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United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Wednesday, Nov. 3, 1926.

My dear Arch:

In one of my notes enclosed with the books sent you I mentioned our book seller here but got his name wrong. We deal with Wm. Ballantyne & Sons, 1409 J Street, N.W., Washington. I mentioned the name in connection with the failure of Newbegin to send any books for more than a month past, and suggested that he might transfer the order. This note is merely to correct the error in name.

What a wallop our grand old party got yesterday in the East! At this writing it looks like the Senate will stand 48 Republicans 47 Democrats and 1 Farmer-Labor. Saturday we'll have full returns and then I'll comment to you. Butler and Wadsworth were terrible goats.

Affectionately,
Dad.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
HENRY W. KEYES, N. H. WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
FRANK B. WILLIS, OHIO WILLIAM J. HARRIS, GA.
DAVID A. REED, PA. PAT HARRISON, MISS.
RICE W. MEANS, COLO. ROYAL S. COPELAND, N. Y.
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK. COLE. L. BLEASE, S. C.

W. H. KILLAM, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

November 6, 1926

My dear Boys:

As I wrote you last, the absorbing topic of conversation here prior to Tuesday was the elections, and since then, the one engrossing occupation has been the interpretation of the result. Among Senators, of course, the viewpoint depends upon whether the individual belongs to one or the other factions. The old stand-patters are morose, sullen, disgruntled, and vengeful; the insurgents exceedingly cheerful and gleeful. The Democrats don't know whether to crow most about winning a number of additional seats or to be content that they haven't a majority upon whom would fall the responsibility for what might be done before the next presidential election. The Republicans will organize the next Senate of course, but it is done with a margin of 49 to 47, one of the 49 being Shipstead, the Farmer-Labor Member from Minnesota. The recalcitrants, among whom I am numbered, are in a position at any time to raise Cain, and upon every one of them must the majority depend for the organization. The fact of the matter is that the only place where partisanship is displayed is in the beginning of a session when the various officers are chosen, and the committees assigned. These committees, like the one of which I am chairman, immigration, are now all in charge of the Republican Party, and it is this part of the Senate, which is the really important part. With the membership as indicated in the

election, the committees, and thus the organization, will be in charge of the Republican Party. I am very glad this is so. I have seen enough of the Members from the South, that while some of them personally I like very much indeed, I do not wish them, as a Party, either to control the Senate or the Government. These Bourbons are quite as impossible, in my opinion, as those Bourbons, who manage and control the destinies of the Republican Party.

The eyes of the East were centered upon Massachusetts first, and New York secondly. The Massachusetts situation was emphasized by Coolidge himself. He gave out a statement concerning Butler, which was false in fact, and then dramatically to emphasize what he had done, with banners flying and brass bands playing, he went to Massachusetts to cast his vote. The purpose was to dramatize the Butler, and with ~~the~~ psychological effect, to put him over. His repudiation by 60,000 was a tremendous slap in the face.

In New York the Wadsworth fight was made solely on "stand by the President" . Wadsworth, who has ability, has also a real popularity among Republicans, and stands exceedingly well with the Bosses of the Democratic Party. Undoubtedly, as I wrote you, the original plan was to put over Smith and Wadsworth together, but the job was so insistently talked of in New York State, the Independent Republican candidate in every speech making the charge, and the Wagner people re-echoing it, that Smith in self-defense, some thought, had to go the route, and Tammany went down the line for Smith and Wagner. Of course, the election makes Smith the outstanding figure in the Democratic Party. I can not imagine that he will be nominated for President, but there are many who believe

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the contrary. All over the United States, there was a cracking of the Coolidge myth and a recession of the Republican wave. I said, all over the United States. I mean in all but one State. From Massachusetts to Oregon and Washington, Republican candidates had grave difficulties this year, and wherever there was a bitter, close contest with an appropriate candidate, the Republicans lost. There was just one place where conservatism was overwhelmingly triumphant, and where reaction was demonstrated to be firmly fixed, and that place, I regret to say, is our own State, California. Even the reaction against Prohibition was in evidence everywhere, except in California. California demonstrated what I used to say, and what very few believed, that California is dry. And the domination of the southern part of our State in the voting becomes increasingly evident. When I read the encomiums of some of my so-called friends upon Shortridge during the late campaign, and observed the eagerness with which those who in times past have called themselves Progressives, rushed to his banner, I had food for very serious reflection. If the lesson is lost upon me, you may write me down hereafter what I will know myself to be, as big an ass politically as those poor boobs who because they themselves become candidates fondly imagine the whole world will be for them.

The Members of the Senate have been returning here to try Judge English of the Southern Illinois District. Suddenly, however, he has resigned, and the trial is at an end. We'll have three weeks, therefore, before Congress meets, with little or nothing to do.

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The weather here is not unpleasant now, but I confess I cannot withstand the cold as formerly. I regretfully remember my old hunting days when the coldest mornings were a delight to me, when I used to laugh at my fellows because they would shiver and shake, while I was wholly imperturbable. Now, an icy breath finds me seeking shelter. I do not know whether it is because the cold so affects me, or because of the difficulties that we have had about our house, but no longer do I take the pleasure in it that formerly I did. I really wish we were living in the City here. I look forward to the winter with a ~~certain~~ sort of dread, certainly not with any degree of pleasure.

May I suggest that when you write me next, instead of directing your letter to me, you direct it to your Mother?⁷ She has not had a letter from either of you, I think, since our return, and she has spoken of it a number of times. It is difficult for her to write by hand because of a peculiar numbness in her right arm.

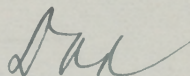
Our animals are a source of constant joy to us. The little doggies are the dearest things in the world. I think there could be nothing dearer, certainly no animal more attractive, none that bids so effectively for affection, as these little Peeks. Spartan is an old man, staid and sober, but he devotes just so much of his day to playing with Suey, and he does it so gently, and in such kindly fashion, that he quite moves you. Of course, the Princess is the same haughty beauty, Sneaking in

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on fish days, and suddenly without earning, leaping either on the back of our chairs or upon the very table itself, obtains what she wishes, and then stalking haughtily away. All of them, however, in my lonely moments, are really a source of great pleasure to me.

With love to all of you in which Mother joins,

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Dad', written in a cursive style.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
HENRY W. KEYES, N. H. WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

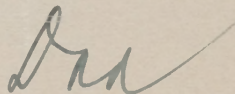
November 11, 1926

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Attorney at law,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, California

My dear Arch:

I received your letter yesterday. I do not answer it now except as to one matter, and that is, the bank superintendency about which I wrote you. You say that Fleischhacker, Drumm, and others, are getting busy and consulting Benjamin in respect to the matter. Is this sufficiently definite so that I can take a crack at it either to Neylan or to Young? You can impress upon the people who are interested in this subject that Neylan's advocacy would be all persuasive, first, because of himself, what he has done for Young, and Young's fear of him; and secondly, because of his absolute control of McCabe. I don't wish you to suggest, of course, the nature of this control of McCabe, for I have kept his confidence in this regard. Keep me advised upon the subject, not that I think I will be able, alone, to accomplish any great results, but so that I may, if the opportunity presents itself, lend what little aid I can.

