

© The Tiffen Company, 2000

KODAK Gray Scale



Kodak
LICENSED PRODUCT

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



ROYAL S. COPELAND, N. Y., MAN
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA. CHARLES L. MCNARY, OR.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C. GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO. WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
LOUIS MURPHY, IOWA ERNEST W. GIBSON, VT.
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN.
THEODORE G. BILBO, MISS.
VIC DONAHEY, OHIO
JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.
FRANCIS T. MALONEY, CONN. GRACE MCELLOWNEY, CLERK
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD. M. C. PARSONS, JR., ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

Sunday, January 5, 1936.

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

My dear Jack:

Your telegram to Miss Connor, as she notified you by wire immediately, was received yesterday after one o'clock, and it was quite impossible for her to do anything respecting it. It may be that Ickes will be here an hour or two this Sunday. At any rate, she will wire you tomorrow anything that she can learn.

The big event of the week here, of course, was the President's speech Friday night. The Republicans made such a to-do respecting the time of the joint session, and the proposed delivery over a nation-wide hookup that I imagine all over the country the widest publicity was given to the fact, and as a consequence, there probably never has been such a radio audience for any one man. As a speech I thought he did a good job. Of course, there was all sorts of criticism from those who dislike him, and the press fighting him, but after all, the speech was intended to mend his falling fortunes, and those who feel sympathetic with him will make no nice distinctions, nor indulge in any subtleties regarding the Constitution's mandate to the President to address the Congress on the State of the Union, make

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2Sunday, January 5, 1936.

recommendations, etc. The campaign is beginning now, and, as I have predicted to you before, I think it will be the bitterest we have ever encountered. It will develop, before its conclusion into a class war, and it may ultimately reach a stage where the result can not be foreseen. I do not believe this will be so. I think that Roosevelt will win, but I have a very lively recollection of the first Bryan campaign in 1896 when money, organization, and wholesale corruption made such inroads upon Bryan that although he could have won immediately after his nomination, in November he was badly beaten.

On the Republican side Borah continues to blanket all of the other candidates with his publicity here, and he takes advantage, and so does Mrs. Borah, of every opportunity - and some of them thus grasped cause one to smile cynically and contemptuously - to keep in the press. At the White House dinner Friday night Mr. and Mrs. Borah were very much in evidence, although on a similar occasion Borah has never before been present. He marched over to the President's address Friday night, and took pains to be very much in evidence, although I can recall that in the past he never before has indulged in such an activity. His gyrations indicate an active candidacy, but I can't bring myself to believe he will go through.

Yesterday and today have been beautiful days. There have been mighty few others of like sort. We had one real winter storm where eight inches of snow fell, and part of that snow is

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

Sunday, January 5, 1936.

still on the ground. New Year's day was hardly fit to be out. I listened to the Rose Bowl game, and I think that Stanford did to the Texas team exactly what it did to California, - smothered every attempt at a pass. I am afraid we'll have to hand it to that Stanford team. We have been wondering about Hiram's automobile and how he is getting along with it.

Mother joins in love to the boys and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

Dad

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.
NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.
F. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.
JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.

WILLIAM BORAH, IDAH.
HIRAM JOHNSON, CALI.
ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
BRONSON CUTTING, N. MEX.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

January 11, 1936.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

We received your recent letter, and both Mother and I read with very great interest what you said about the new automobile. There were several people here who spoke to me about the contest and Hiram's success. It demonstrated simply what a marvelous thing the radio is. Those who spoke to me had their attention arrested by the name, and were curious to know who the successful one was. It is needless to tell you how I swelled up in telling about my grandson.

The past week has witnessed the glee of the Republicans and the gloom of the Democrats over the decision of the Supreme Court in the AAA case. I wish you would read the Opinion of Roberts for the majority, and the Opinion of Stone for the minority. I can't for the life of me follow the logic of Roberts' Opinion, in the light of what I know has been done by our Government in the past, and some of the decisions which have been rendered. I am reluctantly forced to the conclusion that

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2January 11, 1936.

