

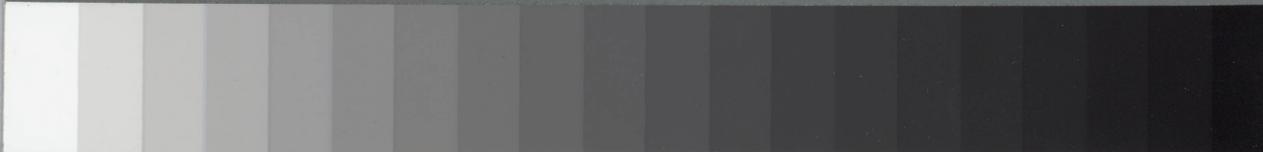
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M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

January 5, 1933.

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

My dear Arch:

The holidays played havoc with me. I ~~have~~ worked here, and then, of course, overindulged, and have since felt like the last rose of summer. Yesterday I got beastly tired while on my feet for two and a half hours, blowing the lid off the foreign debts. What a funny thing it is so many people may think alike upon a subject, and yet haven't the guts publicly to say anything? When I blew the lid off the debt question yesterday, there was a chorus of "yes, yes" all along the line, and the congratulatory statements made to me subsequently quite overwhelmed me. The administration has been hushing any discussion, and has been aided in this hushing process by the big international bankers, and inasmuch as they control the leadership in both parties, I think generally they have succeeded in shutting off any debate upon the floor. A couple of weeks ago Borah and Harrison announced they would speak upon the subject. They were literally silenced. I kept getting

more and more restless, and so, immediately after the vacation period, I announced that I was going to. I did yesterday. I am not particularly proud of the speech that I made, but I said what a lot of people had wanted to hear said, and so the subject went over well. I am wondering how the New Year begins for you? I have grown so weary of hearing here only groans and terrible prophesies! Some of our distinguished conservatives are whispering now all sorts of crazy things about revolution. I haven't the slightest fear of revolution in this country, but I find a change of view on the part of many conservatives that may lead the Congress into all kinds of extravagant errors which may be very unfortunate for the country.

We saw the old year out and the new year in at one of the big routs at Mrs. McLean's. I will not comment upon this. Suffice it to say I am too old to enjoy the social whirl, and the things that seem so very dear to the younger element.

I am sending you this note because Sunday last I did not have the opportunity to write my usual letters. I wrote you a short note immediately after Christmas, and sent you our wire for New Year's Day. We duly received your wire, and were grateful for it.

With love to Martha and yourself, in which
Mother joins, I am

Affectionately,

Dad.

P. S. After dictating the above, I received your letter of January 3rd, and was glad to have it. The reason I wrote you about Jack's voice on Christmas was that it sounded so peculiar over the 'phone, that both Mother and I were quite nonplussed. I am glad to have your note that he is all right. I observe from your letter you have been spending a good deal of time in Los Angeles. I hope something big and profitable took you there. With the opening of your note came the news of the sudden death of Coolidge. I never suspected him of having a mortal illness, and we were all here tremendously surprised and shocked.

Happy New Year to you and Martha!

Affectionately,
Dad

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

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

January 7, 1933.

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

My dear Jack:

I have just received today your letter of January 3 enclosing letter from the members of the Republican County Central Committee dated November 22, 1932, which was sent to you by Mr. E. F. Long of Cottonwood to be transmitted to me. It has been definitely decided here that there will be no confirmation of appointments pending before the Senate or which may be sent to the Senate between now and the fourth day of March. As I understand the communications, Mr. Jamerson is now postmaster, and Mr. Long is a candidate for the position. Jamerson's term will expire February 28, 1933, and the members of the County Central Committee wish ^a change. In situations of this sort, the Democrats will insist upon the appointment of Democrats after the fourth of March. They will have such an overwhelming majority in the Senate and the House that patronage of every kind and character will be taken by them. Whoever, therefore, seeks the post-office at Cottonwood will have to obtain the support of the Democratic organization or the Democratic appointing power. I have written you thus fully that you may, if you wish, have your office

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

copy what I say about the postoffice at Cottonwood, and send it to Mr. Long. I may add that I would be delighted to be of any service to Mr. Long in the matter, but he will have to keep in mind that the Democrats expect to fill all the offices, and that the name of those who desire the offices is legion.

I observed of course with the utmost interest what you have said about Philip. He is undoubtedly at the age where he will become readily reconciled to what you determine. He seemed so very certain of himself and so very anxious to attend Annapolis that it was very difficult to make any suggestion to him; but he probably was like all of our tribe, obstinate in what he believed he ought to do and inclined to fight for it. If he is required to fight life's battles and make his own way in the world like all the rest of us have had to do, your decision, I think, wholly the wise one; if, on the other hand, he will be in the position that so many sons in England formerly were, with an income sufficient for his needs and able to idle, if he desired, then it might be a good thing to let him follow his military bent, subject himself originally to its discipline, and in later years, continue, if he wished, or retire with a handle. However, I take it, the matter is settled now, and settled both to the satisfaction of yourself and the young gentleman.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

I have been intending to write Hiram and Philip and I shall do so at the earliest moment. I want to encourage them in writing me, not only because of the pleasure I get in having their letters, but because of the marvelous affection I have for the two lads, which I do not wish, with their rapidly changing lives now to be dimmed.

The holiday week was a mean sort of week to me. The older I get the less I can stand social functions, and we went about quite a little between Christmas and the New Year. Mother entertained on one evening during that time as well. I am always very glad when Mother has a dinner party, but then I resent the amount of work she does upon it. I would have them much more often if she would do like the rest of the people do, merely direct the kitchen to have a dinner, which would be, in reality, better than most that you get, and then dismiss the subject from her mind; but from the time she issues the first invitation until the infernal thing is over, she works herself constantly, and really rather cruelly. The result, of course, is that even at the most lavish entertainments here, like the two we recently attended at Mrs. McLeans and one at Mrs. Pattersons, where the expenditure of money is unlimited, we really have a better and more elaborate dinner in our very modest establishment.

I have taken a lacing of late, because I had the temerity to speak upon the foreign debts due our country. Dec-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

ember 15, as you know, was the time for the payment of the instalments from the various European nations. Great Britain, after threatening, and fussing, and fuming, and making all kinds of conditions paid the obligation due. France, and half a dozen smaller countries defaulted. About the time that the payments became due, when it was obvious there were going to be some defaults, Senator Harrison and Senator Borah gave notice in the usual fashion here that they would speak upon the subject. But some influence, probably of the administration, but more likely more powerful from the international bankers, silenced these two gentlemen, and there was a policy thereafter of hush hushing upstairs. I grew very impatient and irritable because of it, and so immediately after the holiday adjournment, I went to the bat. It was another illustration of saying the things that ~~the~~ people wanted to hear said, and although I did not say them particularly well, there was instant response. The only good part of the speech that I made was in presenting the background of the loans, which has been very much overlooked, and with ~~the~~ lapse of time forgotten. I was speaking without notes, save the quotations that I had before me, but at times, although in cool type it is not particularly pleasing, I got over very, very well. I would like Philip to take your Congressional Record and read the background I present of these debts, and the table of them. I would like Hiram to do this too, but I presume he will be so engrossed with his studies that this would be rather difficult. I find myself

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr - 5

hampered in a matter of this sort by my abject poverty. In the two days since the delivery of the speech from all over the East I have had requests for it. It costs me to print it \$38.00 for the first thousand and \$10.50 each every thousand thereafter, and today I have reluctantly yielded to Miss Connor's insistence and will print three thousand. Of course, this is wholly insufficient, but it is all that I can do. Another thing that was very interesting in the debate when I blew the lid off, others engaged in an expression of their views. Borah, who has given some hostages I think to the New York bankers had a speech very carefully prepared, which to my mind was the cleverest, most insidious and cunning speech I have heard in many years. He is for cancellation. He endeavored to sugar-coat the dose. He was so cunning and so subtle, that aside from providing justification for France, I don't think he got over what he intended to get over, that is, that we ought to cancel these foreign debts. Indeed, generally speaking, his speech has ranked him with the anti-cancellationists. There probably will be early in the week quite a row over his endeavor to put upon Hoover the entire fault of France. I hope to be able to participate in that row if it comes. The fact is, I did not hear his speech, because I was on my feet two and a half hours, and when I finished I was extremely tired, and as you know, wringing wet and I had to leave the chamber and change my clothes.