Affectionately,



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W. H. KILLAM, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

November 13, 1926

My dear Sons:

I received during the week your letters and they were very, very welcome. We had our one-day session on Wednesday last, which was of brief duration but which served to bring together again members of the Senate, and to emphasize not only the vicissitudes of politics, but the peculiar sort of underlying sentiment, that, after all, in greater degree than in any other body of which I have been a member, really exists in the Senate. I think that was a general regret at the defeat of Wadsworth. He is young, active, and usually conducts himself in a perfect parliamentary fashion, which wins the respect, if not the favor, of most of our members. Lenroot has perhaps a greater ability, but a snarlish personality, which has left him very few friends. Butler did not appear, and I do not think there is a single member who sheds any tears over his disaster. The others who were defeated were merely members without any distinctive characteristics, for whom there were no strong antipathies nor lasting friendships. The so-called "insurgent" group is laughing at the plight of the old organization crew. When the Republican Party must depend upon the LaFollettes, the Shipsteads, and the Fraziers, to say nothing of the Norrises, the Borahs, and the Johnsons, to control the upper house of the national legislature, the Grand Old Party is in a mighty bad way. Perhaps it was the realization of this fact that caused the President to

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include me in an invitation to luncheon this week, when Smoot, Curtis, Deneen, Reed of Pa., Borah, McNary, and I enjoyed the high privilege and inestimable boon of eating a meal at the White House and smoking one of the President's cigars. The event, notwithstanding the speculations of the press, was wholly social in character, and the subjects discussed were those that might be discussed at any dinner table where eight or ten people of diverse views met. I wish it were possible for you to sit sometime for an hour with the President, and size him up from the physical standpoint, and draw your conclusions of his character from his physiognomy, and then confirm your view, if that were possible, from his conversation. I really believe there never was a man in high position so politically minded. I do not think there is any principle or policy of government that for one instant will sway him when he believes his personal political fortunes may be influenced. I can not conceive of any conjuncture in our affairs, any crisis in which he would passionately espouse a particular course because of his belief in it, or because it was right. He weighs, I think, his every word and every action by the effect they may have upon his personal political future; and he will say a certain thing or perform a particular act as he decides the effect may aid him. This isn't a nice estimate to have of the President of the United States, but I firmly believe it to be a just estimate, and I really think that those who are studying him closest have reached the same conclusion. Of course, they would never dare publish what they really believe, and equally, of course, our people never will have a true picture of him. I find, though, gradually the view I express is being entertained, and in one Democratic paper,

The New York World, it was expressed the other day, bitterly and harshly. I quote you a few words of what the World in its leading editorial said, so that you may realize what I have written you once or twice of late, the veil is gradually being lifted from the great myth:

"Mr. Coolidge is what he is. He takes no risks. He gives himself to no causes. He fights no battles. He thinks first, last and all the time about his own political convenience, and to that convenience he will as readily sacrifice a cause of which he was nominally the leader as he would sacrifice Senators of his own party who stood by him when he needed help. Just as he would fight only for Senator Butler because there his own prestige was involved, just as he has converted the Republican National Committee into a machine for grinding out his own publicity, just as he is now trying to play personal politics with the surplus in the Treasury, so in regard to the World Court he consults nothing and nobody but himself and his own political interest. He finds it convenient to drop the issue, and so he drops it. What a great man he is! What an inspiring figure! What an example to the Nation! "

The East, that is New York, New Jersey, and the Democratic Party in Massachusetts, look forward to Al Smith as the Democratic nominee for President in 1928. He is the one outstanding figure in the Democratic Party, and he is the natural nominee. My own opinion is that if he were nominated, and I very much doubt that he ever will be, he would split the Democratic Party wide open upon two issues, religion and prohibition, and would be beaten as badly as Cox and Davis have been beaten in the two preceding contests. Notwithstanding the view that we entertain in the City of San Francisco, this country is, after all, dry, and I do not believe any man can be elected President of the United States who is an avowed wet. You had a pretty fair test in California, generally believed to be a wet State, in the last campaign. While San Francisco and vicinity gave its overwhelming majority to the repeal of the Wright Act, the enormous vote in southern California, wiped out that majority, and the State again voted dry, and by increased majority over that by which

the Wright Act was passed. This was done, too, in a period of reaction, where, apparently, the wet sentiment has made great strides. The Nation, itself, as a Nation, is like California, I think, only more pronouncedly so. I wonder what Uncle Matt Sullivan thinks of the result in California. I remember when I talked to Theodore and some others in San Francisco, they felt that the Wright Act would be repealed by an overwhelming vote. I detest the anti-saloon league. I think its leaders, and I differentiate between them and its followers, are not only narrow, bigoted, and intolerant, but utterly corrupt. I hate to think, though, with the open return of the brewery and the distillery, who would supersede these discredited and detested anti-saloon leaders.

I fear we have got to make up our mind to the fact that the politics of California in the future will be controlled by the enormous vote in Los Angeles County. If we make up our minds to this, we ought to reach the conclusion that a man who has been away from California for nearly twelve years, and who is in bad odor in the great predominant voting portion of the State, could well devote his gigantic energies in his few remaining years to the endeavor, at least, of practising his profession. To begin life over again, however, when one has long since passed the meridian, and has but a brief period to look forward to, when the energy and vitality of youth have yielded to inexorable nature, is rather appalling, and requires a courage, my dear boys, that neither youth nor lusty manhood can either conceive or comprehend.

Your Mother and I have been out a couple of time of late to dinner, and when I become Dictator of the world I am going to issue

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two Fascismo laws. The first will imprison immediately those who accept dinner engagements and arrive from half an hour to an hour late; and the second will prescribe a dinner hour (which, by the way, will be earlier than eight o'clock) and it will be made a felony to delay beyond that dinner hour, a single second; and those who fail to be present at the particular hour fixed, will be put upon bread and water for a period of ten days thereafter. We attended one big rout lately. About thirty people sat down to dinner, for which we were invited at eight o'clock, and we actually began the repast at nine. I presume this made little difference because champagne was served with an abundance during the dinner and in the hours succeeding that I never observed excelled in the pre-Volstead period.

The trips your Mother and I were going to take we simply did not take, because Mother has been busy constantly since our return, principally with the dressmaker. It is getting so cold now that, undoubtedly, the contemplated trips will be abandoned. Our car is a source of the greatest pleasure to us. We had a little difficulty with it lately when the clutch gave out, and we were compelled to have a new clutch put in. The agency here said the life of the clutch was about three years, so I presume it was simply a question of an outworn part. We're inclined if anything happens to the car always to blame the driver, but I think that it was no fault of his, in this instance. He really gives it pretty good service, and takes better care of our cars than any man we ever had before.

With all my love, in which Mother joins,

Affectionately,

Dad

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
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W. H. KILLAM, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

November 20, 1926

My dear Boys:

As Saturday comes around I find I really take pleasure in talking to you in the only fashion that I now have, and this, even though I have little or nothing to say.