the Opinion is a political opinion, and I feel like saying with Lincoln after the Dred Scott decision, which, as you'll recall, was criticized as giving "the law to the north and the nigger to the south", it is an "astonisher", and then to assail it, as Lincoln did, the important decision of his time, and say that "we'll reverse it" in one fashion or another. I write this, too, with a fair degree of detachment, because there is much that Wallace has done that I am not in sympathy with, and many of the policies that his Department has pursued, that I have no enthusiasm for. It is the system I would attack, if I attacked at all. A man may stand for his life in a federal court, and twelve men in a jury box must unanimously decide against him before he may be touched by the law; he may even submit in a federal court to a determination of his property rights, and twelve men, if the case be tried before a jury, must decide against him before his property can be taken. With our three coordinate branches of government, the spectacle is presented that the House of Representatives may, in the economic life of the nation, for the rescue of those in distress, and who are faced not only with disaster but extinction, act upon a specific policy. The Senate, then, may act in like fashion. The legislative branch of the government thus has expressed its will, ~~to~~ the executive branch of the government then goes this expression, and there, and there alone, exists the one veto power of this

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3January 11, 1936.

government. The Executive may approve, the veto power not exercised, and two coordinate branches of the government have thus decreed what is essential for the protection of our people, and the preservation of our basic industry. And, thereafter, to a body whose members are responsive to no one, who, as Justice Stone expressed it, are subject only to ^{their own} self-restraint, comes that which the two other branches of government have decided must be done, perhaps for the preservation of the Republic, and one man, if the decision be five to four, may exercise a super-veto power. Knowing some of the members of the Court, a couple of them fairly well now, it is the system that ought, in some fashion, to be altered, and the power should have upon it some other restraint than self-restraint of just common, ordinary individuals, for they are that, after all.

I will not write you a disquisition upon the Opinion, for I presume the thoughts that have been running through my mind have, in like fashion, been running through yours. In a recent case that I argued before the Supreme Court in California, I read portions of Hughes' Opinion in the Minnesota Moratorium Case. You ought to read this in conjunction with the majority Opinion upon the Agricultural law. I am speaking to you not of the policy of the law, for I care little for much of that, but in protest against a

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4January 11, 1936.

decision which I think is rendered upon that policy, rather than upon the legal merits of the case.

I think Roosevelt felt very keenly the decision, and he is looking forward to more blows, not so sudden, perhaps, but nevertheless severe, from the same quarter. I am not at all certain of the effect upon our people generally. If people are like you and me, always drawn to a battered adversary, who has tried to do his best, the decision, politically, will not hurt Roosevelt; but with the tremendous propaganda existing against him now, it may be that the electorate will be convinced that his judgment is poor, that he acts without deliberation and consideration, and that he is seeking, in some insidious fashion, to destroy constitutional rights. Time, alone, of course, will determine this.

I read what you said in your letter about the Sausalito project. I am more sorry than I can tell you about the situation. It would be silly for me to say to you that I think anything of consequence will be done here. If the project were to be helped, it could have been last Sunday when the Secretary was here for a short period. It would have done him no harm to have sent ~~us~~ some word. On his return, doubtless, we'll hear from him, and, of course, you'll be immediately advised.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

January 11, 1936.

Mother joins in love to the boys, Miss Schow,
and yourself.

Affectionately,

Dad

P:S: The foregoing letter was dictated last night and is just before me now on this Sunday morning. I have also before me your letter of January 10th, which came today. I have read with care what you said about the Yacht Harbor Project. I gather that you will be able to increase your junior financing by about \$15,000, and I note argument that you make as to the amount of the loan. I observe that Swinerton is going to be here this week. If he would discuss the matter fully and frankly with PWA I am sure he could be of very great service.

In the latter part of your letter relating to the project you say " when we know with definiteness regarding the amount we can actually be sure of raising I will wire Miss Connor" etc. I do not quite see, therefore, until your wire how any definite suggestion can be made as to the amount you will be able to raise of the extra \$40,000, which is now required. We'll await, therefore, your wire, but I suggest that this be sent at the earliest possible time for the matter may be permanently shelved by PWA.

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK. WILLIAM ORAH, IDAH.
PAT HARRISON, MISS. HIRAM INSON, CALI.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA. ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX. BRONSON CUTTING, N. MEX.
J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.
NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.
F. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.
JAMES F. POPE, IDAHO
ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

January 18, 1936.

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

My dear Jack:

We have been waiting all week for the appearance of Mr. Swinerton. We have not seen ~~nor~~ heard anything of him. I am wondering if he has come and did not come near us, or whether he has not come at all. I write you, because I presume you have been anxious to hear from us, and so that you will know nothing has been done by us because of your letter regarding him, and our expectation that he would be here.

I have been monkeying around the last ten days with the so-called neutrality legislation. The whole thing, to my mind, is illogical and harmful. It is the result of the fantastic emotional urge of very many of our people who fondly believe they are going to keep us out of war by passing a law, and who have not the slightest conception of that law, or its possibilities. The pacifist societies have become quite powerful. They have amalgated into a national organiza-
and
tion/under the guidance of a man named Libby, they are exercising quite a potent influence. In addition to what Charley McClatchy called long-haired men and short-haired women of these associations, the cunning, intriguing internationalists

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.

