet, and because nobody knew anything of the subject matter, I was permitted to proceed fairly well; but this is one of the very few instances where a practically uninterrupted examination has been permitted. I sent you Lansing's testimony, and I sent you the President's also. The whole thing is hollow, and artificial and disgusting. The President, in my opinion, has gained by the week and the Senators have lost. This, however, does not, I think, apply to votes in the Senate, and I believe we'll be able to muster quite as many as heretofore. I have been quite delighted, too, to find the sentiment growing in favor of the rejection of the whole infamous treaty and league. Instead of two votes, as we started with, I think we can count now on twelve

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or fifteen, and I believe before we conclude we'll be counting twenty-five, and we need only for total rejection thirty three. I think the President also has put over on the country the high cost of living and has relegated the league subject to the background. I think he did this because he realized he was slipping, and he wanted to divert attention. From what is published in the newspapers here, he probably is not going to make the California trip at all. It still remains problematical whether I shall be able to come out. I expect to go to Baltimore next week, and, at any rate, I shall take advantage of the few opportunities to go around.

If I can, I will try to write you from home tomorrow. I have confined this letter to the one engrossing subject, and I want to get away from it, if I can, and write you of other things.

With all love,

Affectionately,

Dad.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

At Home, Sunday, Aug. 31, 1919.

My dear Boys:

The Foreign Relations committee ran all day yesterday adjourning at five thirty, and I did not therefore, have time to dictate my usual letter to you. I am trying to make up for it by writing at home.

Al. McCabe came last night. We met him and he is here with ~~us~~. I have talked to him in a desultory fashion thus far, but I imagine this is the only way I can talk of the political situation. The job is so big, and requires so much organization and so many lieutenants, that I get lost in its contemplation. In fact, I cant hope to do more than merely scratch the surface, trusting to some cataclysm or revolution to pitchfork us in finally. I've told you, I think, of Wood's organization. He has John King of Connecticut, national committeeman from that state, devoting himself exclusively to the job. King has un limited coin at his disposal, and hires in the different states the workers necessary. He is thus enabled when the soil is not fertile, and in Wood's case he has a groundwrok nearly everywhere, to do what is essential to build up a sentiment. I have been told recently that Hitchcock is Lowden's manager, and through his long continued political activities, and the unlimited use of coin, he is able to do for Lowden what King is doing for Wood. Politics in the East are not like the politics we have created in California.

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COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Here, the old idea of organization, party machinery, ward and precinct committeemen, who answer for localities, control results. I can't hope for this sort of fight, and I'm perfectly content to raise as much legitimate noise as I can, depending on the proletariat for ultimate success. I recognize how slender is hope under such circumstances, and so I'm losing no sleep, now permitting any illusions.

The event of the week is the decision of the President to make his swing to the Coast in behalf of the League of Nations. He backed and filled on this, until he thought so much time had elapsed that he would have the field to himself. He will endeavor to tell the great injury the country is suffering from the failure to ratify the treaty, and how the high cost of living is caused wholly by our action in not forming the League and in delaying adoption of the treaty exactly as presented. There never was a more specious or false plea made, but I presume like "keeping us out of war" and the world vision of the League, he will put it over with the good church people of the land. Tomorrow it will be determined whether I follow him. There are various opinions on this subject. Men who do not like me, and the various candidates for President, think it would be a great mistake. Some, damned few, who are disinterested, believe the people will resent any Senator trailing the President. Others

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like Borah, insist that our side should be put before the people, in exactly the same fashion as the President's side, and that he should be answered by some representative of the Senate. Of course, there is diversity of opinion as to who is the proper person to make the answer, and probably each individual who has made speeches on this subject sees with an incandescent clarity the individual who can answer and confound the President and at once by his persuasive and convincing eloquence lead and direct the populace. However, leaving out the aspirants for President, and the men who have no doubt of their own eloquence, I think the consensus of opinion is that if anybody goes on the road, I should be that one. I am not at all clear about the effect; but I have taken my stand, I am firm in the position I have assumed I must go up or down as I have now chosen, and therefore, both on patriotic grounds and for selfish reasons, I think, if the opportunity presents itself, I'll go to the bat. Wilson has cleverly chosen the Western states as the theater of his activities, because in them, he knows is his greatest strength and the most unreasoning allegiance to his League. I do not know why those states, however, should not respond just as New England did, to pure Americanism. At any rate, with my attitude as it is, with my determination to fight it out on the line I have chosen, I can do myself no harm in preaching my faith any place in the country. You may, therefore, hear from me by wire in the

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COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

next day or two that I am on my way. Coolidge comes tomorrow and the decision will then be made.