During the past week I have been devoting myself to the Naval Hospital here in the hope that the very inconsequential physical ills I have, ~~may~~ be accurately diagnosed and ultimately eliminated. I have gone through such a physical overhauling as I have never had before. I have learned just what I knew, that there is nothing the matter with me, except some toxic condition, which ought not to interfere with ordinary comfort or a real longevity. A bad condition of some of my teeth the X-ray demonstrated, and early next week, I hope to remedy this by extraction. A full report hasnot yet been rendered me by the physician in charge. This will come, I presume, within the next few days; but I feel just as I did about the situation in San Francisco, that I know exactly what is the difficulty with me, the causes of the vertigo with which now and then I am afflicted, but that I cannot put my finger upon a cure, nor has any physician been able to do so. I am dieting in the strictest sort of fashion at present, and keep in reasonably good trim. I can no more, however, determine when I am going to be hit with the little disagreeableness than I can determine any unknown future event, and consequently even when on the strictest diet I get cracked now and then, *and it is* which

is utterly incomprehensible, and no doctor has yet succeeded in telling me why. I have no doubt that in the present instance I will have no better success, although in the present instance, I feel that I have had my first thorough and complete going over.

The Members of the Senate in pretty fair numbers are drifting back into Washington. Their attitude politically at present is interesting in showing the rapid changes which may occur. The harshness which two years ago was exhibited by the most hard-boiled of the standpat crowd toward the peculiar representatives of the Northwest and the LaFollette group has mellowed with the November elections, and everybody who declared himself at all a Republican is now welcomed into the National Republican fold. You can readily understand that there was most intense interest in the recent elections, but no sooner had the result been ascertained than the eyes of all of those politically minded gentlemen in Washington turned to 1928. Coolidge has rather emerged from his coy position of pretending he might not be a candidate in 1928, and is now in full cry for the nomination then. And this all within the past two weeks. Lowden has developed strength in the wheat states and unquestionably in a fight could carry them against Coolidge. Borah is the little white child of the Anti-saloon League, really a candidate and preparing for a fight which he will never have the guts to enter in 1928. Hoover, of course, is a continuous and perpetual candidate, but undoubtedly in the political will of Coolidge has been made his residuary legatee, and therefore will not go to the bat in '28 if Coolidge does, but accept his reward in '32. If there is any such thing as a Progressive branch of

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the Republican Party in California it will be in rather a peculiar position in 1928. The presidential preference primary will be in May, and subsequent primaries for the selection of a United States Senator, Congressman, etc. in August. With no Progressive candidate for President, the delegations to the Republican Convention by default will go to Coolidge, and the delegates selected by Mr. Chandler, Ralph Arnold, Mark Requa, and assisted by some of our individuals probably, will go to the Republican National Convention, participate in the nomination of the President, return flushed with their activity, and bask in the sunlight of the smiles of the successful candidate, and with all the prestige thus given will probably control the August primaries. Among a few here, however, there is an increasing sentiment that Mr. Coolidge may be disposed of by 1928. I do not share this belief, but much may happen in a year and a half.

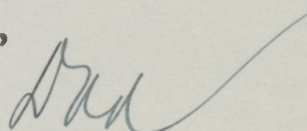
I have been varying my reading of mystery stories by again reading a little history to your Mother. I have said to you before that to me there was nothing so interesting as Macaulay's history of the brief period from the accession of James in 1686 to the death of William just after seventeen hundred. It seems incredible that a man could devote ten volumes to so brief a period, but each one of them is crowded with eloquent narrative and with the most fascinating recital. The time during which the Stuarts ruled over England is to me the most interesting part of English history. The story of that ill-fated family has always had a singular charm for me, and while I have never been sympathetic with a single member of it, I have always felt they constituted an essential part of the struggle from which Anglo-Saxon

liberty finally emerged - the very liberty which we enjoy today. I have been reading to your Mother, therefore, of the Stuarts and their times, and I think she has enjoyed it quite as much as I have. For a brief period my memory will retain incidents, and even expressions of the principal characters of history, but I fear I have made that memory very frail by the continuous and indiscriminate reading of "penny dreadfuls".

Chops has developed into a limousine dog. When Mother leaves the house now, he insists on accompanying her. He has the proudest carriage and most arrogant gait of any dog I ever saw, and wherever he goes he excites attention. He rides uncomplainingly just as long as we'll permit him. Our rides, therefore, are taken with Spartan on the front seat, and Chops sitting between us inside.

With love to the kiddies and to Martha, and to both of you from Mother and myself,

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Dad", with a long, sweeping flourish extending to the right.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
HENRY W. KEYES, N. H. WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
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W. H. KILLAM, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

November 27, 1926

My dear Boys:

There is an election in Maine next Monday, and just as hope springs eternal in the human breast, the Democratic Party shows its resiliency by loud claims of Democratic success, and then finally, control of the Senate. The election is for a successor to Senator Fernald. The Republican nominee, a very distinguished gentleman, who represents public service corporations, and who because of his big business connections is quite an appropriate Republican candidate, has been charged with all sorts of things of late, and the Democrats base their hopes upon the efficacy of these charges and their influence with Maine voters. In my opinion, they forget entirely the famed New England conscience exemplified by the wooden nutmeg. It does not otherwise exist. The fact therefore that the Republican nominee in Maine may have bribed a Canadian Premier, and the fact that he has expended a sum of money in his primary greater than that the law allows, I doubt very much will affect the election. If it should, the Republican Party must depend for the organization of the Senate in 1927 upon Shipstead, the Farmer Labor candidate of Minnesota, and the two or three men like LaFollette, that they endeavored to read out of the Party a year ago. With men like myself, it is a matter of little consequence anyway. Some of us feel like the spectator at the contest between the man and the bear. I can not bring myself to believe that charges of corruption will affect the voters of Maine, when the formal trials we have witnessed

of late have had so little affect upon our people generally. To no one but a crank like myself is there anything humiliating in the trial of a Cabinet officer recently in New York and the trial, too, there of one of the highest officials in the land, nor in the present trial in the City of Washington of a Cabinet officer and a multi-millionaire. Our people view these trials in a sort of detached spirit I think, somewhat as they look upon a contest between rival factions. The fact that on the one hand is cancerous corruption, the worst thing in a Republic, does not seem to affect our people's thought at all. The only time there has ever been in all history anything paralleling what is happening today was during the Grant Administration, and the expose' then was not comparable in its filthy corruption to what has been recently developed. Just think of the Attorney General of the United States, the most powerful law officer we have, accepting bribes, destroying records, and during his whole term of indecency actually running the entire politics of the Republican Party, the dominant Party of the Nation! And here in Washington now, we have a member of the President's Cabinet, whom the President himself told me he wished for Secretary of State, after many years being brought to book before a jury, and with the sympathy, generally, in my opinion of the populace. The only consoling thought to me is in reading English history of a couple of centuries ago, and as one marks then the immorality, as we understand how a whole people could recognize the mistresses of kings and ennoble their illegitimate children, as we follow how even a foreign nation would expend its money among the chosen representatives of the people, and how the existing government maintained an official whose sole duty was to bribe Members of Parliament, we can feel, if we'll think in terms of centuries, that we have pro-

gressed, and that really we have gradually grown better. It is only by thinking in terms of centuries, however, that I can maintain any degree of optimism.

Thanksgiving Day Mother and I observed by going to the McLean luncheon, where probably three hundred sat down to an elaborate repast at one thirty. These affairs are simply indescribable in their elaborateness. One of the interesting features of them is that present are Cabinet officers, Supreme Court Judges, and high officials of the Government, and that liquor in abundance is served as a part of the banquet. I am one of the very few who does not indulge in it, but this is because of physical infirmity, rather than because of a Spartan virtue. The interest in these affairs of the McLeans is that they constitute a sort of gathering of all Washington notables. They are too crowded and too elaborate for individual enjoyment. We ate our Thanksgiving dinner at home alone, and thought much of our sons. I enjoyed the day despite the fact that early in the week, after careful X-raying I had extracted the largest tooth in my head.