January 18, 1936.

led by the Carnegie Endowment and men like Nicholas Murray Butler, and Professor James T. Shotwell, are seeking to mole us by underground methods into being a part of the controversy abroad and to imposing sanctions with the League of Nations. I have had under examination for four days the State Department. It has not been unpleasant, although the loneliness of a position like mine, which is dictated solely by the effect upon the future of our country, ought to bring an immediate and a vigorous support. In these times, it does not. Old Judge John Bassett Moore and Professor Edwin M. Borchard, Dean of International Law at Yale (probably the two greatest experts on earth) have responded gloriously, but the maudlin sentimentality and the real political power of the other elements have prevented members of the congress from standing up and doing their duty, However, a contest like this, even though in executive session, is quite worth while, and save for the fact that I probably will accomplish nothing, but be overwhelmingly defeated, I am very glad to do my small part in the matter which I deem of such grave consequences.

Mother and I read with the utmost interest your statement that Hiram and Philip were leaving for the Yosemite, This illustrates again, what a glorious thing is youth. To

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.

January 18, 1936.

think of their going up in their car probably in a blinding snowstorm to spend a few days in midwinter at Yosemite gives me a real thrill, but at my age I would rather have them tell me of the beauties and the glories of the excursion than be a part of it myself.

We were shocked at the death of Mr. Schwerin. He came of the stock that is fast vanishing in America, and I think he possessed the very traits which made this country and contributed to its greatness. That these characteristics were commingled with others less admirable is of little consequence. We are all made of a jumble of different motives, and feelings and activities, and because of the predominance of one or some of these proclivities, we follow in our short lives certain courses. Schwerin came of the old, hard-headed, ruthless, pioneering American patriotic school. His kind are becoming fewer and fewer with the passage of the years. I have been thinking of him many times since the receipt of your letter, and I have a genuine sorrow at his death.

We had a tremendous flare up the last two days over the Munitions Committee, and the unfortunate mode of expression of Nye in regard to certain evidence being produced. Nye is a well-meaning boy, without any great capacity, who comes from North Dakota, and is a sheer pacifist. He has, I fear, been

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.

January 18, 1936.

exploiting his position upon this Committee, and endeavoring to rival Borah in reaching the front pages. This has been so obvious that it has caused a great deal of irritation, and when as the chairman of that Committee, while apparently investigating, he indulged in an unnecessary and unrestrained characterization of Wilson, it gave the opportunity to the Democrats to tear him to tatters. Glass, a part of the Wilson administration, did this brutally and well.

Today we pass the Bonus Bill. In the condition of our finances it is a cowardly thing to do, and may be extremely harmful. When we gave originally the so-called Bonus to the veterans, at their request, we enacted it in the form of certificates due in 1945. At that time the American Legion of California and the national Legion in writing asked all of us to pass the bill as presented and not to pay the bonus in cash. It is really a breach of faith demanding cash payment now, but whether a breach of faith or not, the matter rests, as it was demanded by the veterans, and the terms they now wish altered in advance of the due date. It is most unfortunate they should come during the time when our finances are so confused, and while we may weather the increasing debt of two and a half billions, it is a dangerous thing to do. However, the matter appears to be settled now, and there is little use crying about it.

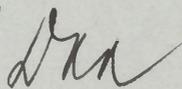
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.

January 18, 1936.

Late last night Erling got our car in Philadelphia and drove it down last evening. It is good to have it again. It came through the trip all right.

Mother joins in love to Miss Schow, the boys, and yourself.

Affectionately,

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

COPY

January 21, 1936.

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

My dear Jack:

Swinerton called this morning. I had a long conversation with him, and arranged for him to meet Mr. Ickes. Miss Connor went with him to the Interior Department and was present during the conversation between Swinerton and Ickes. I am enclosing you memorandum she has written out for me about what occurred. I am sending this at once, although probably by the time it reaches you, the whole matter may be disposed of.

Hastily and affectionately,

January 21, 1938.

COPY

Memo. for Senator:

In re: Sausalito Yacht Harbor.