I had the Committee adopt my amendment to give the United States as many votes as Great Britain in the League. The Democrats and McCumber voted against this. I want to put the Senate up against it. It seems incredible that an American can oppose this amendment, but it will be defeated before the United States Senate, and the Anglo-Japanese press will all applaud its defeat. What a strange effect the war has had. Instead of arousing our patriotism, and making us stand straighter for Americanism, it has apparently deprived us of the love of country we boasted so much about during the actual hostilities. Long ago, I wrote you the reason. We as a nation, are natural pacifists, and we were patriotic only under compulsion and from fear. However, it's a great fight, and I'd rather end my political career doing as I am, than in pussy footing to a victorious second or third term as Senator.

The Irish yesterday made a great showing before the committee. While I care little for most of them, their arguments on self determination and the reasons for which we went to war as announced by Wilson, were unanswerable. They are raising merry hell with the Democratic party too, and this is the one comforting thing in their agitation.

Thursday I went to Baltimore with Reed to hold a public meeting there. I was quite curious to see what would happen to us in a Democratic and S

Outman.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

to us in a Democratic and Southern city. What really did happen was a repetition of meetings in every other place - a hall crowded to overflowing, hundreds turned away, a cheering audience that never quit yelling until the end of the meeting, a meeting admitted by the local papers to be one of the greatest in the history of the city. I don't see why this cannot be duplicated all over the West, although ~~apparently~~ a neurotic condition exists there apparently at variance with conditions elsewhere.

We were mighty glad to learn from Art's letter that he was again feeling all right. I presume he will have more or less recurrences of his old trouble, until it wholly disappears. Jack's letter with his photos of the children came the other day. How the kiddies seem to have grown. They looked as I presume they now are, like great big boys, strong and healthy. General Burtt was here last Sunday and dined with us. I leave Mother to tell you of his visit. He is now only a Major, a gross and rank injustice, but one I cannot see how to cure with the shrinkage of our army.

I left Mother and Al in the yard talking some deep dark secret. I'll now return to them. You may, and then again you may not, see me in the next four weeks.

With all love,

Affectionately,

Ad.

WESTERN UNION

NIGHT LETTER

Form 2289

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

BELVIDERE BROOKS, VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVER'S No.	TIME FILED	CHECK
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SEND the following Night Letter, subject to the terms
on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

[Sept. 1919]

RD MINNEAPOLIS MINN.

HIRAM W. AND ARCHIBALD M JOHNSON
MILLS BUILDING SAN FRANCISCO CAL.

ITINERARY TO COAST AND RETURN WOULD KEEP ME FROM WASHINGTON UNTIL
OCTOBER TWELTH CONDITIONS THERE PECULIAR I HAVE NO CONFIDENCE IN
THEM FEEL THEREFORE I MUST RETURN LEAVE HERE SUNDAY NIGHT ARRIVING
WASHINGTON TUESDAY SUCCESS OF MEETING CONTINUES UNABATED PEOPLE
AROUSSED IN MIDDLE WEST REPORTS INDICATE ONLY PLACE DIFFERENT
CALIFORNIA AND THIS MADE ME THE MORE ANXIOUS TO COME MY FEAR IS IF
I ATTEMPTED IT NOT ONLY MY AMENDMENT

ALL NIGHT LETTERS TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

The Western Union Telegraph Company will receive not later than midnight **NIGHT LETTERS**, to be transmitted only for delivery on the morning of the next ensuing business day, at rates still lower than its standard night telegram rates, as follows: The standard day rates for ten words shall be charged for the transmission of fifty words or less, and one-fifth of such standard day rate for ten words shall be charged for each additional ten words or less.

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a night letter should order it **REPEATED**, that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this, one-half the unrepeated night letter rate is charged in addition. Unless otherwise indicated on its face, **THIS IS AN UNREPEATED NIGHT LETTER AND PAID FOR AS SUCH**, in consideration whereof it is agreed between the sender of the night letter and this Company as follows:

1. The Company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any **UNREPEATED** night letter, beyond the amount received for sending the same; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any **REPEATED** night letter, beyond fifty times the sum received for sending the same, *unless specially valued*; nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines; *nor for errors in obscure night letters*.

2. In any event the Company shall not be liable for damages for any mistakes or delay in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of this night letter, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of **FIFTY DOLLARS**, at which amount this night letter is hereby valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing hereon at the time the night letter is offered to the Company for transmission, and an additional sum paid or agreed to be paid based on such value equal to one-tenth of one per cent. thereof.

3. The Company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this night letter over the lines of any other Company when necessary to reach its destination.