Our love to all,

Affectionately,

Dad

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

January 12, 1933.

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

My dear Arch:

I am writing you just a note because I don't want to permit the week to go by without writing you something. We have had a hectic old time of late here. I finally got so disgusted with the distinguished gentleman from Idaho who runs with the hare and hunts with the hounds on our debt proposition, that I went after him the other day. Of course a row such as I have had with him perhaps is no good to anybody, but he has lorded it in such fashion that it is high time somebody in some way called him. Of course the big press here in the east is all Morgan and Company and international bankers, but I can say to you with absolute accuracy that on both sides of the chamber, generally, the members were with me, and most of them not only sympathetic, but enthusiastic. Ever since the occurrence, the galleries have been jammed with queues waiting to hear more of it, and more of it, in my opinion, will come. He will sneak in some time when I am absent, or least prepared, and endeavor to justify himself. He has the better of me in that he does no work at all, and

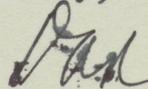
attends the sessions only when he wants to say something, while I have a mass of work constantly before me, and endeavor, as well, to keep tab on everything transpiring in the chamber. However, I do not shrink from the fray. There is one thing that came out of it that rather interested me, and that was to learn not of Mr. Borah's prominence, because that was well known, and constantly emphasized, but to learn there was a prominence almost equal to that of Borah in your "Old Man".

The tales that are told us here are anything but reassuring. Bankers are now beginning not only to talk about inflation, but to insist upon it. It is astonishing how the conservative man is being persuaded at present.

Mother and I keep in fairly good shape. I do hope that you are all right, and that things are improving with you. If it were any consolation, which it isn't, you could feel that half of the world is in the same situation.

With my love to Martha and yourself, in which Mother joins,

Affectionately,



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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

Sunday, January 15, 1933.

M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
973 Green Street,
San Francisco, California

My dear Jack:

Your letters of the 7th and 9th, the latter relating to Bill Mikulich were duly received. There are two men that I want to get jobs for if I can. The first is Bill Mikulich, and secondly Harry Cosgriff. There are others, of course, for whom I would like to provide, but these two, as you may readily understand, are first in my thoughts. My difficulty is wholly in the ability to do what I would like to do. Of course, as you know, I am utterly without the usual cunning of the politician, and politically I act in a way perhaps wholly at variance with established methods. I got into the presidential contest of my own initiative, without thought or suggestion of reward or patronage. I can not bring myself to ask political patronage. The only times that I have done anything in the matter of asking patronage during the entire period I have been here have been when under the recognized procedure it was my right to recommend certain individuals, and my recommendation was deemed practically final. This, of course, was long ago, and from this recognized condition came appointments such as Mike Kelly, John McLaughlin, and a few others. The Democrats are very friendly with me. I think the President-elect desires

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

to be very friendly with me, but nobody representing either the new President or the Democratic organization has suggested that any part of the patronage of the State of California should be mine. The rule would be practically if I were a Democratic Senator that McAdoo and myself would divide the patronage of the State (that is places other than postoffices) and our selections would be final. I had McAdoo at lunch with me the other day here. He is also very friendly, and he is the Democratic national committeeman from California, but in the course of our luncheon (the presence of others may have deterred him) Mr. McAdoo did not mention appointments or recommendations or places at all. There are a thousand Democrats for every place in our State and elsewhere, and as time passes, the Democrats become more and more cocky, and naturally more and more forgetful of the services rendered to them by Progressives. They want the jobs and they know they need the jobs. There are vast numbers of them writing to me upon the theory that I have something to do with the situation, and I can not make anybody believe of those I havetalked to, that I did not have some regular bargain or agreement concerning my activities, the price of which was now to be paid to me in jobs. I have despaired saying that no such thing existed, and that I would under no circumstances enter into any such bargain or agreement. In the dirty game of politics it is an utter impossibility to convince people that you are not just as dirty as the dirtiest.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

One of the very singular things that has occurred since the election is that some of the men who are holding official positions in San Francisco and who were in the Hoover fight, because originally I appointed them, look to me to keep them in office. I have made very plain to McLaughlin and to Mike Kelly, and others that this can not be done, but it is perfectly obvious they believe it could be done, and that I ought to do it.

I can understand something of the attitude of the Democratic organization. The biggest office there is in San Francisco is the Internal Revenue Collectorship. Naturally, this plum the Democrats desire to get, and they will take for themselves all they can. I think Bill is right, the Democrats have parceled out everything there is. If there is any way possible for me to put him in a decent job I am going to do it.

I am hoping to see Roosevelt himself very quietly this week. He is, however, in the Devil's own fix. He has an unruly, and generally speaking, inefficient, incompetent, and selfish crowd to deal with, and he has what no other President has had at the beginning of his campaign, a critical, and rather hostile eastern press. During my own recollections, the early period of a newly elected President has been considered a sort of honeymoon, during which hostility has been stilled, and criticism withheld. They have not waited even for Roosevelt's wedding

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

ceremony, and they are "picking" on him all along the line, and then there are literally hundreds of thousands who are seeking jobs, big and little, and all kinds. He has, apparently, no nervous system, or he could not stand up in the fashion that he does.

Mother and I have been thinking of Hiram today and of his birthday. What a marvelous thing it is to think of the age he has attained. What great treasures you have in your two boys!

I don't write you of the episode of my Borah controversy this week. I will try to do that in my letter to you and Arch tomorrow probably. I did not think I possessed such importance as to have a controversy of mine with anybody create the sensation the interchange between Borah and myself created.

I think the decision you and Philip made is the wise one. He probably will have to fight his way through life, and he better fit himself for the coming contest.

With love to Hiram and Philip, Miss Schow, in which Mother joins,

Affectionately,

Dad.

P.S: You are at perfect liberty to show Bill this letter.

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SATHIRAM W JOHNSON..

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

January 21, 1933.

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

My dear Arch:

I received yesterday your note with the clipping from the PARIS HERALD. I was very glad to get this. I am having the French papers looked into, because, sooner or later, I want to demonstrate that our friend Borah is an ally of France in France's default upon our debts. Although the Senate is such an automatic body, kaleidoscopic in its changes, in personnel, and subject matters, there are even now occasional repercussions of my row with Borah. As I think I said to you before, it is not exaggerative to tell you that those who listened to the exchange pretty generally are with me. Of course, the international press, and those I describe as the "American Foreign Legion" are the other way. The subject of the debts, undoubtedly, will be very much in the public eye in the next few months. Roosevelt, yesterday, agreed to receive the British Commission that may come over. I presume he could not do less, although had I been in his place, I would have declined utterly to consult with Hoover in respect to the matter.