About 12:15 Secretary Ickes' secretary telephoned and said the Secretary wanted to know how soon I could get there, because he would be absent from the office all afternoon. I told him ten minutes. I got hold of Mr. Swinerton, and told him to meet me in Secretary Ickes' office in ten minutes. I met him, and Secretary Ickes received us cordially and at once. He had before him the file on the Harbor. I told Mr. Ickes Mr. Swinerton could explain to him about the contracts, bids, financing, etc. Mr. Swinerton then went on to tell him how his company had agreed to take some of the stock, how they submitted their first bid, and then the second bid, and the reason for the increased bid the second time was due to the cost of materials; that the materials were advancing every day, and unless matter was soon settled it was doubtful if his company could get through on the prices submitted in the second bid. Finally, Mr. Ickes said leaving aside all this part of the matter, how was the government going to get its money back. Mr. Swinerton told him his own officials had approved the project, that commitments had been made for spaces, that there was great need for the harbor because the only one there now was always overcrowded, and that this was the project the government was asking for, and much more necessary and sounder than the road building projects and others they were engaged in.

3.
COPY

Ickes replied that he did no road building, and if the project was so sound why was it not able to be financed by private capital; that private capital was freer now; that municipalities were refusing government loans because they could be financed by private capital. Swinerton said private capital probably would not be interested in investing in a yacht harbor, when it could make other kind of investments, etc. Ickes said they had rejected Hueneme Harbor, which he believed was a far sounder project, and he considered this project pretty thin. Swinerton said there was every reason to suppose it would be successful, and he felt the government would make no mistake in allowing \$30,000 of the loan requested. Ickes said he would loan \$20,000 but this is all he would loan. Swinerton then asked him to make it \$25,000. He said he would not do so, that \$20,000 was the very utmost he would now loan, and that the matter must soon be settled, or he would reject it. Swinerton asked him if he would accept personal bonds instead of surety bonds, and Ickes said he would prefer a good personal bond. Swinerton said he could give his personal bond endorsed by his wife who is worth a couple of million, or by his friend Herbert Fleischhacker. Swinerton is to telephone San Francisco this afternoon, ascertain the exact situation as to what can be done, and will see Mr. Ickes tomorrow. I asked Mr. Ickes changed his mind during afternoon would he telephone us, but he said he positively would not loan more than \$20,000.

ROYAL S. COPELAND, N. Y., CHAIRMAN
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C.
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.
LOUIS MURPHY, IOWA
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN.
THEODORE G. BILBO, MISS.
VIC DONAHEY, OHIO
JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.
FRANCIS T. MALONEY, CONN.
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
CHARLES L. MCNARY, OREG.
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
ERNEST W. GIBSON, VT.
GRACE MCELDOWNEY, CLERK
M. C. PARSONS, JR., ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

Sunday, January 26, 1936.

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

My dear Jack:

Yesterday I sent you the wire that Swinerton sent to Miss Connor. Today, Sunday, I am in receipt of your letter of January 24th. Swinerton ~~was~~ in New York, I think, at the Ritz Carlton, but he intended to leave yesterday for the coast. When he left here, he had some sort of understanding with Secretary Ickes about responding within a very brief time, Ickes saying to him that the matter had to be settled definitely one way or the other. While Miss Connor tells me Ickes put no definite time limit upon Swinerton, Ickes requested Swinerton at the very earliest possible time to advise him, and Swinerton was to advise Ickes by Friday or Saturday. I am afraid, therefore, the whole matter is done. I am not in touch with Swinerton, and therefore, I have been unable to present to him the matters that you suggested I present to him in your letter of the 24th just received. I presume that he is on his way to the coast.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

Everybody here is afflicted with a cold. Mother has had two terrible colds since her return, and is only now recovering from the second. I am sorry to say I started in yesterday to emulate her bad example in this respect. The weather the past week has been very cold reaching zero or a little below.

We listened in to Al Smith last night. It was not much of a speech, and I don't think much of the man, but both have given renewed courage to every crooked Republican there is in the country. I am told that the banquet last night contained more crooked Republicans than disgruntled Democrats. Robinson is to answer Smith on Tuesday night, and perhaps because he was Smith's running mate in 1928 he may be the best one to do the job.

