

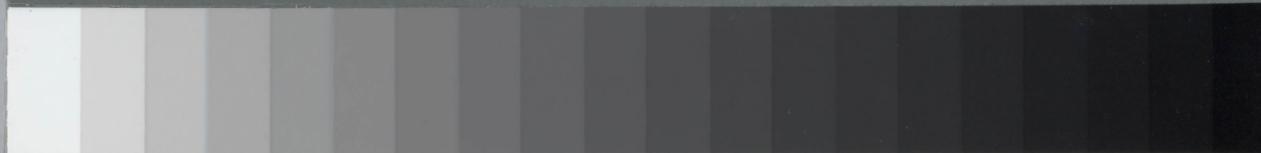
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United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JAN 1, 1939

My dear Jack.

I'm sticking my head out now, and you may rap it if you wish and tell me to mind my own business. I think you ought to be careful and wary of Olsen. He's a publicity hound and really an opportunist. If he can gratify the first bill spare nobody, and in gratifying the latter he'll forget any principle he ever had. This is a harsh characterization, but I think his actions since election warrant it. Give him no cause for even criticism of you.

This is all I'll say. It isn't for me that I write. I beg you to believe that I have you and you alone in mind.

And now, happy New Year! We sat up and saw the old year out, the new come in, last night. We drank a bottle of wine and ate some good sandwiches. When I say "we" I mean your mother, Jay and myself. In writing this letter, I didn't want to dictate to Miss Connor (his back now) so I've written it and it will be difficult to read.

Better destroy this note.

With all love,

Dad

\_\_\_\_\_, CHAIRMAN  
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. CHARLES L. MCNARY, OREG.  
JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.  
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK. GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.  
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.  
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CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.  
JOSH LEE, OKLA.  
GEORGE L. BERRY, TENN.

GRACE MCELLOWNEY, CLERK  
ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

January 7, 1939

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

My dear Jack:

It has been an interesting and a busy week, and I thought that I would commence today my letters to you in the fashion that I followed in years gone by. I find I will be unable to do it today, because I am undertaking a three minute speech this afternoon over a nation-wide hookup in celebration of the completion of the first unit of the Colorado River Aqueduct which will furnish water to the eleven coastal cities of southern California.

I am disgusted with the little I have read of what is transpiring at Sacramento. Tuesday's papers will be here during the day and I will have another line on what is happening there. The hero, apparently, of the week, and the blessed murderer upon whom the rewards are to be showered, is Tom Mooney.

Give the boys my love. Mother joins in love to you all.

Affectionately,

*H.W.J.*

\_\_\_\_\_, CHAIRMAN  
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.      CHARLES L. MCNARY, OREG.  
JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C.      HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.  
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.      GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.  
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.      ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.  
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.      WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE  
THEODORE G. BILBO, MISS.      ERNEST W. GIBSON, VT.  
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FRANCIS T. MALONEY, CONN.  
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.  
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.  
JOSH LEE, OKLA.  
GEORGE L. BERRY, TENN.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

January 14, 1939

GRACE MCELDOWNEY, CLERK  
ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

Saturday has come again, and while I will not write you the usual budget I want to send you the usual word from Mother and myself that we are all all right. We are both getting along well. The weather here has been fairly decent except a storm which began yesterday morning and continued all day, so that I look out the windows here upon a beautiful sight. Everything is covered with snow, and there is nothing more charming to the eye than the appearance of a landscape just after a snow storm. The thermometer is now going up. It is 36, to be exact, and probably the whole thing will be gone by night. I observe that you have been having some wind and rain in San Francisco.

(The President last week, in his annual message, talked glibly and well about the state of the Union, but with an ambiguity and an uncertainty with which we have become familiar in his utterances. There was one notable incident about his address. When he was talking something about economy, suddenly he was given a "Bronx" cheer, and a very large section of the audience, consisting of the new Congressmen, kept up the derisive applause for a considerable

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pt 14 Box 5

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. -2

period. He tried to turn the tables on them, and was able to do so to a degree, because he knew his notes and was reading from them, and the Democrats were enabled to give him a real cheer, but throughout it all the "raspberry" was handed to him, and there was not any doubt about it. All of the press of that night, and all of the commentators on the Washington news did not mention the incident at all, so that your Mother, to whom I was relating it, thought I was crazy. By morning, however, the press had evidently concluded it was too big an item of news to suppress entirely, and it began to appear in all the papers. It was not a pleasant incident, nor one of which I approve, but it shows very clearly a different attitude here from what has existed in the past.