4. Night letters will be delivered free within one-half mile of the Company's office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or towns. Beyond these limits the Company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender's request, as his agent and at his expense, endeavor to contract for him for such delivery at a reasonable price.

5. No responsibility attaches to this Company concerning night letters until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices, and if a night letter is sent to such office by one of the Company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender.

6. The Company will not be liable for damages or statutory penalties in any case where the claim is not presented in writing within sixty days after the night letter is filed with the Company for transmission.

In further consideration of the reduced rate for this special "**NIGHT LETTER**" service, the following special terms are hereby agreed to:

A. **NIGHT LETTERS** may at the option of the Telegraph Company be mailed at destination to the addressees, and the Company shall be deemed to have discharged its obligation in such cases with respect to delivery by mailing such **NIGHT LETTERS** at destination, postage prepaid.

B. **NIGHT LETTERS** shall be written in plain English. Code language is not permissible.

7. *No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.*

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

INCORPORATED

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

CLASSES OF SERVICE

TELEGRAMS

A full-rate expedited service.

NIGHT TELEGRAMS

Accepted up to 2.00 A.M. at reduced rates to be sent during the night and delivered not earlier than the morning of the next ensuing business day.

DAY LETTERS

A deferred day service at rates lower than the standard telegram rates as follows: One and one-half times the standard night letter rate for the transmission of 50 words or less and one-fifth of the initial rate for each additional 10 words or less. Subordinate to the priority of transmission and delivery of regular telegrams. Must be written in plain English. Code language not permissible.

Telephonic delivery permissible. Day Letters received subject to express understanding that the Company only undertakes delivery of the same on the day of their date subject to condition that sufficient time remains for such transmission and delivery during regular office hours, subject to priority of the transmission of regular telegrams.

NIGHT LETTERS

Accepted up to midnight for delivery on the morning of the next ensuing business day, at rates still lower than standard night telegram rates, as follows: The standard day rate for 10 words shall be charged for the transmission of 50 words or less, and one-fifth of such standard day rate for 10 words shall be charged for each additional 10 words or less. Must be written in plain English. Code language not permissible. Mail delivery, postage prepaid, permissible.

WESTERN UNION



NIGHT LETTER

Form 2289

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

BELVIDERE BROOKS, VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVER'S No.	TIME FILED	CHECK
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SEND the following Night Letter, subject to the terms
on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

BUT WHOLE SUBJECT WOULD BE DISPOSED OF WHILE AWAY THIS TOUR HAS
BEEN GREATEST OF MY LIFE LOVE

HIRAM W. JOHNSON

ALL NIGHT LETTERS TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

The Western Union Telegraph Company will receive not later than midnight **NIGHT LETTERS**, to be transmitted only for delivery on the morning of the next ensuing business day, at rates still lower than its standard night telegram rates, as follows: The standard day rates for ten words shall be charged for the transmission of fifty words or less, and one-fifth of such standard day rate for ten words shall be charged for each additional ten words or less.

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a night letter should order it **REPEATED**, that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this, one-half the unrepeated night letter rate is charged in addition. Unless otherwise indicated on its face, **THIS IS AN UNREPEATED NIGHT LETTER AND PAID FOR AS SUCH**, in consideration whereof it is agreed between the sender of the night letter and this Company as follows:

1. The Company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any **UNREPEATED** night letter, beyond the amount received for sending the same; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any **REPEATED** night letter, beyond fifty times the sum received for sending the same, *unless specially valued*; nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines; *nor for errors in obscure night letters*.

2. In any event the Company shall not be liable for damages for any mistakes or delay in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of this night letter, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the sum of **FIFTY DOLLARS**, at which amount this night letter is hereby valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing hereon at the time the night letter is offered to the Company for transmission, and an additional sum paid or agreed to be paid based on such value equal to one-tenth of one per cent. thereof.

3. The Company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this night letter over the lines of any other Company when necessary to reach its destination.

4. Night letters will be delivered free within one-half mile of the Company's office in towns of 5,000 population or less, and within one mile of such office in other cities or towns. Beyond these limits the Company does not undertake to make delivery, but will, without liability, at the sender's request, as his agent and at his expense, endeavor to contract for him for such delivery at a reasonable price.

5. No responsibility attaches to this Company concerning night letters until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices, and if a night letter is sent to such office by one of the Company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender.

6. The Company will not be liable for damages or statutory penalties in any case where the claim is not presented in writing within sixty days after the night letter is filed with the Company for transmission.

In further consideration of the reduced rate for this special "**NIGHT LETTER**" service, the following special terms are hereby agreed to:

A. **NIGHT LETTERS** may at the option of the Telegraph Company be mailed at destination to the addressees, and the Company shall be deemed to have discharged its obligation in such cases with respect to delivery by mailing such **NIGHT LETTERS** at destination, postage prepaid.