Borah is forging ahead on the Republican end, and while it seems incredible that he could be nominated, I think he has a very fair chance, and if he has the guts to seize the issue that the Democrats are now making before the Foreign Relations Committee, he may be able to win as handily as we won for old stick Harding when our people repudiated Wilson internationalism. I won't go into detail with you on this Neutrality Bill, but there is much hypocrisy and a tremendous amount of hokus-pokus about it. The design, of course, was to have our country lead in sanctions upon Italy, and then calmly tell us it was our duty to go through

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

and see that the sanctions were enforced. I kicked just enough holes in the former neutrality law to make it inapplicable to anything but arms, ammunition, and implements of warfare, and it stopped our government short when it was going to include everything in Christendom in its embargo, from doing that very thing under a law, which did not affirmatively authorize it. All the pacifist societies, all the internationalists, and the League of Nations' people, want a law which will give absolute discretion to the President to do anything he sees fit under any circumstances, and of course, this would transfer to him, in one fashion or another, ^{the} war-making power. I will not give this power ~~over~~ ^{of} the Congress to the Executive, no matter who the Executive is. I have been having quite a lengthy and strenuous struggle in the Foreign Relations Committee on the bill, and I have not got very far and won't get very far on the floor, but I am going to try to make the situation plain.

Mother joins in love to Miss Schow, the boys, and yourself.

Affectionately,

ROYAL S. COPELAND, N. Y., CHAIRMAN
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, FLA.
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.
JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C.
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.
LOUIS MURPHY, IOWA
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.
NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN.
THEODORE G. BILBO, MISS.
VIC DONAHEY, OHIO
JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.
FRANCIS T. MALONEY, CONN.
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
CHARLES L. MCNARY, OREG.
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
ERNEST W. GIBSON, VT.
GRACE MCELDOWNEY, CLERK
M. C. PARSONS, JR., ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

Sunday, February 2, 1936.

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

My dear Jack:

Your letter of January 31st reached me this, Sunday, morning. Your letter was postmarked " San Francisco, 6:30p.m. January 31", so I think that its delivery to me on Sunday morning is pretty good transmission. I read with care what you said about the Yacht Harbor Project. The first thing in the morning, we'll take it up with the Department, and ask a few days' grace. I don't imagine there will be any difficulty about getting it, but Swinerton, undoubtedly, has told you the Secretary was rather peremptory about the necessity for an immediate decision.

Outside of politics, the uppermost thing with us here has recently been the continuing and almost uninterrupted cold spell. I think the weather the worst that I have ever experienced in Washington. During the week, the thermometer has been down to zero, and we consider it fairly high, if, in the afternoon, it reaches twenty. Of course, it is impossible to be out much, and perhaps on account of our years, this has been very, very disagreeable to your Mother and myself. We had quite a lot of snow this year, in sharp

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. -2

February 2, 1936.

contrast with previous years. The accidents of pedestrians, who slip and fall upon the icy pavements, have been many, and some of them very serious. I observe, however, that all over the country, save possibly upon the Pacific Coast, the weather has been abnormal and extremely severe. The only satisfaction I get is in repeatedly saying "Well, the whole world is cock-eyed anyway. "

Every rat is out of its hole politically. The Liberty League, with its setting of millions upon millions, with shirt-front respectability militantly displayed, and with a boy from the side-walks of New York and the East side, in the role of the hero and savior ^{of wealth and entrenched dishonesty}, really put on a good show. I did not think much of Smith's speech, but, undoubtedly, it was an inspiring sight to see Dave Reed of Pennsylvania, the great Republican regular there, and Jimmy Wadsworth of New York, who represents ultra-conservatism in New York, and Alice Longworth, who leads the army of envy and spite, and the hundreds of others, who, in 1928, tilted their noses, and said "Who, the Al Smiths in the White House? ". I gave little thought to Smith in his bitterness towards Roosevelt. That is his right, and perhaps there have been personal relationships between them which would make Smith's attitude, from the personal standpoint, a natural ~~ll~~ human ebullition; but Smith, with his whole philosophy of government changed,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. -3

February 2, 1936.

with his sympathies now with wealth, and power, and influence, with his environment such as to wean him from the real principles that, presumably, once he had, is a different figure, and, in my opinion, a contemptible one. I think the meeting was a good thing, from Roosevelt's standpoint, and it was a good thing that it came just at this time. It will begin to draw the line and make very clear the struggle this year. It is not going to be, in reality, political, but a class war. I think it most lamentable that this should be so, but I believe I see it coming, and it is just as well, if it can be done, to put all of the pampered of privilege, and the lackeys of power and wealth on the one side; and just plain, ordinary Americans upon the other.