Senators and Members of Congress are arriving now in great numbers. My distinguished colleague came during the week. He is entitled to hold his head high and to come here as the most popular man in the State of California, and the one statesman who has been overwhelmingly recognized as such by the people. The two seats of learning in California, Berkeley and Palo Alto, he carried, I think by seven or eight to one, and he can claim legitimately, therefore, that he is the ideal of the young and sturdy manhood of our State, the pattern upon which their lives should be fashioned, at once the admiration and the pride of cultured California. I have talked

with the newspaper men quite a bit, never broaching the subject myself of my colleague, but none of them can understand his success, and when I tell them that our people believe that his standing here is second to none, and that he is the most influential man on the floor of the Senate, that this stuff was put over in our State, they all laugh their heads off. But the Benjamins, and the McCabes, and the rest of them, and I may add, the vast majority of the people of the State of California, see in him something they never have observed in any other man from California, and rise to him with a unanimity never before expressed.

The Queen of Rumania has gone. She was "a dreadful flop" after the first week or two, but that occurred only when she started on her journey west. When she came here, and when she held her banquets in Philadelphia and New York, there was an obsequiousness among our "best people" that was simply nauseating. By actual count at the Philadelphia banquet, one hundred and four, nearly all millionaires, and all of them of course extremely prominent, passed in front of her raised dais, which had been arranged like a throne, made obeisance, and kissed her hand; and in New York, hundreds did exactly the same thing. Americans crept, and crawled, and groveled, and some excused themselves by saying it was the custom across the water. I remember when I was very young, King Kalakaua of the Sandwich Islands came to San Francisco. He was a big, buck nigger. San Francisco society groveled at his feet because he was a king, and they paid him exactly the same kind of homage than New York and Philadelphia society paid to the Queen of Rumania. I recall there were a few people then in California who expressed their contempt for the attitude of their fellows, but they were not many, just as there were a few people in

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the east who expressed their contempt for the attitude of snobs here, but those expressing contempt were few. We were all amused at the distinguished double ender Borah. He was invited, as chairman of the foreign relations committee, to the dinner given by the White House to Marie. He immediately told the newspaper men that he would not attend, that he would be with Plebians and the proletariat then. But he sent Mrs. Borah instead and she was photographed in forty different poses as one of the guests at the dinner. This is the way he ever plays the game. He keeps ^{an} anchor windward. He still has the geatest forum of any man in the congress, but I think among his fellows his prestige has been greatly lessened.

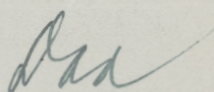
I received the other day from Mr. Walter Tuller of Los Angeles a copy of the recommendations made by the committee of lawyers for speeding up justice and remedying the evils in criminal procedure now existing in California. I have only glanced very hastily at these, but it is my intention in the future, if time permits, to take them up, and express my opinion concerning them. I do not want to change the rule of unanimity which now exists in criminal jury cases. I do not desire to assent to the judge selecting the jury, and I am most emphatically opposed to permitting the judge, in accordance with the English system, to comment upon the testimony. Our judges are fitted neither by education nor environment for this role. Indeed, in my opinion, many of the evils which now exist in criminal procedure, are attributable solely to the judiciary. I will not endanger the liberty of the decent citizen, nor will I take from him the safeguards which long years of experience have demonstrated to be necessary in order to catch a single criminal, or to make more easy

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the conviction of some miserable culprit. However, I will write you more of this some day in the future, and I am going to write my views to Tuller if I get the opportunity. The fault is not with our law. The fault is with the administration of the law, and when I say this, I mean with the individuals selected as judges to administer the law.

With my love to you, to my dear grandchildren and to Martha, in which Mother joins, I am

Affectionately,

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

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
HENRY W. KEYES, N. H. WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
FRANK B. WILLIS, OHIO WILLIAM J. HARRIS, GA.
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GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK. COLE L. BLEASE, S. C.

W. H. KILLAM, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION
December 1, 1926

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

My dear Jack:

I received, yesterday, your note of November 23, concerning taxes, etc. Would it inconvenience you to pay the amounts you have listed in your note, and then deduct them from the rent?

Mother says to remit nothing further to her on account of this rent, but retain it in the future, so that obligations may be met. I would appreciate it immensely if you could attend to these payments and then re-pay yourself out of the sums which may come ultimately from the Renners.

There is nothing new here except preparation for Monday's Session. A Committee has come from Los Angeles to look after the Boulder Dam legislation and, while I am fond of them all, they are going to be something of a nuisance. One of the singular things about residence in Los Angeles is that it not only deprives one of a sense of humor, but makes ~~one~~ perfectly certain the world's attention and admiration are focused upon that self-satisfied, overgrown village.

With love to the kiddies and yourself, in which
Mother joins,

Affectionately,

Dad

December 2, 1926

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Attorney at law,
Mills Building,
San Francisco, California

My dear Arch:

I have just received a letter from California, which I think authoritative, telling me that Jim Johnston is presented as a compromise candidate for superintendency of banks. This will be no news to you, I assume, because of what I have seen in the press. In addition, it is stated that McCabe, Neylan, Finn, and Parrot had agreed upon Will C. Wood for this position, and that they have used every endeavor to get Wood to consent to take it. Wood at the time, my information was sent me, was doubtful whether he should or not. The action of these four gentlemen is the action of Gianninni. You need be under no misapprehension in this regard. Whether Billy Williams knows this is another matter, but it looks to me as if Gianninni was playing both ends against the middle in usual fashion, and leaving Billy Williams and the rest of us who would like to see Deligne, to hold the bag.

Hastily and affectionately,

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

W. H. KILLAM, CLERK

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

December 3, 1926

My dear Boys:

I am doubtful if I will get the opportunity tomorrow to write you my regular weekly note, and so I am sending you a word on this Friday. Our days are beginning to be very different from what they were when first I came, and soon will be completely filled with the work of the session. I look forward to rather a trying time during the session, particularly with our Boulder Dam Bill. We're in ~~the~~ position, so common in a measure designed for the public benefit which affects as well private enterprises. The development of electrical energy under our scheme will be so great that the private power companies are a unit in opposition unless we so amend the Bill that the power generated should be either given or leased to them. We provide on the contrary, in accordance with what is desired by the municipalities of southern California, that governmental subdivisions shall have a preferential right, and we find in consequence not only antagonism, but a united, active, aggressive, and very influential opposition of the southern California Edison Company, South Sierra Power Company, Utah Light and Power Company, and through them, of the great electric trust, the General Electric Company. When added to this is the opposition of the miserable little States like Arizona, that are as selfish in their demands as the private enterprises, you can understand something of our difficulties. And then when I tell you, too, that of the seven Colorado Basin States most intimately concerned with our measure, the majority are against us, you'll know that I am very