I saw him day before yesterday. I was the first one he saw after his arrival here. What I write you, of course, is in strictest confidence now. Only your Mother knows what was said,

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 2

although I suspect that he had previously talked the thing over with McAdoo, and told McAdoo of his plans. After the first greetings and congratulations upon the result of the campaign, Roosevelt said that he wanted me in his Cabinet. He indulged in many complimentary references, and offered me the post of Secretary of the Interior. I responded, expressing my appreciation of his kindness, and declining the position. First, I wouldn't give a tinker's dam to be in his Cabinet for the reasons I have indicated in the past, and secondly, I would not give an infinitesimal fraction of a tinker's dam to be Secretary of the Interior. I prize my independence more highly than anything, and I do not wish to hazard that independence in any fashion. While there are some things about the Interior Department that are more or less interesting, on the whole, the duties of the particular post would be to one like me in no degree attractive. After my declination, Roosevelt very earnestly asked me to reconsider, and told me of his plans to enlarge the department and make it much more important, and of his desire to have me a part of his official family. I set the matter at rest immediately by telling him I did not desire the position. We talked in the twenty minutes I was with him rapidly upon many propositions. He spoke with apparent frankness. I told him that, in my opinion, the key position ~~be~~ his success was the Secretary of State,

that since 1920 our foreign affairs have been conducted by Messrs. Morgan and Company wholly, and that from two great offices of New York City the personnel of the State Department had been recruited after visa by Morgan and Company. These two offices were those of Root and Hughes. I insisted to him that he should have his own man, neither a Morgan man nor a representative of international bankers, or any individual who had been a part of the Hoover administration or had been, in any respect Hoover's representative. He agreed thoroughly with me, and said that he had a man in mind who had been connected with none of these, and who had an American outlook. I said this was the essential thing, and I was delighted to hear it. He talked of Huey Long, who has been occupying so much time upon the floor, and so much space in the press, and really denounced him quite strongly. He said that he expected to call an extra session sometime between the 15th and 20th of April with a limited program for the Congress then to adopt, and that limited program he felt, by reason of the rules of the House, he could maintain with the Congress without amplification. He is an extremely pleasant individual. He expressed the greatest gratitude to me personally, and was profuse in his kindly references. I left him with the impression that he was a human being, sympathetic and kindly, and that whatever he might do, he was immeasurably an improvement upon the present

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 4

occupant of the White House. I am not at all clear that he has a definite program for relief, but I can ~~not~~ scarcely blame him for this, when no one has.

I was mighty sorry to hear of the death of Carlos McClatchy. I know that the doctors advised him sometime since that his course could lead finally to but one of two results - either death or insanity. The poor fellow could not after his long indulgence change. Although I believe that in the last few months he made a real effort, he was utterly unable to resist the temptation caused by his long indulgence. He was a very able young man, and I am sure that you, as I did, thought a great deal of him. I am very fearful of the result upon the old folks, although perhaps the last couple of years have done them probably all the harm that could be done by the unfortunate situation.

I have been pretty miserable of late, and this morning I went down to the Naval Hospital for a going over. I am glad to report to you that everything is fine, and that, with a little care, I ought to continue indefinitely in good shape.

With my love to Martha in which Mother joins,

Affectionately your father,

Archibald M. Johnson

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

Sunday, January 22, 1933.

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

My dear Jack:

I received your last letter and both Mother and I appreciated, as you well know, hearing from you. I have been glad to read the suggestions you have made about Sales Tax, etc. I think we may have to come to a Sales Tax if we seriously undertake to balance the budget. It is very interesting to observe the shifting ground of economists. A year or two ago, there was an absolute unanimity among them about balancing the budget, and we heard so much of the term, we grew heartily sick of it. Today, a very large number of these wise men assert that in times of depression, it is not necessary at all to balance the budget. I fear they are a good deal like our bankers, - splendid advisers in time of prosperity, but utterly useless in adversity. It has been a very interesting experience to receive letters like that you referred to from Stewart, in charge of one of the Farm Banks in our region, and the gentleman in charge of the Federal Land Bank. Both of these are supposed to be seasoned financiers, technical bankers, and conservative business men. They now actually advocate a bond issue of nine billion dollars, and the size of the issue, with the plan for amortization, and

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

reduced interest frightens even a radical like myself. And yet, something must be done. I tried to impress this on our President -elect the other day, and told him I thought the course would have to be one of trial and error. I think we'll have to experiment with some hundreds of millions of dollars, or perhaps billions, and if necessary waste it, in even endeavoring to find a solution for relief.

I am just in receipt of a wire from Snook at Sacramento saying that the California National did not open yesterday morning, and that there was a heavy run upon all of the banks. Sacramento had seemed the least touched by the depression of any city in California. Apparently, they are likely to be up against it now, and it may be that this is the spark which will kindle the conflagration. We can only hope not.

On Thursday last upon the invitation of the President-elect I called upon him at 3:45 at the Mayflower Hotel. He had just arrived from New York, and mine was his first appointment. Our conversation lasted about twenty minutes, and into it a fair amount of importance was crammed. We began, of course, with the usual felicitations and with his complimentary references to the vote in California, where he said, the victory, in his opinion, was the greatest of any State in the Union. He was very kind and very flattering in his personal references, and these I need not re-tail. After a few minutes of this sort, he said he ^{had}wanted to

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

see me ever since the election, and had made some attempts in that direction, but we had been unable to get together. His politics, he stated, were quite like mine, and he felt certain there was little disagreement between us in our governmental outlook. He wished me to become a part of his official family, not only because he felt our views concerning policies were similar, but because of the personal characteristics he knew I possessed. He offered me the Secretary of the Interiorship, and said that it was an office peculiarly within the knowledge of a western man and of very great importance and ought to be administered by one from the west. He was very gracious in his offer. I tried to be quite as gracious in responding, and thanked him for the expression of his confidence and the compliment that he paid me, but added that I did not desire the position and could not accept it. He then said that it was his intention to place within that department some of the most important activities of government and make it of much greater consequence than even it was today. He urged me not to reject the offer finally because of his very great desire to have me a part of his administration. I replied in kind again and told him that I did not desire the position and wished to preserve the singular attitude that I had always preserved. I might add, parenthetically, that I would not give a tinker's most profane word to be in any man's cabinet, and I would give even less than that tinker's word to be secretary of

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

the Interior. We talked with some rapidity on both sides on other matters. He told me that since 1928 when the Democratic Party was taken over by Smith and Raskob, it had gone to the right, and that in 1932, he was engaged in turning it to the left. I liked this of course, because Smith has become the mere sounding board now of Wall Street and has done his utmost to destroy the liberalism ~~of~~ progressivism of the Democratic Party. I told Mr. Roosevelt that the most important position he had to fill was that of Secretary of State, that he probably knew what I now said to him, but that it ought to be kept in mind. Since 1920 the personnel of the State Department had been drawn from three sources, and always visaed by one. It came either from Hughes office, or Root's office, or the Morgan House in New York City, and had to be approved by Morgan and Company. During these past twelve years, our foreign affairs have been manipulated, operated, managed, directed and controlled by Morgan and Company and until the fourth of March this would be the undoubted fact. I insisted Mr. Roosevelt should have his own man in charge of our foreign affairs, not Morgan's man, not a man of the international bankers, not a member of the present regime, nor one who had been representing Mr. Hoover ostensibly for the past year in Europe, but his own man with an American viewpoint. He agreed with me, and said he had just such a man, free from any of the influences I had mentioned, whose outlook was that of an