I am having a funny experience on the Neutrality Bills. In the Foreign Relations Committee we were going to ^{send} ~~skip~~ a bill right out, put it on the floor, and pass it immediately. I am probably the only one on that committee who had any knowledge, and mine was slight, of the subject matter when the bill first came before us. Gradually, we have been educating ourselves. I was absolutely alone at our first meeting four weeks ago. I have several with me now, and the Bill has not yet been reported from the committee, but probably will be within the next ^{two} ~~few~~ weeks. It is another one of those instances where I have made the fight in very lonely fashion in the beginning, and having succeeded in developing some strength

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

February 2, 1936.

before its close. The subject is really complex and perplexing, and much more than meets the eye in the first perusal of the bill. The hearings I think will be printed this week, and very likely when the matter comes upon the floor, we'll have an interesting debate. Old Judge John Bassett Moore, at my request, sent me a statement of his views, which I think quite interesting. When it is printed, I will send you a copy. It is a good deal like the old League of Nations' fight when in 1919, good people with blazing eyes used to run at me, and demand "Don't you believe in peace", and when meekly, I would say "Of course, I do."; then in belligerent fashion, they would say "You must, if you believe in peace, be for the League of Nations." Today, the women's associations, and the internationalists, and there is an immense amount of interest in the subject here in the east, rush at me and demand "Don't you want to keep this country out of war?", and with some fear, you tell your opinion, that, of course you do, and then they, brandishing their fists in your face, say "Then you must be for the neutrality bills", and the worst of it is the damned neutrality bills will do the very thing that these people profess they desire to prevent; that is, one class who wish to prevent our getting into controversies abroad - the people who are inspired by the laudable desire to prevent wars, but who,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

February 3, 1936,

are honestly for the bills;
ignorantly have not any conception how to do it; but there
is another class that represents the intellectual international-
ists, and the League of Nations men, who want us in these
controversies of Europe, so that old Uncle Sam will be sticking
out his neck on every conceivable occasion, leading the way in
the imposition of sanctions, and then in actual war.

I am very glad to report to you your Mother's
most recent cold is very much better. We went out to dinner
last night, and I have been shaking with fear that she might
have acquired another one.

Mother joins me in love to the boys, Miss Schow,
and yourself.

Affectionately,

Dad

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.
NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.
F. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.
JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
DENNIS CHAVEZ, N. MEX.

WILLIAM E. BORAH, IDAHO
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, February 16, 1936.

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

My dear Jack:

I received early in the week your letter detailing the difficulties of the financing of the Sausalito project. There was nothing, of course, to be communicated to the Department, I take it, and we have been awaiting further news from you of the situation. I received also your note with the registration in California. I was very glad to have this, and I think it is one of the most astounding phenomena of politics I have ever encountered. It seems incredible that there should, in so brief a period, be such a marvelous overturn in our partisan registration. Roosevelt has a fight on his hands this year, a fight which I think he will win. He can be beaten by just one man, in my opinion, and that is, Roosevelt. This restless mentality of his that drives him in all directions just to do something, may, at any moment, raise hell with him. He has come perilously near to it with his Neutrality Bill. And if Borah had the guts to make the issue he could arouse sufficient resentment seriously to affect Roosevelt's chances. The fight on the so-called "Neutrality" Bill has been more or less

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

February 16, 1936.

an under cover contest, but it has aroused the passionate advocacy of the League of Nations' people, and the Pacifists on the one hand; and a bitter resentment of those, who like myself, think of our foreign policy in terms American. I do not mention the so-called Italian Americans, for they have neither entered into my thoughts or my calculations in regard to this policy. They have, however, felt, I know from talking to some of my colleagues, that our government has deliberately sided with Great Britain to their detriment and injury. The whole thing revolved around sanctions, in the first instance, and we came mighty near being trapped into leading the way, and then having dinned into our ears, the "moral obligation" to enforce what we had imposed. I have kept you advised, in some degree, of the fight. I was literally alone the first week in January, when it was taken up. The bill, as reported, is our victory. It was a most amazing result, one which came from doggedly fighting without considering the odds, and pertinaciously, day after day, hammering our views, which our opponents could not logically refute. While, there may be little credit, and perhaps some political injury in what I have done, if it goes through as reported from the Foreign Relations Committee, I can write, I think, ^a service to our country almost second to none I have ever endeavored to render.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. 3

February 16, 1936.