B. **NIGHT LETTERS** shall be written in plain English. Code language is not permissible.

7. No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

INCORPORATED

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

CLASSES OF SERVICE

TELEGRAMS

A full-rate expedited service.

NIGHT TELEGRAMS

Accepted up to 2.00 A.M. at reduced rates to be sent during the night and delivered not earlier than the morning of the next ensuing business day.

DAY LETTERS

A deferred day service at rates lower than the standard telegram rates as follows: One and one-half times the standard night letter rate for the transmission of 50 words or less and one-fifth of the initial rate for each additional 10 words or less. Subordinate to the priority of transmission and delivery of regular telegrams. Must be written in plain English. Code language not permissible.

Telephonic delivery permissible. Day Letters received subject to express understanding that the Company only undertakes delivery of the same on the day of their date subject to condition that sufficient time remains for such transmission and delivery during regular office hours, subject to priority of the transmission of regular telegrams.

NIGHT LETTERS

Accepted up to midnight for delivery on the morning of the next ensuing business day, at rates still lower than standard night telegram rates, as follows: The standard day rate for 10 words shall be charged for the transmission of 50 words or less, and one-fifth of such standard day rate for 10 words shall be charged for each additional 10 words or less. Must be written in plain English. Code language not permissible. Mail delivery, postage prepaid, permissible.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, MASS., CHAIRMAN.

PORTER J. McCUMBER, N. DAK. GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEB.
WILLIAM E. BORAH, IDAHO. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, MISS.
FRANK B. BRANDEGEE, CONN. CLAUDE A. SWANSON, VA.
ALBERT B. FALL, N. MEX. ATLEE POMERENE, OHIO.
PHILANDER C. KNOX, PA. MARCUS A. SMITH, ARIZ.
WARREN G. HARDING, OHIO. KEY PITTMAN, NEV.
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF. JOHN K. SHIELDS, TENN.
HARRY S. NEW, IND.
GEORGE H. MOSES, N. H.

C. F. REDMOND, CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

September 3, 1919.

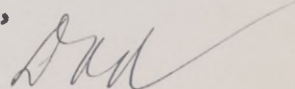
Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Mills Building,
San Francisco.

My dear Boys:

I wrote you Sunday of the possibility of coming to California. I want to advise you at the earliest possible moment the whole thing is off. I am not clear whether the trip is off because those who are in charge of the League for the Preservation of American Independence believe it ill-advised, or because the tremendous success of my former trip has caused my brethren to be most anxious to prevent any others on my part. I am hastily sending you this note so that you'll know the fact. This is sent on the morning of my birthday. McCabe and Stanley Washburn are both with us.

With all our love,

Affectionately,



HENRY CABOT LODGE, MASS., CHAIRMAN.
 PORTER J. McCUMBER, N. DAK. GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, NEBR.
 WILLIAM E. BORAH, IDAHO. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, MISS.
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 HARRY S. NEW, IND.
 GEORGE H. MOSES, N. H.
 C. F. REDMOND, CLERK.

United States Senate,

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

September 8, 1919.

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
 Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
 Mills Bldg.,
 San Francisco.

My dear Boys:

I wrote you very briefly last week that my itinerary to the Coast was off. The facts were undoubtedly that I had too much success in New England. A little organization, the League for the Preservation of American Independence, was called down for sending me out on the road. I will not go into detail with you now, but it was the usual incident of our standpat brethren. They are ever remembering politics, and even in a fight for a principle, making their politics the main thing. When we became convinced of the facts, Borah, McCormick, and I got together and resolved that we'd go to the bat anyway. We've had an awful week trying to fix a trip. It is a difficult thing to stump the United States without any aid. We did, however, succeed in making an itinerary for this week and next, as follows:

September 10,	Wednesday noon,	Hamilton Club, Chicago
" 10,	" evening,	Chicago Auditorium
" 11,	Thursday evening,	Indianapolis
" 12,	Friday noon,	City Club, St. Louis
" 12,	" evening,	St. Louis
" 13,	Saturday evening	Kansas City
" 15,	Monday evening	Des Moines
" 16,	Tuesday "	Sioux Falls
" 17,	Wednesday "	Sioux City
" 19,	Friday "	Duluth
" 20,	Saturday	Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Thence, if conditions permit, to Pacific Coast, with meetings