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

American. The name he did not mention, and of course, I did not inquire. He told me that he intended to call an extra session somewhere between the 15th and 20th of April, that he wanted a month or so to adjust himself to the situation here, and then when he called the extra session he hoped, due to the rigidity of the rules of the House (this could not be done in the Senate) to control the legislation and to limit it to a half a dozen matters. He felt that with the new Congress consisting of new men he would be able to do the job, and do it without much difficulty. I spoke to him about his meeting with Hoover the following day, and complimented him upon the mode in which he had escaped what was unquestionably an effort to entrap him in the former meeting. He talked then about foreign debts, and I want to repeat now as accurately as I possibly can, what was said, particularly in the light of what is being said now in the East in the American Foreign Legion press: "We have he said, " a perfect parallel in this debt situation. This arises from what happened after the Revolutionary War. The Colonies after the war were of course unable to pay the debt due to France. France politely dunned the little new nation, but realizing the impossibility of the payment satisfied herself on two different occasions, quite a number of years intervening, with an acknowledgment of the amount due, and with a possible postponement of its payment. Of course, ultimately our country paid the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

debt with interest. " I explained to him the attitude that I had maintained, which had been grossly misrepresented, and that was, if any country had any representations to make to us, they could make them and they would be courteously received; that our nation, just exactly as a proud man, would act, would not dicker or haggle or bargain over payment of a moiety of a just debt, that we could not put our nation in the position of being a haggling fish wife, that we could, and we would receive any representations that might be made, ourselves then doing exactly as we deemed appropriate ~~nor~~ doing nothing as the case might be. He seemed to assent to this, but did not affirmatively express himself, otherwise than drawing his parallel. God knows what he is going to be driven into in the next few months.

My interview with him on the whole was very satisfactory. I liked him, and I liked his manner. He is genial, kindly, and sympathetic. I think I may sum up the impression that he made upon me by saying he is just a human being, and because he is just this, he is vastly different from the man who now occupies the White House. I do not believe he has with clarity thought out a fixed, definite program for national relief, but I can not blame him for this, because no one else has. I came away from him pleased and glad that I had done what I had politically in the past campaign. It may be that we'll be grievously disappointed. Indeed, it would be quite a miracle if the world's

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 7

powerful influences, which have controlled and directed our government in the past, do not ~~try to~~ control him. He presents, however, as fair a hope for us as during my political career has been presented by any man.

I have written you in some detail what occurred between Mr. Roosevelt and myself because, before I die, the interview may be more or less historic, and while things are fresh in my memory, I am very glad to transcribe them.

Although considerable time has elapsed, there are still reprecussions of my speech upon our foreign debts, and my exchange with Borah. I am very proud to say to you that my colleagues of different complexions, very generally, were with me in the exchange with Borah, and most of them have complimented me upon it. Borah has become a sort of myth with his extraordinary flair for publicity, and a law unto himself. No one, apparently, has sought to take him to task, and in the particular instance, where insidiously and cunningly he was justifying France, Senators generally were tickled that I took him on. Of course, I get the worst of it in the international press, but as I have said repeatedly to you, this is the price one must pay for absolute independence, and I pay that price gladly. I was interested in what you said about the reproduction of the row by TIME. You would be surprised at the number of people who spoke to me indignantly about it here. I am glad that

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. 8

you saw the little movietone. Perhaps, I will have to do more of this as a matter of self-protection, as well as writing more upon subjects in which I am interested. I can always get my articles published in some newspapers, and they will serve as a record when it is not quite appropriate to break into the proceedings in the senate with them.

I have been rather miserable for some weeks, a lethargic weariness that almost overcomes me in the late hours of the afternoon. I tell you this, because I tell you with it, that yesterday I devoted myself at the hospital to a pretty thorough examination, and I came through it in fine shape. The doctors asserted to me that with a little exercise and a decent amount of care I ought to have many years before me.

I was so sorry about Carlos McClatchy's death. My heart goes out to his parents now at the very end of their lives, and both really very sick people.

With my love to Hiram and Philip and Miss Schow in which Mother joins,

Affectionately your father,

Hiram W. Johnson

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

Sunday, January 29, 1933.

My dear Sons:

I am back on the old Sunday job again trying to write some of my personal letters. With the infinity of detail growing constantly here, and with a correspondence which is far beyond me, I find myself with increasing difficulties in keeping up with what I want to do.

There is little new to write you about. The engrossing subject here during the week has been the new administration that is coming in on the fourth of March, and its anticipatory activities. I confess to you, I don't like what is being done in connection with our foreign debtors, but Mr. Roosevelt seems to be perfectly sure of himself, and for the moment, he is acting as his own Prime Minister and his own Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He may be clever enough to keep out of the pit falls into which our American diplomats have always fallen in their conferences and their diplomatic exchanges, but I am very doubtful of this, and so it is with great concern I observe his present activities.

I know full well the worries of both of you. I have my full share, and the urge is upon me, because you are my dear sons and practically my only confidantes, to write you of mine, but I refrain because of yours. I wish that I

2.

could write you some ray of hope in the financial situation but those with whom I talk here at present see none, and the Lord only knows what is going to happen to us in the next six months or a year. There are some very ominous signs in the middle west where the farmers are setting at defiance legal processes and by the strong arm preventing execution and foreclosures, and the like. I have often repeated to you that if these farmers with their love for law and order ever united with the disorderly and anti-government spirit of the cities, we can look for almost anything. I do not expect of course real revolution in this country, but such things history teaches us come over night, and it may be some little spark that kindles the conflagration. My mail is simply overwhelming with stories of want, and distress, and dissatisfaction, and oftentimes rebellion. Perhaps I get larger quantities of this sort of thing than most men here. I am not sure. At any rate, it is depressing and distressing to read it. I was quite shocked at the failure of the California National Bank. I imagined it to be the Gibraltar of Finance. I have read with eagerness every word that has come to me concerning it, because I fear its repercussions. I was under the impression that there was some affiliation between this Bank and the Fleishnacker institution, but having observed nothing of this sort in what has been written me in letters and printed in the press about the failure, I was probably wrong.

3.

Mother is well, and I am in fairly good shape. Washington gossips and gobbles. It seems as if it has less understanding of what is going on in the country, in my opinion, than almost any part of the nation. The Senate is in the lowest repute I think that it has ever been since I came here. Senators either are unaware of this, or in their egotism and vanity, utterly disregard it. There is a gradual recognition coming, however, with the most hardhearted of the distress in the nation, and yet nobody knows what to do. In my despair I have been preparing a bill along the lines suggested by Stewart and Hendrick of the two Farm Land Banks in our region, but as I go through the matter and their suggestion of the issuance of nine and a half billions of bonds I think that their minds are as distorted financially as Brookhart, or any of the other wild men, who talk of an inflation greater than that ever before attempted by any nation. I could go along with the inflationary process, which would be gradual, contained, and controlled, but once the process really starts in times such as we have, it is likely to pass all bounds, and its reaction would be worse than the situation we seek to cure.