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greatly worried about the outcome; and my worries are not lessened by the attitude of those interested in the Bill, who affect to believe that the lip service of the Administration is ample for its passage. I can not make them understand that the only enthusiastic advocacy we have is from the insurgent group, whose philosophy of government naturally makes them for the Bill, while those who hold the opposite philosophy of government and prate about individual initiative gravitate naturally to the other side. As if all of this opposition were not enough, we are confronted with a most disagreeable technical parliamentary situation. The Constitution, of course, provides that bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House. Our Bill provides for a sort of underwriting by the United States Government of the cost of the works, but that none of this shall be undertaken until ~~a~~ contracts shall be made by the Secretary of the Interior providing for the entire expenditure. Under the decision~~s~~ of the Supreme Court this is not a revenue raising measure, but under the precedents of the House of Representatives it is. At the outset therefore of action in the Senate, we meet with the conflict of the rights and privileges of the two bodies, ~~the~~ the Senate and Supreme Court holding that our Bill is not within the constitutional inhibition, and the House, arbitrarily, illogically, and unjustly taking the other position. I am hoping, of course, that the House will act first upon the measure, thus preventing the question of prerogative and parliamentary procedure from arising, but if the House does not speedily act, I shall endeavor to go forward in the Senate anyway. Then we must first settle the long-standing and much vexing question of the

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privileges of the two Houses, and thereafter make my contest upon the merits. Of course, southern California is simply lying in wait for failure upon my part, and then to ascribe it to my relations with the present Administration. But this is part of the game, however, and I console myself with the thought that if I don't want to be here to indulge in this sort of thing and submit to the timidity, cowardize, treachery, and back-biting of politics, I don't have to, but so long as I choose this field of activity, I must accept what naturally comes from a turbulent nature and a singular temperament like mine.

I have been encouraging your Mother of late into going out a bit more than she has ever done here before. I have been very interested in the outcome. I know, whatever she may say, that she has enjoyed it, and on one or two occasions where we have attended dinners, whose appointments and atmosphere were all that the most cultured could desire, she has had a real thrill and pleasure. During this session, quite contrary to our usual course, I shall see that she does this more and more. I have not yet reached the stage where I can have her mix with women, or give them some little entertainment of her own, and it is a difficult thing to have any kind of entertainment at our own home, notwithstanding we have everything necessary for it. Mother thinks that it is so necessary for her to provide more elaborately and better than anybody else, that every^a simple dinner at home becomes a tremendous and wearing labor. However, I think this we'll overcome with the added social engagements she is now accepting. Of course, I know you will not say that I have written any such thing to you, but I would like to have Mother do what she does so readily and easily,

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make friends among her own sex, and have something to do with them. I quite share her prejudices concerning ordinary women today, but nevertheless, I am sure if she would overcome them, she would have a great deal more pleasure.

The Maine elections resulted as I prophecied to you last Saturday. The complexion of the Senate will remain Republican, and really, the situation will be little different from what it was before. There is no leadership in the Republican Party at all, and as a Party, it has accomplished little for the past couple of sessions, and will accomplish even less in those to come. The fact is, there is no difference in the leadership of both parties. It is expected that the wet and dry issue may cause a great flurry in 1928, but I am by no means certain of this. The President will maintain his present attitude, which nobody knows, and about which he will not tell. New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, will make every effort to have the Democratic Party dry, and the South and West will probably prevent ^{it}, so the two Parties will go to the bat in 1928 in practically the same unsatisfactory position upon this issue then that they went before the people in 1924. The feeling is general, although nobody seems to be able to tell me why, that there is going to be a slump in the market, and that 1927 may see a very difficult financial year. If this really happens, Republican success will be rendered doubtful in 1928. If it does not occur, Republican success then is certain.

I have watched the Victory and Harmony dinners in California. I have seen our Progressive Governor-elect sitting with Mr. Crocker in one instance, and then I have read of Irving Martin, Charles L. Neumiller cheek by jowl with Joseph Knowland, Ralph Arnold, and

others of that ilk. I presume this is the politic thing to do. It is the thing I have never been able to do, and which unquestionably has caused my political difficulties. The appointments Young will make in the first three months of his administration I think will enable a fair estimate to be formed of what he is going to do. Somehow or other I imagine he is going to come through fairly well, notwithstanding his timidity and his anxiety to sit at the feet of those who tried to destroy him. Between him and his first legislature will be the honeymoon period of his administration, and I look to see nothing but harmony. Thereafter will come the rub. I think you are both fortunate in holding a detached position and caring nothing from the personal standpoint for what may transpire. I think, too, that when a man has sixteen or eighteen years of this sort of life, it is time for him to remove into a similar position.

I notice by the papers that Judge Jerry Sullivan finally has reached the summit of his life-long ambition. Long before your time, he made many unsuccessful efforts to get upon the Supreme Bench. He rendered the celebrated Sharon decision where he showed a real courage. His ambition thereafter was thwarted by the great financial interests that took umbrage at his decision rendered in favor of Sarah Althea Hill, and I can recall the campaigns made by him in which literally barrels of money were spent to defeat him. He retired rather embittered and disappointed. How strange are the mutations of time that now when he is almost gone and wholly senile, for a brief month, he has that for which forty years ago he would have given anything.

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The thermometer the last couple of days has been down in the 20's, and winter is upon us. I am looking forward to the first snow. There is always a charm to me in a snow storm and the novelty of it has not yet worn off.

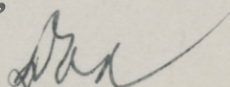
Mother and I now are well. I am concluding today at the Naval Hospital. They went through me with absolute thoroughness, winding up with my teeth, and something was done with a tooth that was extracted that I had never heard of before. A culture of the tooth was taken, and the laboratory report was this:

"The culture shows streptococcus viridans and gram pantoce bacilli".

Translated into English they insisted this means a very virulent rheumatic, neuritis, arthritis, etc. germ, and that I ought to be relieved of all those rheumatic ills with which I had suffered in the past. Since the extraction of the tooth, however, ten days ago, I have had three or four good doses of the old rheumatic difficulty ascribed by these physicians merely to a remaining condition, which ultimately will disappear. I confess to you a good deal of skepticism about this stuff, but it is very real to the doctors. Neither these doctors, nor Ebricht, nor any one else, have been able to locate with any definiteness the cause of the vertigo which has troubled me, and as I have felt all along, I must rely upon myself and an extraordinary care and abstemiousness.

My love to the kiddies and to Martha, in which Mother joins.

Affectionately,



HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
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COLE L. BLEASE, S. C.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

December 3, 1926

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Attorney at law,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, California

My dear Arch:

The distinguished addition to our household, which you supplied, lived up to his high reputation in the ride across the continent. Tubby was no worry or care on the journey, bore himself like a well-bred gentleman, and committed neither nuisance nor depredation. Since our arrival, however, he has exhibited a flightiness and an irritation that, at times, have caused us some alarm. Spartan and Chops were in very strict attendance upon Suey, who was in an interesting condition. Tubby did not apparently care for this, and at the most inopportune times he would make sudden assaults upon one or the other. Chops, phlegmatic of temperament and slow of movement, would suddenly stall and growl, while Tubby like an Indian chief attacking a frontier train would circle about him, barking in the most hysterical fashion, and evidently reduce Chops to a state of terror and desperation. This was of little consequence, but when Tubby devotes his attention to Spartan, with shrill cries, feints, and then will nip him, Spartan stands it as long as he can, and then himself gets mad, and we have the devil's own time seizing the two of them. If I were sure that Spartan would just give him a nip, and thus teach him to quit his non-

sense, I would not care, but we fear that in his anger, he may do a real injury to the little fellow. I don't know just what we can do, but we are hoping that time will mend the condition.