Spokane
Seattle and Tacoma
Portland
San Francisco
Los Angeles

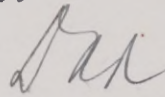
and on return, if possible

Salt Lake
Denver
Topeka and Wichita
Omaha

This takes me to the principal places which have been visited by the President. The Chicago meeting will be our flare, in which the three of us will appear. I then go my way alone for the remainder of the tour. The greatest obstacle to the trip and to coming to the Coast is the possibility of action in the Senate. The international bankers who are back of the league have become seriously frightened and are willing to accept the drastic reservations proposed. If the matter is held in the Senate, as it ought to be held, for a month, from Minneapolis I will come to Spokane, and thence down through California, but I can not be positive upon this point until the situation develops here. We feel very proud of the fact that we have gone to the bat in spite of our colleagues, and in spite of the opposition, and the endeavors to prevent us. It is up to me now to make the tour successful, if I can. I do hope I can get out to the Coast. I would be there but a couple of days, and I think it is the thing to do. Last night, after our trip was assured, and the itinerary published, the gentlemen who had forbidden it a week before, began to suggest their aid,

sending other speakers with me, special train, and the like. I told them to go to a warmer place, that we had made the trip of our own initiative against their desires, and we did not desire or require any of their valuable assistance. Mother, of course, will not go with me on the trip. If I decide to go to the Coast, she will go there, although this is doubtful.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'D.M.' or similar, written in a cursive style.

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

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

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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.

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Miram W. Johnson Papers
Bangs Library

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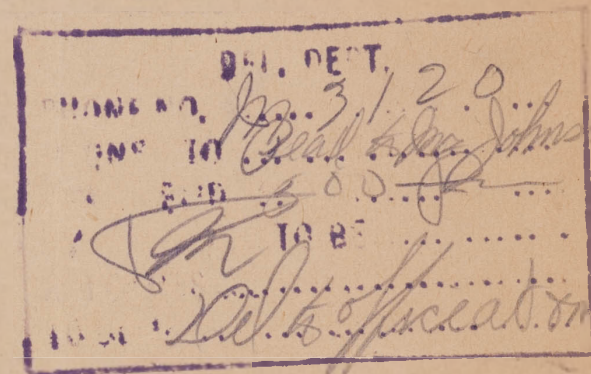
MRS HIRAM W JOHNSON



323 ²⁷⁷⁷ SENATE OFFICE BLDG WASHINGTON DC

TOMORROW HOTEL BALTIMORE KANSAS CITY HAVE SHIPPED LAUNDRY FROM CHICAGO
AND STLOUIS WELL ELATED AND HAPPY LAST NIGHT MOST WONDERFUL MEETING
I EVER ADDRESSED HAVE LEFT MY VOICE IN STLOUIS BUT
HOPE TOMORROWS REST WILL RESTORE IT WIRE ME ANY NEWS OF SENATE
SITUATION TOMORROW LOVE

HIRAM W JOHNSON.



1919 SEP 13 PM 14 35

NAME	Mr. J. H. Smith
ADDRESS	123 Main St., New York, N.Y.
CITY	New York
STATE	N.Y.
COUNTRY	U.S.A.
DATE	1919 SEP 13
TIME	PM 14 35
RECEIVED AT	COMMERCIAL BANK OF NEW YORK
BY	J. H. Smith
FOR	Mr. J. H. Smith
AMOUNT	\$100.00
CURRENCY	U.S. DOLLARS
REMARKS	PAID TO ORDER

RECEIVED AT COMMERCIAL BANK OF NEW YORK

Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
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RECEIVED AT PINE & MONTGOMERY STS., SAN FRANCISCO. ALWAYS OPEN.

1919 SEP 14 PM 9 00

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KANSASCITY MO 14

HIRAM W AND ARCHIBALD M JOHNSON

3340

MILLS BUILDING SANFRANCISCO CALIF


JUST A PERSONAL WIRE TO THE BOYS THE MARVELOUS WEEK NEVER HAD
BEFORE SUCH MEETINGS OR DEMONSTRATIONS LAST NIGHT HERE SEVENTEEN
NIGHT BEFORE STLOUIS FIFTEEN THOUSAND BOTH MEETINGS EXCEEDED
PRESIDENTS WHILE DEMONSTRATIONS MANY TIMES LONGER AND GREATER
THIS WEEK SMALL PLACES ENDING SATURDAY MINNEAPOLIS CANNOT TELL
ABOUT COMING COAST THINK NOT LOVE

HIRAM W JOHNSON.