With my love to all, in which Mother joins,

Affectionately,

Dad

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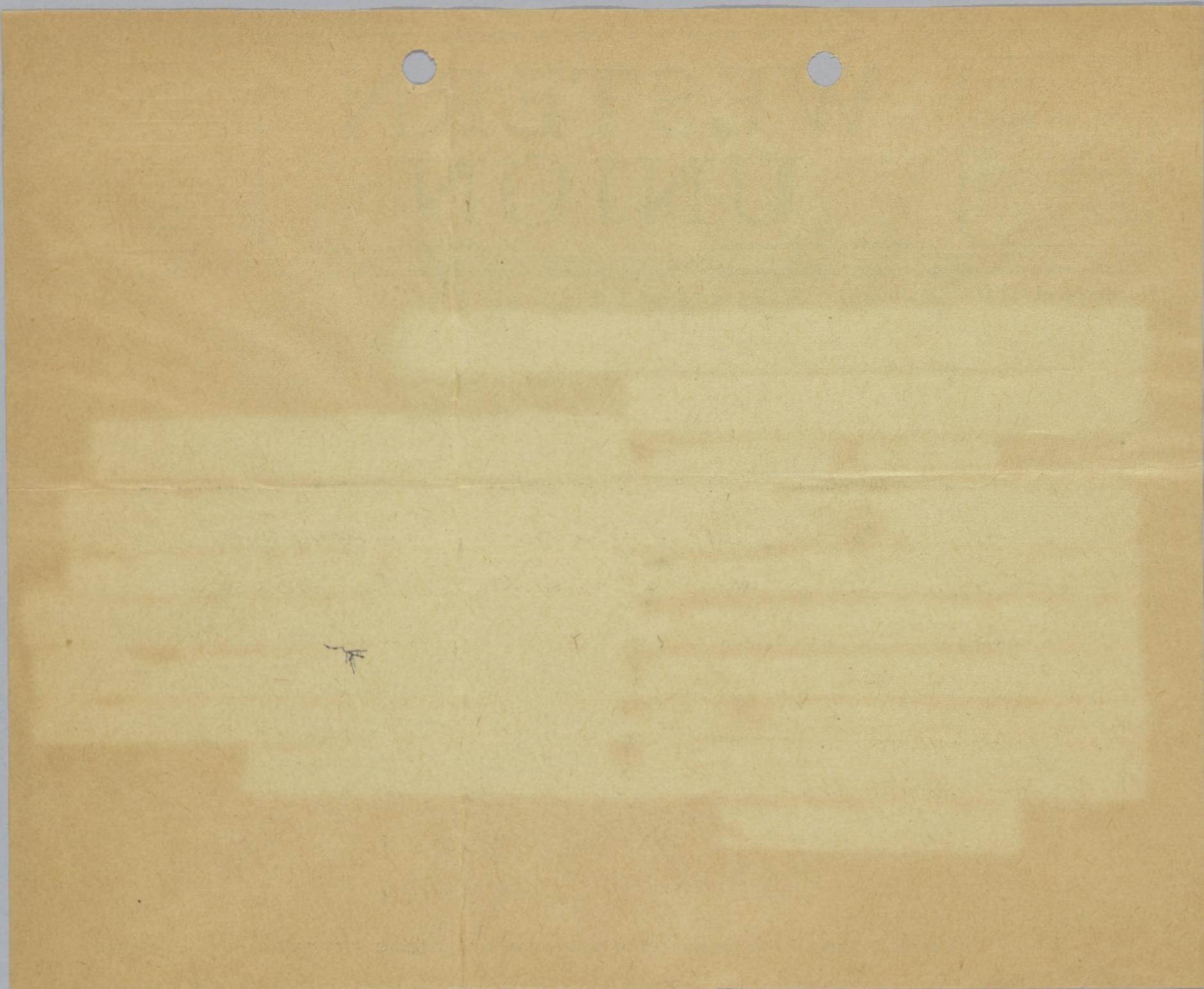
FU285 65 DL=U WASHINGTON DC FEB 2 637P [1933]

MAJOR ARCHILBALD M JOHNSON=

FOREST VIEW RD BURLINGAME SANMATEO COUNTY CALIF=

I AM COUNTING THE DAYS UNTIL THE CHANGE HERE WHEN I HOPE
 THAT I CAN MAKE SOME APPROPRIATE SUGGESTIONS TO YOU STOP
 EVERYTHING IS CONFUSED AT PRESENT BUT THE END OF THE MONTH
 OUGHT TO CLARIFY THE SITUATION STOP HAVE NOT HEARD FROM YOU
 AND HOPE YOU ARE WELL AM LOOKING FORWARD TO THE GREAT DAY
 SATURDAY MOTHER JOINS IN LOVE TO YOU AND MARTHA=

HIRAM W JOHNSON.



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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

Sunday, February 4, 1933.

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

My dear Arch:

Mother and I were very happy to hear your voice last night, but we felt very badly to think you had been sick all week, and were only just up to listen to our call. We're hoping and praying that you will take care of yourself, and be yourself again quickly.

There is little to write about here, except little incidents which occur in this daily official life of mine, and the small activities that fade into insignificance when one of our dear ones is ill.

It becomes increasingly apparent that our Democratic brethren are going to start at the earliest possible moment with an ultra-political administration. I can't blame them for this for they have been away from the trough so long that they are lean, and hungry, and starving. I wrote you that when McAdoo was here I had him to luncheon, and gave him every opportunity to talk concerning affairs in California and the patronage there. He talked of everything else but that. In his

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 2

hands, in my opinion, will be the distribution of jobs in California. Of course, local organizations will have more or less influence, but as a Democratic United States Senator, he will be the voice in Democratic councils . He told me that he would return here the latter part of this month, and then would call. He is very clever, shrewd, and cunning, and confidentially he will turn a sharp corner, I think, with greater celerity than most men I know.

I sent you this past week a little remembrance for your birthday. I was very much in earnest in saying that I wanted you to devote it to having a good time, and that I would be very unhappy if you did not accept it in the spirit in which it was sent. I mean this, my dear boy.

With my love, in which Mother joins,

Affectionately,

Dad.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

Sunday, February 4, 1933.

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

My dear Jack:

The matter about which you wired me came up for a final vote yesterday in the Senate. The result was 36 to 32, and the present mode of dealing with the Merchant Marine was preserved. The closeness of the vote will show you how very easy it would have been to have changed it. I presume that you understand what the theory of the Government has been upon which we have acted for quite a number of years now. I am very much in sympathy with doing everything within our power to create and conserve an American Merchant Marine, and I have no excuses to make therefore to anybody for my actions. It is a pitiful thing, however, that in administering the law, the greed of some of our capitalistic friends and the utter lack of judgment, and worse, of some of our people in the administration have contributed to the perpetration of some fraudulent contracts, and these fraudulent contracts have tainted the whole policy. It is a rather difficult thing to differentiate and to be for a policy, the administration of a part of which has

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

been utterly indefensible. It was this situation that caused the fight on the floor, and has created the prejudice against what we politely call subventions, for the Merchant Marine, but which, of course, in reality are subsidies. The policy had a close call yesterday, and you can feel that your wire contributed something to its success.