The first two days we were here were like summer. The second night, however, at midnight the thermometer was 70 and at nine o'clock in the morning 40. Since then we have had winter, and I presume from now on, we'll have our regular winter weather.

Mother contracted a cold the day she left California and it grew suddenly worse in the trip across the continent. She has now a cough, and while it racks her, because of its awful croupy sound, it wrings my nerves, too. She wont take any care of herself, and so we have had our cause of worry from the time we left California. I am hoping to get her to see the doctor, although I probably will not succeed.

The talk here is mainly political, and because this is the centre of things, there is constant seething and boiling. I have been very much surprised to find that, at least, half of the members of the press believe that Coolidge is still a candidate and will be renominated for President. Yesterday in talking with Senators from New England I found that they had the same opinion, and Reed of Pa. expressed the like view. I can not agree with this, but they make long arguments to demonstrate that the Black Hills declaration of the President meant nothing more than that he would not engage in any active candidacy, and that his silence since then conclusively demonstrates that he expects the nomination to be given him, and will accept it.

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Very few of those with whom I have talked think that Mr. Hoover will be nominated, although they admit a certain strength for him in various localities. Apparently, all agree that the big shadow in the background is Dawes, and that after a few ballots have been taken by the Convention, it is not unlikely that he will be nominated. However, this is based upon the theory that Coolidge may indulge in a clarifying announcement before the Convention. The Coolidge speech to be delivered to the National Committee next week is out, and in it he maintains his sphinx like silence, to which New Englanders point as further confirmation of their view.

It looks as if we are in for a hectic session. There is no doubt in my mind that both Coolidge and Hoover, privately, have backtracked on our Boulder Dam Bill, and while I shall do my utmost in its behalf, I do not think it is within the realm of possibility to succeed this time.

With love to Martha and yourself in which Mother joins,

Affectionately,

Dad

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

W. H. KILLAM, CLERK

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

December 11, 1926.

My dear Boys:

As I prophecied to you last week, with the beginning of the session, began as well a hectic time. My day I can illustrate to you by saying that I get in about half past nine to the office, begin committee meetings at ten, run to twelve with these committee meetings, when the actual session begins, which terminates about five, or if anything important is on, half an hour or an hour later. I try to steal enough time to get a shave during the day and to go over to the exercise room. The committee meetings are quite as important as the session, often more so. In these committee meetings arise questions of gravest moment, sometimes very interest^{ing}, and sometimes even quite fascinating. There are hearings, when testimony is taken, and the affirmative and the negative sides presented, often with very great preparation, and occasionally, by men to whom you can listen with attention and profit. My own committee of immigration, because of the innumerable questions which have arisen on account of the new law is fairly busy. To this, add the commerce committee, which deals with many and varied subjects, as its title might indicate, and the foreign relations committee with the international questions and treaties, which always have a charm, and you'll understand that not only are we fairly busy, but rather interestedly and happily so. In the senate, just as in ordinary bodies, there are men who are industrious and indefatigable in their duties, and others

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who wont work at all. Take men like Borah, for instance, He will do no detail work. He attends the sessions when he wishes to make a speech, or wishes to go into the press, and because he devotes himself exclusively to publicity, and because of the unique position he occupies, due in great part to his ability, his share of publicity exceeds that practically of all other members. He has reduced advertising to an art, and is to be congratulated upon his success. In doing this, however, he has reduced his usefulness to a minimum, and his influence in the body is nil. Aside from my colleague and Caraway, I think I am on fair terms with the entire membership. But necessarily, it is a selfish body, in which individuals are constantly thinking of themselves and their own constituents, and have little time or inclination to trouble their heads about other individuals and other constituents.

We're in winter now. For three months we'll have a succession of snows and rain with occasional bright days that are cold. There'll be no weather such as we are accustomed to in winter in California, and no lapse from cold, in reality, until we emerge in March. I confess I fear it more or less.

I wrote you last week that I was the pride of the Navy, having undergone a most rigorous examination at the Naval Hospital here. Eradicated from my system by the extraction of my largest tooth, they told me, was the virulent and poisonous bug that caused rheumatism, neuritis, arthritis, and kindred ills. All of this I wrote you in rather cynical fashion before. I am much more cynical now, for the other night I had the damnedest, meanest attack of arthritis

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that I have had in the past two years, and although quickly recovering, it gave me a bad twelve hours. Of course, our doctors insist it is what remains of the poison, which ultimately will be wholly eradicated. But I receive their assurances with a grain of allowance, and will believe in the efficacy of the treatment when I am wholly free from such disagreeable attacks.

I don't know what to do for your Mother for Christmas, and I can't give you the slightest advice, I fear, in reference to it. I have talked on several occasions to Mother without success. Tomorrow, I am going to talk to her again, and if then I am able to accomplish anything I will write each of you just what she wishes.

With my love, in which Mother joins, to the kiddies, and to Martha, I am

Affectionately,

Dad

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
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GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK. COLE L. BLEASE, S. C.

United States Senate

W. H. KILLAM, CLERK

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

December 13, 1926

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
Attorney at law,
Mills Bldg.,
San Francisco, California

My dear Arch:

I received this morning your letter detailing your conversation with McCabe, and telling me how badly he felt because as he said, I had been panning him, and suggesting that I refrain from panning those who really were my friends, and who would like to aid me in the future. I felt badly myself to read that he felt so, and I regret, really and sincerely regret, that anything I may have said or done should hurt him; but in anything thus said or done by me, I do not think I have done him an injustice. In general terms, I expressed this to you before I left California, and although I did not go into great detail, I believe I expressed myself fairly and with moderation. What he has learned as to what I have said, comes of course from Neylan, and he has learned it, because, as once before I told you, he is now Neylan's hired man. He is in the regular employment of Neylan; that is, he is on the Hearst payroll, as I understand it, but solely under Neylan, and subject to Neylan's orders and directions. When Neylan was here, he talked to me somewhat at length about McCabe. He did not disagree with me generally in my viewpoint of the Shortridge campaign, although he did insist that it was unwise to criticize those who had run counter, either to their pledged words or their

implied faith in the recent contest. You wrote me about the activities of Benjamin and McCabe in the bank superintendency. Without disclosing that you wrote me, I wrote Neylan that they were active, in the hope that I might prevent just what is now being accomplished; for since I wrote you, I have learned definitely (this I want you to keep confidential and repeat to nobody) by a letter from Will C. Wood that McCabe, Finn, Parrot, and Neylan, have all asked him to accept the bank superintendency, and this letter of Wood's simply confirmed what I had previously learned from another source, and what I communicated to you. Wood asked my advice and I have written him today that I can not, under the circumstances, advise him, because when I was in California, the name of Gus Deligne was suggested, which met with a ready approval and endorsement by me, and because of that fact, although I have not spoken to Young about it, nor had any intention of doing so, I felt I ought not to advise him as to what action he might take in the premises.