There is one incident that occurred, after I had won my battle, which, though it did not relate to me personally, gave me a distinct hurt. I used Judge Moore's statement to me before the committee, and for publication, as you know. It was of inestimable value. Scholars throughout the world know Moore, and have implicit confidence in him. The intellectuals, who are suffering from the strange American disease of foreign inferiority complex, ^{itate}hes/ to cross swords with him, and while gnashing their teeth in bitter anger at what he did, can not question either his high character or his motives. I am sending you herein a letter to me from him dated Febr. 11, which enclosed a letter to him from President Roosevelt dated February 6th, and his reply, to President Roosevelt, dated February 11th. Moore was a preceptor of Roosevelt at one time, and for him the President has always expressed the highest admiration and respect. I don't think any man who knows Moore would ever think of questioning his patriotic motives, no matter what connections he ever had. I think it was beneath the dignity of a President, and a brutal thing for one in his high position to write such a letter to Moore with such nasty implications. I think Moore responded to him admirably, firmly, and with a restraint which I never could have exercised under like circumstances. But what to me was the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

February 16, 1936.

biggest thing was that the curtain was drawn for a brief glimpse of a character we would rather not see in our President. I am sending you these copies, just as a kind of historical incident, and I would be glad to have you put them away where, some day we may refer to them in gossiping about past events. The very fact that the President's letter was written after I had whipped him and the State Department, on the one hand; the internationalists on the other; and the passionate Pacifists, who are going to fight for peace, upon another, is very significant of his mental attitude.

During the week while Olson and McAdoo have been meeting with the President and quarreling about the delegation to the National Democratic Convention from California, McIntyre, Secretary of the President, telephoned me saying the Administration would like you to go, if you were registered as a Democrat, to the Democratic convention as a delegate. I told him you were not registered as a Democrat, and this would preclude you. I have heard nothing of the matter since. When I made this statement to him I felt I was absolutely correct, but I have been wondering since whether you had changed your registration. I feel sure if you had ~~not~~ ~~or~~ in some fashion, I would have heard of it. Would you have liked to go to Cleveland? I don't think it will be particularly pleasant there from California, because the delegates would have to be on one side or the other of the bitter factional strife there.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. -5

February 16, 1936.

I can't quite understand Kirby's attitude towards those he represents in the trust created by Mrs. Bowles. A legal opinion from me is of little or no value, but I have firmly in my head a beneficiary is entitled to such knowledge as his trustee possesses, and any information which may be pertinent relating to the property which is held in trust for him, but the significant part of the situation is the attitude taken by the trustee; and in the next few months, I think you ought to develop the situation in such fashion that no offense could be taken, if that be possible, ^{but} ^{if} so that any measures are required for the protection of Hiram and Philip, they may be taken either prior to the expiration or simultaneously with it.

We're in pretty fair shape here, although Mother, I am sorry to say, goes from one little physical ill to another, and the ~~accumulative~~ cumulative effect of all of them is a source of very great worry to me. At present she is suffering from either a muscular rheumatism in her back or some sort of cold or sprain, there, which makes her uncomfortable.

With our love to Miss Schow, the boys, and yourself,

Affectionately,

Dad

960 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

February 11, 1936

My dear Senator Johnson:

Whether you will be surprised at the enclosed correspondence I do not know. The usual process of defamation was begun immediately after my statement was published. I am unable to follow the newspapers closely, but my attention was called by a friend to a statement in a particular daily news column to the effect that the supposed authorities on international law who criticized the bill were really acting as attorneys for private interests. I paid no attention to this contemptible tune, with which I had become familiar during the past two years whenever supposed Administration measures were criticized. I cannot see how any self-respecting man could have thought it not "right" to answer such a letter as that which I received. Nor can I find any creditable explanation of a psychology that would have suggested such a thing.

Always faithfully yours,

Enclosures.

J. B. M.

The Hon. Hiram W. Johnson,
U. S. Senate,
Washington, D. C.

960 Park Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

February 11, 1936.

My dear Mr. President:

Your letter of February 6, addressed to 993 Park Avenue, has just come into my hands. While the letter does not so state, your inquiry evidently is prompted by an insinuation from some quarter that my recent statement to the Committee on Foreign Relations concerning the pending so-called "neutrality" bill was influenced by some professional employment, and there fore was not made candidly and in good faith, but with a view to further some private interest. I naturally resent such an insinuation, because it reflects on the motives that have impelled me, at no small sacrifice, to discharge what I deemed to be a service to my country, to which, and to which alone, I owe allegiance.

When I became a Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the beginning of 1922, I went beyond what the statute of the court required, and thereafter refused to take any kind of professional business; and since my resignation from the court in 1928, in order to devote myself to a work supposed to be of some benefit to the world, I have given professional opinions in only two casses, neither of which had the remotest relation to the "neutrality" bill. My position on the pending bill is exactly the same as that which I took on the embargo bill three years ago, when I drew an amendment requiring the application of any embargo to be impartial; and this amendment was, as I am told, unanimously adopted at that time by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

As I consider the pending bill to be indefensible, I was sorry to be unable to appear in person before the Committee on Foreign Relations. But I wrote my statement at the instance of Senator Johnson, whose course in the present matter, as well as in other matters in which I have had occasion to cooperate with him in the past, has shown how deeply he has the interests of the country at heart. I am sending him a copy of this correspondence for his information.