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

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WESTERN UNION



TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

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Hiram W. Johnson Papers
Bangor Library

KANSASCITY MO 14

MRS HIRAM W JOHNSON

35

CARE SENATOR HIRAM W JOHNSON 323 SENATE OFFICE BLDG WASHINGTON DC
PLEASANT DAY HERE LEAVING TONIGHT DESMOINES AWFUL TRIPS IN PROSPECT
ITINERARY FOR WEDNSDAY AND THURSDAY IN AIR WILL NOT GO SIOUXCITY
LAST NIGHT GREATEST MEETING IN MY CAREER THE BUTTING IN OF NO
CONSEQUENCE THE WEEK HAS BEEN MARVELOUS GREATEST IN ALL MY EXPERIENCE
LOVE

HIRAM W JOHNSON.

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

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
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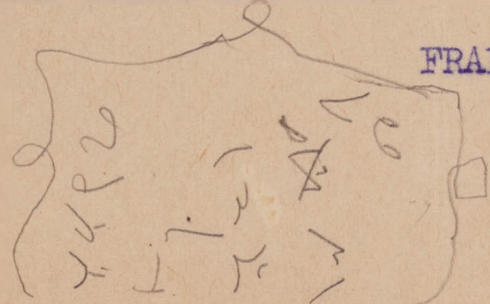
MRS HIRAM W. JOHNSON

4375

323 SENATE OFFICE BLDG WASHINGTON DC

ANOTHER FINE MEETING TONIGHT CROWD HERE DISPOSED TO BE
RATHER CALM AT FIRST AS THIS HAS BEEN ENEMY TERRITORY
BUT CHIEF COMPLETELY CAPTURED THEM AFTER HE WARNED UP AND
THERE WAS SPLENDID DEMONSTRATION AT END WE ARE ON OUR WAY TO SIOUXFALLS
CHIEF SENDS HIS LOVE

FRANK.



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

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
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RECEIVED AT PINE & MONTGOMERY STS., SAN FRANCISCO. ALWAYS OPEN.

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HIRAM W AND ARCHIBALD M JOHNSON

[405

MILLS BLDG SANFRANCISCO CALIF

LINCOLN TONIGHT LEAVING THERE TOMORROW NIGHT FOR MINNEAPOLIS
WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO RETURN WASHINGTON THEN AM ONLY DISAPPOINTED
THAT I MAY NOT COME COAST THE TRIP CONTINUES MORE THAN SUCCESSFUL
HOPE YOU HEAR WILSON AND WIRE ME

HIRAM W JOHNSON:

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
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SIOUXFALLS SDAK 16

MRS HIRAM W JOHNSON

3733 323 SENATE OFFICE BLDG WASHINGTON DC

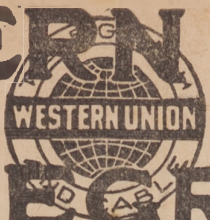
WE HAD FINE AND SUCCESSFUL MEETING DESMOINES BUT HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT SPOILED BY OVERWHELMING MEETINGS STLOUIS AND KANSASCITY. ITINERARY CHANGED SO THAT WE ARE IN LINCOLN NEBRASKA WEDNESDAY SEVENTEENTH HAVE TWO DAYS THEN TO REACH DULUTH BUT MAIL AND WIRES AFTER LINCOLN SHOULD BE SENT TO HOTEL RADISSON MINNEAPOLIS THE ONLY MAN WHO EVER LIVED THROUGH THIS ITINARY IS IN MATTEAWAN AM STILL WHOLLY IN DOUBT ABOUT TRIP TO COAST AM HOPING DEFINITE ADVICE FROM WASHINGTON BUT IF COAST TRIP IS UNDERTAKEN CANNOT RETURN WASHINGTON BEFORE OCTOBER TWELFTH LOVE

HIRAM W JOHNSON.

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
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WESTERN UNION



TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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Hiram W. Johnson Papers
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MRS HIRAM W JOHNSON 3390

CARE SENATOR HIRAM W JOHNSON 323 SENATE OFFICE BLDG WASHINGTON

DC

ON WAY MINNEAPOLIS TALK THERE TO LEGISLATURE TOMORROW DULUTH AT NIGHT
RETURNING IMMEDIATELY MINNEAPOLIS ASSOCIATED PRESS HAS STORY
BORAH WIRES TO RETURN SPLENDID SUCCESS LINCOLN JACK WIRES SAN
FRANCISCO MEETING AND GREETING FROST IF THERE WIRE EITHER COURAGE
OR LEADERSHIP WASHINGTON THIS FIGHT WOULD CONTINUE AND BE WON
HIRAM W JOHNSON.