Now, let me tell you what perhaps you do not wholly comprehend about the last campaign. In 1925, it was agreed among many of us including Mr. McCabe and myself, that we select a candidate for Governor from northern California, and a candidate for U.S. Senator from southern California, and then that we go the route and put them both over. McCabe, because of his peculiar personal relations with Charlie Neumiller, did not wish immediately to make a declaration for Young for fear it might be offensive to Neumiller, but it was thoroughly understood just where he was, and his attitude towards both of the candidates who might be chosen was never for an instant questioned. In pursuance of the agreement among many, I

made two trips to southern California, leaving to the group there, the selection of a candidate for United States Senator, and safeguarding Young's future by insisting that the entire north were looking to him, and that he might be the northern candidate. My insistence unquestionably saved him. ~~to the south~~. When our friends in the South selected Clarke, I readily accepted their choice, and we had a ticket then of Young and Clarke, which McCabe, and everybody else was to go to the bat for. Finn told me personally that he did not want to come into the open against Shortridge, but assured me definitely that he would do nothing whatever in his behalf. He told Mr. McCabe, in substance, the same thing, and he told Neylan, in substance, the same thing. Both of them subsequently conceded to me that Finn broke faith. I left California in 1925 with all of us in thorough accord, neither disagreement nor discord of any kind, and with an understanding that no one questioned in the slightest degree, that we would go forward for the two candidates, and make a regular, old Progressive fight. Indeed, so firmly fixed was this viewpoint that when Neylan was here, he and I in Burlington, Vermont, ^{as late as July,} mapped out a plan of campaign for the two, and neither he thought, nor did I for a moment imagine that the contest was going to be conducted for one of these candidates and not for the other. I was in correspondence with McCabe during the session of the congress, and he never conveyed, directly or indirectly to me that he and those about him were going to make Young's fight and have nothing to do with Clarke. No individual of any kind ever warned me of what was being done in California, and McCabe's few communications - I concede they were few - lulled me into an absolutely false security. It was McCabe's idea that a candidate for

United States Senator should come from southern California, so that there would be no trouble then with a candidacy of mine, should I again be a candidate in 1928. There was a full realization expressed by him of the local sentiment in Los Angeles, and his plan was, in which I agreed, to meet that local sentiment, with a Los Angeles candidate, and avoid having that local sentiment to contend with in 1928. In the discussions my future, apparently, was the source of his solicitude, and the viewpoint, in reality, of all his plans. You know what I ran into when I reached California. When I first got an inkling of it on the train at Sacramento, I was dumbfounded, and the following two weeks were among the very worst I have ever spent politically. I discovered that every one of the people with whom McCabe dealt, and ever keep in mind they were my people whom he was able to deal with solely because he had been my representative, were bound by an ironclad agreement to make the Young fight alone, and to render no assistance whatsoever in the senatorial fight. Mr. Finn, with whom McCabe was in daily consultation, instead of keeping the position that he had agreed to occupy, was the foremost advocate of Shortridge. The Shortridge campaign was being conducted practically from Young's headquarters. Young's manager was a Shortridge man, and all along the line I found those who had been with me in the past, and with whom McCabe had dealt for me, could not, or would not, because of an agreement with him, do anything at all in the senatorial fight, except, in reality, against us. As you know, I went ahead and did whatever I could in a perfectly hopeless fight. What might have been done, if I had not been delivered to Shortridge during the months I was absent,

was demonstrated by what was done in Sacramento and Fresno where Carlos McClatchy insisted upon both fights being made together. In both those counties Young was successful and Clarke was equally successful. Havenner told me of his futile efforts made again and again to receive some assistance from McCabe in the Clarke fight, and how each time he was rebuffed. It is too obvious to require any statement that if a man had been interested in my welfare, it would have been impossible for any such situation to develop, but the worst thing about it was keeping me in entire ignorance, and indeed advising me in such fashion as to never put me on my guard. Six years ago, I was dumbfounded to find McCabe making the Shortridge fight. I could not understand it, and when I took him to task for it, he never could make me any adequate explanation. There was no earthly reason for it, and in it he devoted an effort as great as he ever put into any political contest. The very lists that I had, I learned subsequently, that were in his control, were delivered, and these lists I have never been able to obtain since. I cannot fathom his attitude in this last campaign. It certainly was not conducted by any interest in my present or my future political welfare, and it has put me in a situation where if I had a candidacy in 1928, it would be most difficult. The wrong of it is that McCabe's influence arises solely from his connection with me, and that when he bound ^{others} the State, and all our friends in the State to a single fight in the last primary, they assumed he was speaking for me. The fact is, ~~that~~ we can leave out whether it was done intentionally or not, McCabe delivered me and everything I had politically, to Shortridge in the last campaign, and has bound me hand and foot, and not only jeopardized, but prob-

ably prevented future success on my part. I think, therefore, that he is not justified in feeling badly because of my attitude, although I am very sorry if he does. I am the one that feels badly, for I recall the long years when in opposition to most of our people, I stood behind McCabe, and I remember my last act as Governor was the endeavor to put him in easy circumstances with the Insurance Commissionership; and I recall even here, when he had lost that office, how I told him I would hold out here any place he desired, and I then had the power, in order that he might live in ease and comfort. On the one hand, therefore, with McCabe is this affectionate care I have ever had for his interests; on the other, is his political activity, which possibly destroys me.

I am panning nobody, and when McCabe says that I am, I think he means that in my talk with Neylan, I did express something of what I have here written concerning him. You must remember in considering the circumstances of the last campaign, McCabe was the Manager of the Young fight. I did not know this until I reached California, and only when Irving Martin, who was the ostensible head and Young himself, told me that the entire politics of the contest were under McCabe's management.

Pardon this long screed, but I wanted you to know, if you did not already fully understand, just what the situation is. A little more than a year ago, when I initiated the fight that culminated in Young's success, it was undertaken in a more disinterested fashion than any political fight I have ever known. I trusted those about me, but I feel that those I trusted, and who are now reaping the benefits of the victory I won, have betrayed me.

My love to Martha and yourself,

Affectionately,

Dad

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
HENRY W. KEYES, N. H. WILLIAM H. KING, UTAH
FRANK B. WILLIS, OHIO WILLIAM J. HARRIS, GA.
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RICE W. MEANS, COLO. ROYAL S. COPELAND, N. Y.
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK. COLE L. BLEASE, S. C.

W. H. KILLAM, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

December 14, 1926

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

My dear Jack:

After I wrote you on Saturday I received yours of December 6 in which you told me you had sent a check to Madison and Burke for the taxes. Thank you very much indeed. I am sending you Mother's automobile slip so that you may do whatever is needed in order to obtain a renewal of the automobile plates and license.

I was sorry to read that you got a touch of bronchitis. You know I think it is a sort of hereditary thing with us. Your grandfather used to be afflicted with the infernal thing, and that is really the trouble with me, I think, when I get a cold during the winter here. The worst of it is that it may turn into pneumonia, so be very careful, lad. When you get a touch of it, stay home.

I have noticed by the papers you have had a big storm. What caught my eye was the picture in one of the papers of boats tossed by the wind upon the shore. One of the Senators here, Metcalf of Rhode Island is as fond of the water as you are. He has ayacht about 115 feet long. I was chatting with him a bit about it today, and of our celebrated sea voyage. He thought our trip was fine.