Your statement that you will perfectly understand, should I not feel that it is right for me to answer your letter, is not fully understood by me. I do not readily conceive how I could leave unanswered a communication from the President of the United States conveying an insinuation as to the motives with which I performed what I felt to be an important public duty.

Very respectfully yours,

(signed) John Bassett Moore.

To the President,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

Copy.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 6, 1936.

My dear Judge Moore:

It is because of our old association at the Columbia Law School and later in Washington that I venture to write to you directly to ask you quite simply and frankly a somewhat personal question. Of course, if you do not feel that it is right for you to answer it, I will perfectly understand.

It has been alleged to me by one who in the past has been reliable that for many years you have been in the service or on the payrolls of, or in receipt of retainers or other emoluments from the Standard Oil Company. This, I am told, does not refer of necessity to the Standard Oil Company of New York or that of New Jersey, but might refer to any one of their many subsidiaries or to other companies controlled or owned by what might be called the Standard Oil group of individuals.

So many stories turn up in Washington, as you know, that I usually take the course of directly asking the person concerned. That is why I hope you will not mind my sending you this letter.

One of these days I shall hope to have the pleasure of seeing you again.

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

Hon. John Bassett Moore,
933 Park Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.
NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.
F. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.
JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.

WILLIAM E. BORAH, IDAHO
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
BRONSON CUTTING, N. MEX.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

February 25, 1936.

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

My dear Jack:

I received your note which enclosed the letter of McLaughlin. I am writing McLaughlin today. I received yesterday afternoon your last letter enclosing a note about the Sweeney Bill. I will look out for it. I think we may be able to stop it in the Senate, even if it should pass the House.

I did not write you as usual Sunday for I have been laid up the last few days. I am all right again, but a little shaky, and quite unable to get any continued sleep. Up to yesterday the weather has been atrocious. Old Washingtonians say no such winter have they ever known before, and I can very truthfully confirm that statement, that in the nineteen years I have been here this has been the worst and most disagreeable, coldest and horrid winter I have ever known. Yesterday, suddenly the thermometer ran up above 40, and today it bids fair to get above 50. The great heaps of snow that have been lying around everywhere will soon disappear, and the Potomac, which has been ice-blocked for a long time will again be its old self. You can thank God that you live in a climate that is the reverse of this rotten one.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I hobbled over to the Senate last Tuesday in expectation of raising Cain upon the "neutrality" bill. I had written you how we had won finally in the Foreign Relations Committee. There were rumours what would be done to us by the pacifists' associations, and a portion of the League of Nations' enthusiasts. When I got into the Senate on Tuesday, however, with my usual care I counted noses and interviewed those who were interested in the situation, and then just forced a vote at the earliest possible moment. Experience long ago taught me that if you have the votes and are intensely interested in any matter, get your roll call at the earliest possible moment. Our roll call showed that we had the situation in hand by about three to one. I missed, and of course, the world missed a perfectly good speech, but I was so sick that I was glad to be rid of it. From the physical standpoint and from the tactical standpoint, we brought the matter to a speedy conclusion, while there was no question of the result. Nye, of the Munitions Committee, got a great deal of advertising for what was called his "dramatic entrance". This was all nonsense. He got back here an hour or so before the final vote was taken, and had heaped upon his desk his papers and his speech, and I am really conceited

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

enough to say to you, observing that I was ready to respond to it, he reached the conclusion that he would remain mute. At any rate, he did not open his mouth, and the matter is temporarily well ended. It is not, in my opinion, finally concluded. Our League of Nations' people like the little moles we are familiar with are constantly burrowing, and the pacifists, between tear-drops and apostrophes to peace, are anxious for action in order that they may demonstrate that they are ready to enforce peace.

It is rather a remarkable thing that in the two set-backs the President has received in his efforts with congress, I have been the main instrument in his defeat. I will say to you, too, that he does not take defeat very graciously, and undoubtedly, he has a great deal of the Indian in him. This is one of the reasons that I know full well if he is elected next time, and I am still here, I shall have very grave difficulty with him upon our Foreign policy, particularly our international relations.

I hope that I may get the opportunity to write you again during the week.

Mother joins me in love to the boys, Miss Schow, and yourself.

Affectionately,