1891

[illegible]

1. THE FOURTH
 2. THE FIFTH
 3. THE SIXTH
 4. THE SEVENTH
 5. THE EIGHTH
 6. THE NINTH
 7. THE TENTH
 8. THE ELEVENTH
 9. THE TWELFTH
 10. THE THIRTEENTH
 11. THE FOURTEENTH
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 168. THE HUNDRED-FIRST
 169. THE HUNDRED-SECOND
 170. THE HUNDRED-THIRD
 171. THE HUNDRED-FOURTH
 172. THE HUNDRED-FIFTH
 173. THE HUNDRED-SIXTH
 174. THE HUNDRED-SEVENTH
 175. THE HUNDRED-EIGHTH
 176. THE HUNDRED-NINTH
 177. THE HUNDRETH
 178. THE HUNDRED-FIRST
 179. THE HUNDRED-SECOND
 180. THE HUNDRED-THIRD
 181. THE HUNDRED-FOURTH
 182. THE HUNDRED-FIFTH
 183. THE HUNDRED-SIXTH
 184. THE HUNDRED-SEVENTH
 185. THE HUNDRED-EIGHTH
 186. THE HUNDRED-NINTH
 187. THE HUNDRETH
 188. THE HUNDRED-FIRST
 189. THE HUNDRED-SECOND
 190. THE HUNDRED-THIRD
 191. THE HUNDRED-FOURTH
 192. THE HUNDRED-FIFTH
 193. THE HUNDRED-SIXTH
 194. THE HUNDRED-SEVENTH
 195. THE HUNDRED-EIGHTH
 196. THE HUNDRED-NINT

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

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L
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RECEIVED AT PINE & MONTGOMERY STS., SAN FRANCISCO. ALWAYS OPEN.

A180A 60 NL

MINNEAPOLIS MINN 21

HIRAM W AND ARCHIBALD M JOHNSON

3216

MILLS BLDG SANFRANCISCO CALIF

LEAVING FOR WASHINGTON ARRIVE THERE TUESDAY WAS MOST ANXIOUS TO
CONTINUE COAST BUT SITUATION WASHINGTON MADE NECESSARY RETURN THERE
AT LEAST FOR SHORT TIME LAST NIGHT FITTING CLIMAX FOR TRIP EIGHT
THOUSAND CROWDED HALL OVERFLOW OF OTHER THOUSANDS
DEMONSTRATION LONGER THAN TEN MINUTES ON APPEARANCE TRIP HAS
EXCEEDED WILDEST ANTICIPATIONS I TOOK A CHANCE NOBODY ELSE DARED
TAKE AND WON

HIRAM W JOHNSON.

1919 SEP 21 PM 9 57

On Board B & O Train, Chicago to Washington
Sept. 22, 1919.

My dear boys:

I presume there is such a thing as total physical exhaustion and that I'll never be nearer to it than I am now. Two weeks ago tomorrow I started out. Since then I've slept in a bed three nights only - two of them my wife and Saturday nights. It's been the toughest itinerary I ever tackled with the longest and most difficult jumps. But it's been wonderful.

I wrote you before my departure that the petty class currents political and otherwise, had precluded my trip. When this became obvious I got very angry and determined of my own initiative to undertake it. Medill McCormick was more than kind. Raymond Robins more than generous. I wired Chicago asking Jones and George Porter to get a meeting for us. Medill had likewise and guaranteed a part of the expense. I took both him and Borah to make the news if possible, and by appearing in the great center of the West to get the requisite publicity. Nobody keeps these two and perhaps besides a couple of others were in sympathy with my plan. Some believed it could be greatly successful. I sensed the dramatic possibilities and 'tho of course I had to face failure as well as success I went to it. Chicago's meeting paralyzed everybody. No such demonstration had been seen there since Roosevelt's time. We made the news. When I left Chicago, an Ap. 24. and International Correspondence

accompanied me as well as a Chicago Tribune representative. Having new senator from Indiana I begged my Indianapolis ^{meeting} friend and his friends Artaudy did the job. It was like a snow ball then was increasing with ever increasing interest and publicity. To have demonstrations such as St. Louis and Kansas City and Saturday night Minneapolis the least of which exceeded the number - not the number of Scott or Informational officers, but a continuous roar from thousands - took my breath away, and not only did I put over the League of Nations opposition but I think laid a foundation for other things as well. It may not materialize some months hence but it's in the localities where I appeared now.

I figured notwithstanding my weariness, oh so closely on a Coast trip. I found that economizing every hour if I undertook it, I could not return to Washington before October 12. The scrubs there, and many of them because I've become suddenly potential in next years fight, might at any moment by some rotten compromise or by bringing matters to a vote, leave me high and dry. If for instance I were in Los Angeles or Portland or Denver making a speech and suddenly the whole thing were settled, I'd have an anti climax from which I never could recover.