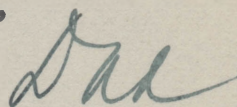
We are really busy here now and will be until adjournment on the fourth of March. We're all pretty good-natured, but we'll get

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nasty, and quarrels will be frequent. These, undoubtedly, will add to the interest of the session, so far as the newspaper men are concerned, and to the gaiety of those who are not immediately engaged in the quarrels.

Love to the boys in which your Mother joins.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'W. W. Johnson', written in a cursive style.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

W. H. KILLAM, CLERK

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION

December 18, 1926

My dear Boys:

It is after four o'clock this Saturday afternoon, and I would not think my day was complete, or that my week had been finished, if I did not send you my regular letter. I am going to dictate therefore a few pages to you in relays to Miss Connor, and Mrs. Hale, the other stenographer here.

I told you that we were beginning to have some cold weather. It came today with paralyzing suddenness. This morning, the thermometer was below 10, and the effects of the recent snow storm are still in evidence at our home. Fortunately, the sun is bright overhead, and for that reason, we can stand the great drop in the thermometer. When the atmosphere is murky and the sun obscured, with the thermometer low, Washington is the worst climate on the face of the earth, and I really think the most dangerous.

This week we have been doing more than our usual share in social festivities. We dined out Thursday night at a very select, and charming dinner party, singularly enough with the sister-in-law of Murray Crane, ~~and~~ Mrs. Keep, and after dinner, went to the White House to the musical there tendered the diplomatic corps by the President. Last night we saw Otis Skinner in the "Honor of the Family", and tomorrow night, we attend another of the very elaborate and astounding McLean dinners. This is going pretty strong for me. Just as long as your Mother will go, I will be glad to tag along and do my duty. My great regret is that she will not undertake any entertainment at our home. Opinions of her own sex have

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undergone no change, and while I think she would be quite willing to have me bring mine there, she wants none of hers. I find the house none too pleasantly located for these excursions I have been making of late into the social whirl, and I would not be at all sorry, because of the unpleasantness of living in the quarters of a landlord who is a skunk, and because of the occasional inconvenience on account of distance, to yield up the infernal place. I daren't suggest this, however.

A week ago I became quite exercised over the news that had filtered to us that the Shipping Board was going to sell the Leviathan and sister ships, and dispose of them in anything but a profitable fashion to the Government. I introduced a resolution of inquiry, the upshot of which was that ~~after~~^{more} its adoption I found myself as the head of an investigating committee. I have been holding committee meetings during the past week and taking testimony of officials and others. Perhaps nothing ^{more} has been accomplished than to postpone a contemplated job. This at any rate has been done. It is my hope that the subcommittee, which is fairly sympathetic with me, will agree in my demand that because of the necessity for a merchant marine, the Government continue its operation and pay the price. The very same thing that in every activity of government is now found, we meet at every angle here - interlocking directorates in railroads and shipping companies, in foreign enterprises, and the foreign merchant marine, indulging in a propaganda concerning that which interests them, and out of which they may profit, but in which the rest of our people have but a tepid interest. The propaganda creates public sentiment, and J.P.

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Morgan and Company, and their fellows, prevent the Government from doing what is essential for the national defense and its economic security in order that they may make a profit. The interesting thing to me is that here the men who are in charge of a great governmental work blandly confess their inability to compete with private enterprise. I was finally led to explain to Teller, who is one of the rotten members of the rotten shipping board, that he pays himself and his colleagues the sorriest of compliments..

We probably will get details in the next week, and I am going to try to have something of a brief report, out of which I hope something may come, although I confess in this material epoch I have little hope of accomplishment, - where accomplishment involves a contest between the rights of all and the profits of a few.

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The event of the week here was the result of the Fall-Doheny case. Expert opinion in Washington believed the result a foregone conclusion when the jury was selected. This is a parasitic city; its citizenship is different from that of any other municipality, and I imagine because of its particular kind, a jury is much more amenable to "influence" than juries generally. But, there was much more than this in the case. I think the two attorneys who were appointed at the instance of the Senate by the President, Roberts of Philadelphia and Pomerene of Ohio, gave the best that was in them, and from all accounts Roberts seems to have been a man of ability and a brilliant trial lawyer. They had to fight, however, not only the defense with all its power and its millions, but the United States Government too. The war scare that was injected into the case we all know to have been the ~~various~~ ^{veriest} a letter of his put in ~~By wrong evidence~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ the Secretary of the Navy Wilbur was guilty of projecting this boggy into the trial, and, as somebody remarked immediately afterwards, it was worth a hundred witnesses to Fall and Doheny. The Postmaster General, Mr. New, testified to Mr. Fall's character in most fervent fashion, and Denby, the former Secretary of the Navy, although he was riddled on cross examination, pretended that he was the one who had done the whole job. The atmosphere of the case was one of antagonism from the Government, from the Navy and from everybody connected with the subject matter of inquiry, and when it is remembered that in all the long months of the pendency of this shameless thing there has never

been one word deprecating it or denouncing it from the President of the United States, the difficulties under which the prosecution labored will be manifest. What a travesty these past few months have been with Dougherty and Miller and Fall and Doheny and Wilbur and New and the attitude of the administration, I used to ^{inveigh} ~~inveigh~~ against it all in 1924, ^{and was} / unable to get any publicity for my denunciation. I then said what I now say to you, that the individuals concerned are of little moment; that jail sentences for them are of small consequence. The Falls and the Doheny and the Dougherty and the Millers, and even Coolidge himself, are the symptoms of an existing era, of a system such as I referred to in speaking of the Shipping Board examination, a system, which with its power and its wealth and its influence creates a public sentiment for the wrong out of which a few individuals may make very great profit, It seems a hopeless task to buck this system, but a few men are born to resist it, while the many yield and go with it. I have read with very great interest the editorial comment of the press upon the verdict. It deals gently with the defendants, scarcely any of them seem to see the enormity of Cabinet Officials who dare not take the stand in their own behalf and make ^{explanations} ~~the~~ the lying ~~explanation~~ of their criminality and these not in the course of their trials. I presume, however, the good and the virtuous ought to be satisfied with the prosecution of Col. Green in California, who, as I read the evidence that has come to us by wire, took three drinks of liquor and possibly three bottles of whiskey.

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Green's error, judging from the recent result here, was in not stealing a \$100,000,000 distillery. He would then have been promptly acquitted and not only promptly acquitted, but praised, perhaps, by our leading journals.

I learned, with some definiteness to-day, that Congressman Arthur Free will be a candidate for United States Senator in 1928 and he will have the backing of the Hoover organization and of my distinguished colleague. How far this backing will reach into Progressive ranks, if there are any such ranks, I do not know, but judging from the recent Primary when Mr. Shortridge was able so easily to annex Progressives the embattled serried ranks of the ~~whittaker~~ Progressives of California will follow the example of certain of the Germans at Liépsic when, in the midst of the fighting they deserted Napoleon and marched in a body to the allies. Perhaps, however, these Progressives will feel so happy in their contact with Mr. Requa, Mr. Arnold Mr. Merritt and others that they'll melt like the snowdrift in the sun at the first warm embrace of those above them. Let us hope that Mr. Free's candidacy will be a matter of indifference to us in 1928, and that the attitude of our erstwhile friends may not then concern us.

With my love to both of you and to Martha and the kiddies, in which Mother joins, I am

Affectionately,

Dad