A situation developed at Boulder Dam a month or more ago, which, when related to me by some of our business men in San Francisco aroused my interest. Because of the condition of foreign exchange, and because of the ability of Germany to manufacture electrical machinery more cheaply than we can in this country, the turbines and other machinery at Boulder Dam were likely to be let under the law directing that an award must be made to the lowest bidder, to German firms. Of course, American firms with their manufactures here, furnishing the money by taxation for the maintenance of the Government and the construction of the great project vigorously protested the fact that because they could not within a few dollars equal the bids of firms abroad, they should be denied receiving contracts paid for out of federal appropriations, and which related solely to governmental work. I presented an amendment to cure this situation, and I did it without regard or thought to the Hearst campaign of "Buy America". The Hearst people

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

seized the thing with avidity after I filed my amendment, and then the rest of the press took the other side. I had three horrible and wearisome days upstairs on the amendment this week, and only late Friday night did we come to a final vote upon it. For three years past in four of the great departments of government the rule has been rigidly enforced that, other things being equal, and the prices not being disproportionate, American manufactures and American goods should be preferred in governmental enterprises. The remarkable thing was that these laws thus passed in relation to four of the departments (the Interior Department had no such law, and the Boulder Dam Project is under the Interior Department) were initiated, in some instances, by Democrats themselves, and yet, upon my amendment they imagined they saw some deep laid plan for an embargo or the increase of tariff rates. The whole thing was the most remarkable twist legislatively I have ever seen, and it would have been wholly humorous, but for the fact that I had to sit without luncheon for three days, and be on guard. The whole thing was not worth an hour's real argument and ought not to have taken one-half that time. When it came for a show down, the Democrats who talked most failed to vote, and I won

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

easily. I write this to you, because it is one of the strange things that will happen in this peculiar life of mine. Here was a policy that had been adopted in the past repeatedly with four substantive enactments relating to four great departments of government, and none had ever been questioned. I endeavored to do the same thing with a general law in order to make five departments do exactly what the Congress had commanded the other four to do. The press raised hell, and the present dominant political party made a tremendous gesture about world trade, tariffs, and embargo, and I got almost as many abusive editorials as I get semi-occasionally upon my position on war debts.

Our mild and moronic Sergeant-at-Arms suddenly strode into the national limelight this past week. He wrote a damphool article for Al Smith's paper in New York, and the Senate leaders imagined they had to act upon it. Of course, I presume they could not remain silent under such a charge, but I can't find myself getting excited over Barry or anything he says. I really think he is a fit subject for a psychopatic ward, and strangely enough I found in talking to the two doctors in the Senate, Copeland and Hatfield, they thought so too.

I will confide to you that I don't like the way Roosevelt is monkeying around with our war debts. However,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

nothing yet has been done, and perhaps it is only that past experience makes some of us fear what might be done. Roosevelt has taken such a remarkable position concerning Muscle Shoals that we can forgive him many other things. This White Elephant upon which nearly two hundred million dollars of the peoples' money has been expended has been a White Elephant upon our hands, because three Republican Administrations have been ordered by the power trust not to utilize the enormous undertaking for the benefit of the public. Roosevelt, with one statement, clarifies the atmosphere, and what he says is pretty generally accepted. Here is another remarkable metamorphosis in governmental policy that seemingly is accomplished merely by one direct statement.

I am enclosing you herein a speech on debts made by a Professor Hollander of Johns Hopkins University. The speech is so at variance with the usual intellectual twaddle we get from college professors that I put it into the Record.

With my love to all,

Affectionately,

H.W.J.

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MARCUS A. COOLIDGE, MASS.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

Sunday, February 12, 1933.

My dear Boys:

Winter delayed with us until February came. We had a cold week in December with a tremendous snow-storm, and then we had some weeks as balmy and as pleasant as spring time in our own California. But a week or so ago, we began to be hit, first one side and then another, with tail end storms, side-swiping storms, head[?]-on storms, and the like. Our thermometer went down way below the 20 mark and near to 10, and we have had a couple of good snow storms. The trouble with this weather that we have is its sudden and very great changes, and, undoubtedly, it is these that make it so unhealthy here, and cause so many throat and nose troubles. One day the thermometer was 62 and in 12 hours' time was 14. Mother has contracted one of her wretched colds, and perhaps that is why I am paying more attention to the weather than ordinarily I would. Of course, I can not keep her in the house, and there is nothing to do but pray for her improvement.

During this past week, in conjunction with one or two others, I saw Dr. Moley, who is supposed to be the head of the "Brain Trust" of the new administration. He is a professor at Columbia University, and the mental picture

I had formed of him was wholly at variance with the individual I met. He seemed to me a fairly young man, pleasant, and not particularly self-assertive, and quite unlike the college professor who thinks he has acquired all of the knowledge the Lord intended any individual to possess, and who from his vantage ground of high culture looks with pity and contempt upon all his fellows. Moley has been dealing with most of the problems that have confronted Roosevelt, and he met with us to say that the President-elect desired to keep in touch with the Progressive element in connection with the debts and the economic conference. He was particularly anxious for suggestions as to those who might represent the President in one fashion or another upon either of these conferences. This afforded me a very excellent opportunity to express my views, and also to say to him that I was very strongly opposed to any Member of Congress becoming a commissioner or representative in any conference, the result of which would subsequently have to be passed upon by himself as a member of the national legislature. Moley said that he had had a tough time at Columbia, where he is professor of political economy, because most of the professors there took him to task severely for expressing views that were not far different from mine. It was interesting to talk to him for he is shrewd and intelligent, and quite a human being. He was perfectly blunt in saying that

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the cooperation which had been requested in our foreign relations by Hoover from Roosevelt was simply a well-baited trap by which Roosevelt was to be left holding the bag, exactly as Hoover and those he represented, desired. I thought I would be smart at one part of the conversation, because I had been uneasy concerning the meeting between the British Ambassador and Roosevelt at Warm Springs, Georgia, and so I said to Moley that the press had conceived the idea that an agreement had been made concerning our debts and even in reference to our foreign relations from the fact that the President-elect had sent for Lindsay, and had had a long secret understanding with the British Ambassador before his departure for London. I looked expectantly at Moley as I expatiated upon this theme, but he was perfectly tight-lipped and said nothing whatever about what had transpired in that famous meeting. I don't know, and nobody else apparently knows, at least nobody who will tell the rest of us. It was a rather remarkable thing for the President-elect to do, and it made some of us very restless.

I presume you notice we're getting nearer and nearer to the middle western idea of declaring a moratorium so far as private debts and mortgages are concerned. Just how this can be accomplished as yet is not thoroughly worked out, but we're getting mighty near it. If by the

time the Roosevelt special session meets in the middle of April, there has not been some little improvement, my guess is that you'll see some of the most bizarre and fantastic legislation that ever was enacted. The Democrats already have been submitting some plan by which dictatorial powers would be given to the President. A few old-fashioned Democrats have revolted, and therefore the plan will not go through at this session. We are, however, much closer to a sort of dictatorship in this country than we have been during any of our lives, and parenthetically I might add, what those who believe in dictatorships forget, that we may be closer to revolution than we have ever been in our lives.

In the San Francisco News that I read last night, I noticed that all of the political plums of northern California had been distributed by the Democrats. I presume that this is done in conjunction with McAdoo. I am hoping to see him at the end of this month, when he told me he expected to return here and then would take up many matters with me. I always have had little interest in patronage, and of course I entered the presidential campaign without any thought, hope or suggestion of patronage or reward. I confess in these times however there are two or three people I would like to take care of. The number of hungry

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Democrats simply is appalling and I presume their demands
have to be met in some fashion.

With my love to all,

Affectionately,

Dad

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF., CHAIRMAN
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JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C.
MARCUS A. COOLIDGE, MASS.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

Sunday, February 19, 1933.