No amount of explanation under such circumstances would suffice, and the innumerable newspapers now regarding me with a great fear, would make me ridiculous before the whole country. I'm now lads I'm in the game - not in the picture tragically - but right in the game, and as usual, I'm unfortunate in having by far the greater part of the press against me. Again, my own amendment upon which I've captured public attention, is even now before the Senate, and I felt I ought at least to show for a couple of days and speak upon it. I was heartbroken to break the continuity of my trip but I believe it was wise to stop at the very zenith of success rather than to attempt an excess of what had occurred. My plans are doubtful now. I just want some sleep and rest. If things develop so it may be done, I may yet come to California but I think that is now past.

Thank you both very much for your telegrams about Wilson's meeting in S.F. You carefully read reports of his California meetings from the pens of the journalistic prestidigitators who are with him. Outside of San Francisco I think he had the best reception in California of any place in the country. The situation surrounds me

Somewhat of 1912. There is a strange little some-
thing in human beings, even friends, which
make them worship at a shrine far removed
and impels them to a malicious satisfaction
in doing honor to a stranger for its effect upon
their intimates. However we needn't worry
about this. I actually outdrew him in
St. Louis, K City and Minneapolis and whenever we
could make companions of demonstrations
and applause, we exceeded him many times.
One instance marked by everybody was the Stated
and blasé Legislature of Minnesota. All
agreed that these men perfumery courteous to
the president, were a hundred fold more demon-
strative at my meeting with them. This sort
of thing perhaps couldn't be done in California
for you know I was born there; but I wanted
to talk to Californians about this wicked
thing he does and lies about.

Al. was with me & I couldn't have got
along without him. He'll be with you Thursday.
Have him tell you the story. I worked him to
death & he was mighty glad to quit.

This is all the paper I have. I brought much
but in addition to my other work I had to write
a thousand words a day for the press boys, new stuff
for them to get off at six p.m. before meetings and then
I had to write my articles for Sunset for next month.
Here's one day of our trip: Arrived Sioux Falls one p.m. with committee
constantly and for dinner. Meeting at eight took sleeper 10:10
arrived Omaha 9 a.m. spoke at noon Minn and Lincoln at night.
Every day the same thing Sioux Falls. But it was great.
Goodbye kids. Love of Love. Dad

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

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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Day Message	
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1919 SEP 23 PM 6 07

A463DA 72

WA WASHINGTON DC 723p 23

MAJOR ARCHILBAD M JOHNSON 1595

MILLS BLDG SANFRANCISCO CALIF

JUST RETURNED WASHINGTON AM ENDEAVORING TO ARRANGE IF YOU DEEM IT
ADVISABLE FOR TRIP TO CALIFORNIA THE SENATE AT PRESENT IS IN MOST
CONFUSED AND PERPLEXING SITUATION BUT I HAVE PAIRED AND TOMORROW WILL
MAKE EFFORT TO GET MY AMENDMENT UP WHETHER I SUCCEED OR FAIL I THINK
I CAN ARRANGE FOR QUICK TRIP HITTING SANFRANCISCO FIRST AND THEN
LOSANGELES DETERMINING FUTURE MOVEMENTS BY WHAT TRANSPIRES
HERE WIRE ME PLEASE YOUR VIEW

HIRAM W JOHNSON.

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WESTERN UNION



TELEGRAM

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1919 SEP 25 PM 2 05

A298DA 33 GOVT

ST WASHINGTON DC 425P 25

MAJOR ARCHIBALD M JOHNSON MILLS BLDG 910

SANFRANCISCO CALIF

LEAVE TOMORROW DIRECT SANFRANCISCO EXPECT ARRIVE THERE TUESDAY HOPE
FOR MEETING AUDITORIUM WEDNESDAY NIGHT OR IF PREFERRED TUESDAY
NIGHT MOTHER ACCOMPANIES ME

HIRAM J JOHNSON.

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

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WESTERN UNION



TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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RECEIVED AT S. E. CORNER PINE AND MONTGOMERY STS., SAN FRANCISCO

ALWAYS
OPEN

1919 SEP 26 PM 7 46

A 442 DA 46 GOVT

WA WASHINGTON DC 656P SEPT 26 1919
MAJOR ARCHILBALD K JOHNSON 1966

MILLS BLG SANFRANCISCO CALIF

LEAVING HERE SIX OCLOCK ON PENNSYLVANIA ARRIVE CHICAGO THREE PM
LEAVE CHICAGO OVERLAND LIMITED SEVEN PM ARRIVE SANFRANCISCO
TUESDAY BETWEEN FIVE AND SIX THINK OPENING MEETING BETTER FOR
WEDNESDAY NIGHT WILL CALL BLACKSTONE FOR WIRES

HIRAM W JOHNSON.