My dear Boys:

The Senate has adopted since last I wrote you the Blaine repeal resolution. Until its adoption, the opinion had become general here that nothing would be done this session in relation to prohibition. It was only in a half-hearted way that Blaine was permitted to put his resolution upon the floor, and then in the teeth of a threatened filibuster, those who had ulterior motives and the timid who are always with us, were insistent that nothing could be done in the face of the opposition, that we were preventing, by insisting upon the resolution, the enactment of absolutely essential legislation, and would preclude any attempt at this session to relieve want and distress, a few of us insisted that we go to the bat, and Blaine, whose only virtue is that he is an obstinate, fighting man, agreed with us, that we sit tight, and insist on action.

Contrary to general expectations and really in the teeth of the entreaties and the prayers of the timid in the Senate, we went ahead and put over a repeal resolution. Anything of this sort presents always a real psychological

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study; but to one who has been through the mill as often as I have, and whose timidity was shed with his swaddling clothes, the one lesson we learn most thoroughly is that of pertinacity and perseverance from which come accomplishment. Blaine started his repeal of the 18th Amendment on the way in the Senate. The Borahs and the Vandenberges from motives which were not of the sweetest; the Tydings and others, who lacked a long experience, were insisting that we had gone so far in this session we could not accomplish definite results, and that we were only preventing other legislation of most important character from being considered. They were quite right about other legislation being delayed, and equally accurate in their statement of its importance; but they were using these things solely to prevent action concerning prohibition. A few of us insisted with Blaine that we should go on, and that we break a filibuster or prove to the country that the keepers of all virtues, the conservators of all morality, the anti-Saloon League and the Methodist Church were willing to prevent relief for the suffering and the hungry in this country in order to prevent the majority of the Senate from actually legislating concerning their pet constitutional amendment. Blaine stood firm, although this could not be said of the so-called Progressive group, and many others, and the result

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was that keeping Sheppard on his feet for eight hours, and threatening to sit all night, and tell the story to the country, resulted in an agreement to vote, and the ultimate passage of the repeal resolution. Tomorrow, the House has promised to pass it, and thus finally, when really it was least expected, we go to the country with a duty well done by the Congress. It is up to the states now what shall be done. A filibuster had been organized in the Senate. It had been organized by Borah, who is by far the strongest of the drys in the Senate, but in his usual fashion, he kept in the dark and sent to do his work, men of lesser consequence. He has not the guts to go through, though, and he quit, as he quits in every fight, when he saw the determination on the other side to put up to him and his associates the burden of delay. He is the strangest character I have ever encountered, and with age, he grows infinitely worse. It was he who insisted in the cloak room that Barry, the Sergeant of Arms, should be brought to the bar of the Senate, and there made to explain the article he wrote concerning the Senate. Most of us were of the opinion we were simply in the attitude of dealing with a recalcitrant and disloyal employe, and I would have done exactly what I would have done with one of the clerks in my office, - asked him if he had made the statement concerning the Congress, and upon his answering in the affirmative, simply told him that

we must part, and that he was no longer in my employ. Borah to Robinson and Watson insisted that the country should understand, and he should be brought into the open, and they yielded to his insistence. Barry was accordingly brought before the bar of the Senate, and you are familiar from press reports of the record of the proceedings, but on both occasions, when the matter came to a vote in the Senate, Borah deliberately ran out the door and is recorded in neither instance. T

Mother had a terrible cold for a short period. She is better now. I am barely escaping the flu, but hope to get by. Everbody here is afflicted. The temperature jumps up and down so in this month, the winds are so varying, the storms sudden and intermittent, that it is a terrible place from the standpoint of health.

Two weeks from yesterday will be Inauguration Day. We're awaiting, like the country is, the "New Deal". We're hoping and we're praying, but the Lord only knows what is in store for us. The most interesting thing about it is that the new President is perfectly serene, and entirely confident of his ability, not only to handle all the terrible domestic conditions, but every foreign controversy as well. The Lord gave him a remarkable disposition. I don't think he has any nervous system. If he has, there is no evidence that it disturbs under any circumstances at

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any time his serenity.

I observed in the San Francisco News the other night an article by somebody named Horne (and this was copied in the Sacramento bee) the statement that I was to have a part in the patronage of northern California under the new administration. The story was by the writer taken from the circumambient atmosphere. The hungry Democrats, in my opinion, would under any circumstances have prevented anything of this sort; that the story is without foundation is best demonstrated by the silence of those in power in the east and the reticence of the outstanding Democratic political figure in California, Mr. McAdoo. I wrote you that he would be here before the first of March, and then expects to talk to me upon many matters. I am accustomed to statements of this sort, however, and I realize they amount to nothing. Generally speaking, I don't want any patronage, but there are a few things I would like to do for a few people this year, but as time passes I feel from long experience that this probably will be impossible. I do not speak with certainty, however, until I have the opportunity to see the distinguished gentleman who is the son-in-law of a President and is now Senator from the State of California.

The proceedings immediately after the fourth of March and the short period of time which will elapse between

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these, and the calling of the extra session, makes wholly problematical my movements then. I should love to come to California in that brief interval. I believe it to be necessary from my personal standpoint, and otherwise, but things may develop so that from every other standpoint it will be absolutely essential to remain here during the few weeks.† If I at once run for California and get out of touch with the administration just coming in, I may never be able thereafter to resume the intimacy which I expect, in the first instance, so I am greatly disturbed at the moment.

The press has damned the senate so effectively, and it has so thoroughly exploited the wee, small things, that interest the ordinary man much more than the greater things, that I think all of us are held in pretty rotten dis-esteem at present. If conditions continue in this country, as they are at present, that dis-esteem next year will make itself manifest in the primaries and elections. The ~~future~~ **from** every standpoint therefore looks none to good.

With all my love in which Mother joins,

Affectionately,

Dad

P:S: Just as I finished dictating this, I was called away. I have left my letter of today ~~therefore~~ to be written out by Miss Connor, who will sign it for me. I am sorry I have not the opportunity to read it over or to put my well-known signature to it, but I am sure you'll understand and forgive me.

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M. A. CONNOR, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

Sunday, February 26, 1933.

My dear Boys:

The Cabinet of the new president is variously received here. There are some Democrats who resent that it is not wholly Democratic; other Democrats believe there is too great a recognition in it of elements outside the Democratic Party; and still other Democrats resent the fact that it is a personal Cabinet wholly, and does not take into consideration the great minds of the Democratic Party, or its outstanding personalities. The fact that there are these disagreeing voices in the Democratic Party will make no difference in the confirmation of the Cabinet, or in the allegiance of the whole Democratic organization, temporarily, at least, to it and the incoming president. The dispassionate who have been judging the Cabinet look upon it mainly as untested and untried, but with a fair conception of the so-called great minds of the Democratic Party are not only perfectly willing but anxious to give the new men every opportunity and to aid them wherever it be possible. Some of these great minds of the Democratic Party, like the supermen of finance, have lost their glamour in the last few years. The John W. Davis's, the Newton D. Bakers', who were held up as models for our youth and as exemplars of the intellectual su-

periority of the Democratic Party are not viewed with the same respect as formerly, and the opinion gradually has permeated the people here that the great Alfred Emmanuel Smith has become the mere sounding board for Wall Street, and whenever he gets off the sidewalks of New York he is lost. Those of us in the Senate were more surprised over the appointment of the key member of the Cabinet, the Secretary of State, than over any other appointment. Mr. Hull has the good-will and the praise of all the press. This in itself is a suspicious circumstance, but we who have sat with him for some years in the Senate have found him a pleasant, kindly disposed individual, utterly colorless, wholly without position in the body at all. Glass, with his caustic tongue in conversation with me the other day said that after many years acquaintance with Hull, both in the House and in the Senate, he had been unable to observe just what his opinions were, and he knew from listening to him that if he had any opinions, he was utterly unable to express them. He has devoted himself, apparently, to tariff problems, and perhaps has many theories respecting reciprocal trade relations. Just what these are practically, and just what would be done under the generic characterization nobody knows. To describe Hull as a tower of strength in the Senate, whose removal seriously affects the Senate, has been the subject of a good deal of laughter and joking the last

couple of weeks. He is a nice man, and perhaps in the position he now has, he may develop into a great man. He has not thus far in his sixty years displayed any elements which would lead one to believe in this development.

I have an ideat that Roosevelt makes his appointments in the most casual fashion. There is one good point about this, and that is, you don't sit and worry over and ihvestigate and balance chances, but right off the bat, shoot the men into high positions. The Ickes appointment came up somewhat in this shape. I am writing you of it, because it was, in my opinion, one of the most astonishing flukes I have ever encountered, and one of the instances, where luck finally did for a man what he was breaking his heart for. After the election, Ickes wanted a job. There was first the suggestion that he should be Indian Commissioner because he was so interested and so familiar with matters relating to Indians. He then conceived the idea that because this particular matter was under the Interior Department, he would like to/^{be}the First Assistant Secretary of the Interior, and from that his ambition grew until he desired the Secretaryship of the Interior, and a place in the Cabinet. He had done yeoman service during the campaign for Roosevelt, and he had organized a Progressive-Republican headquarters in Chicago, under whose auspices I talked, and under whose auspices a campaign was made in Illinois and adjacent states. He was

entitled of course to consideration. When Roosevelt came here, his first offer was made to me. Immediately in the same interview, I declined, and when pressed, made my declination absolute. Roosevelt then offered the position to Cutting, who held it under advisement until a very few days ago. During this interim, Ickes, of course, was in a dreadful state. I did not feel, that when Roosevelt was seeking to recognize the group who had left their party and gone into his fight, and had made his offer to me, and then to another Senator in like situation, that I could make any request of him or any demands upon him, and I explained this very clearly to Ickes. In the interim, however, while Cutting was holding the matter under advisement, Moley came here and asked the group of us who had gone into the Roosevelt fight to suggest somebody who would be, in some fashion, a part of the debt negotiations, and all of us knowing of Ickes' situation, and having no one else in mind, we united in suggesting him for the part. The suggestion was very quickly accepted by Moley, who asked him to come to New York. Ickes, in such fashion as he could, had had different people speak to Roosevelt about him and his fitness for the Interiorship portfolio, but because of Cutting's delay had practically given up hope. He went to New York, was there brought into contact with Roosevelt for one meeting just after Cutting at the very last moment declined the position, and Roosevelt

observing him (and this was just before the announcements were made) asked him to wait when the others had gone, and then in fairly casual fashion, said he thought he would fit into the Interior Department, but that he would do nothing definitely in the matter until he had telephoned LaFollette, Cutting, Norris and myself. Ickes, of course, was dumb-founded, and awaited a subsequent interview. Meanwhile, Roosevelt telephoned me, and I gave Ickes the highest character of course, and the others here did likewise, and later in the day Roosevelt told Ickes he would be selected. If Cutting had not held on to the suggestion for an indefinite period; if we had not made Ickes a part of a little inner group on debts; if he had not gone to New York exactly when he did; if he had not unexpectedly been taken by Moley(who never had thought of the Interiorship at any time for Ickes) to the gathering at Roosevelt's house, and if contemporaneously Cutting's refusal had not just been received; and if he had not been physically able to catch the eye of Roosevelt at that particular and specific time, he would still be walking disconsolately around hoping for some sort of recognition. I have related all this, because I thought it unique in the matter of a Cabinet selection first, and secondly, I think it may be an index to the peculiar ways and singular mind of Roosevelt. At that I think his selection is probably the best he could have

made. There is no question of Ickes' ability and integrity. He regards the place as a great opportunity, and he has had sufficient experience to know how to conduct himself under the circumstances. I really look to see him make as good a secretary of the Interior as we have ever had.

Woodin, the Secretary of the Treasury, the second most important post in the Cabinet, is practically unknown. He is recognized as a successful business man, which in these days is scarcely a mark of distinction. So much is being developed of the good business men like Mitchell and his pals of the National City Bank to make the name, "good business man" now something of an opprobrious epithet.

Swanson, the Secretary of the Navy, is simply a typical Southern politician, from whom the years have taken their toll, so that now he is physically and mentally of little consequence.

Dern's appointment to the War Ministry was a haphazard thing to compensate his friends for the refusal to give him the Interior post.

However, with the newness of some of the Cabinet, the lack of knowledge of others, and the rather commonplace character of most, there is no reason why as a whole it should not do a good job, and perhaps a far better job, than men who believe they had a reputation to sustain, or an eminent position to retain.

Roosevelt made a remark recently that had more truth in it than probably he intended. He was speaking of the bank situation which daily has become more menacing. He said perhaps the whole house of cards will have fallen by Inauguration Day. The debacle in Michigan, and a like situation which has just developed in Maryland, may be merely forerunners of what is likely to occur nationally. If these disasters pervade the whole nation instead of separate states, it is utterly impossible to foretell what may happen to us finally. I have a growing fear of the banks. Among a few people whom I run into, who hold no official position, and simply look at things in an ordinary way, I find some very quietly taking their accounts out of banks with which they have dealt, and I think this has become common all over the country with the result as we have seen in Michigan and in Maryland, a result which may communicate itself to other states as well. I endeavor to preserve an optimism, but these recent events are nasty jolts.

There is a movement on foot here to kick those of us who supported Mr. Roosevelt out of the Republican Party. Behind it I think is Mr. Hoover. It is gradually taking head, and will I think assume its due proportions within the next week. The fact of the matter is that I cannot blame the so-called regular Republicans for taking this course., If I were in charge of the Republican Party I would eliminate immediately

those who would not bow to its discipline, and while I will raise Cain with the gentlemen who are managing the present movement, I have a sort of feeling that they are justified in their activities. Reed of Pennsylvania started the ball rolling in yesterday's press with an Associated Press dispatch, which I assume went all over, and I responded in kind this morning without getting any publicity for my response, save in the New York Times. Of course, the individual that Hoover is after is myself, and his plan, undoubtedly, is to have his national committee outlaw me as a Republican, then have the Senate republicans do likewise, in the hope that if I go into a Republican primary next year in California, I will be so severely handicapped by the Republican authority having repudiated me that I can not be successful. Really it means little to me, and if I only had a competence, just a wee bit of a competence, I would feel perfectly easy. However, that is another story, that will probably unravel itself next year.

I am receiving hundreds of letters from California about jobs. The writers assume that I am going to have something to do with the distribution of patronage, at least, in northern California. There has not been the slightest suggestion of anything of this sort made to me, and it goes without saying, of course, that I would not ask it of anybody.

As I have said repeatedly, there are a very few whom I would like to take care of, otherwise than this I don't care a rap about having the usual political patronage.