The three nominations of the President, - Frankfurter, Murphy, and Hopkins, are being considered by committees. The first two have been unanimously approved by the Judiciary Committee. The last, that of Hopkins, is before the Commerce Committee, of which I am a member. I finished yesterday examining Mr. Hopkins. He made a confession in avoidance. He admitted the nefarious practices of the WPA in Pennsylvania and Kentucky. He admitted, as well, that it was wrong for him to make political speeches, and he said that if he had the road to go over again, he would fire the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. -3

guilty men in his organization, and he would refrain from political speeches. He reminded me of one who was very near and dear to me, who used to be guilty of derelictions, and on his return to the office after an absence of many days, would immediately, before I could say anything, denounce himself in unmeasured terms, tell of the iniquity of what he was doing, the wrong of which he was guilty, and leave me defenseless. I am not sure but what this sort of thought was put in Hopkins' mind. I don't think it applies to a case like his, where for months he permitted his organization to indulge in the rottenest kind of petty larceny and ruthless coercion. He will be confirmed, however, because of one of the illogical quirks of the senatorial mind. There is a feeling that is general that the President is entitled to have anybody or any kind in his Cabinet. This, I am willing to admit is generally true, but what is called a rule, ought not to apply. Petty politics have been played with human beings, who could not help themselves, whose very subsistence, and next meal indeed, depended upon the man over them.)

By the time this reaches you, we'll have a new Attorney General, Mr. Murphy, who, really, is not a bad man at all; and a new Supreme Court Judge, of whom I have various ideas; and a new Secretary of Commerce will follow just after them.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. -4

Tell Philip, please, that Bill Bullitt, the Ambassador to France, told me the other day, and I don't think he was merely polite, if I would send Philip to Paris during this year, he would see that he was given the experience in different places that would be required of one seeking a diplomatic career. I did not go into any detail with him, but I felt very grateful to him for the suggestion. He is an able man, but a regular fellow.

Write me, please, how you are coming out. The papers have been full of Mooney here, and I think the Roman holiday that was made of his release was a disgrace to the State. Olson's desire for publicity carried him over a week of show, which would have been very distasteful to me. There is no doubt, however, San Franciscans turned out, and indeed, Californians at Sacramento, in very large numbers, in wild and enthusiastic acclaim of the show and of Mooney.

Mother joins in love to the boys and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

*Dad*

\_\_\_\_\_, CHAIRMAN  
MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX. CHARLES L. MCNARY, OREG.  
JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C. HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.  
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CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.  
JOSH LEE, OKLA.  
GEORGE L. BERRY, TENN.  
  
GRACE MC ELDOWNEY, CLERK  
ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

January 21, 1939.

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

My dear Jack:

The storm of which I wrote you last Saturday has been with us intermittently during the whole week. The snow is yet upon the ground and the temperature has varied, a good part of the time being between 20 and 30. Apparently the indications are for a continuance, but during the bad weather I ride between the house and the office and subject myself to it as little as possible. Both Mother and I have kept our health and are duly thankful. We're in sackcloth and ashes again however. We've let Hiram's birthday pass without notice. There is no excuse for this on our part except the fallibility of our memories, although if I were a special pleader I would tell of how engrossed I have been in the Hopkins confirmation the past week and how disgusted I have been with the antics of certain of my brethren. But the fact remains that we have been derelict and I want to apologize to Hiram and tell him how sorry I am, -- I know Mother is, too -- that we forgot and overlooked the important day of days with him. I will try to make this plain to him.

- 2 -

(To use an expression so often used by my father, "it's crippling to one's intellect" to listen to the flimsy excuses for confirming Hopkins. Yesterday I listened to speeches by Gillette, Walsh, and Tydings, excoriating him and seldom ever heard a man so abused on the floor of the Senate. Each one wound up lamely by saying he was going to vote for him, and this after admitting he had been guilty of the worst thing of which a man can be guilty, putting fear into the hearts of the poor, the foresaken, and the hungry, for the purpose of having them vote as he desired. Norris was simply sickening, too, but he was ruined by the T.V.A., and since then, and the naming of the Norris Dam after him, and calling the little town there Norris, he has accepted anything that the Administration does or anything that is done by one of its stooges as absolute perfection, to be defended at all hazards. He and Borah undertook to jam the Frankfurter nomination through and succeeded. They were aided by three or four cranks and crackpots who appeared against Frankfurter and made exhibitions of themselves, and tainted any real opposition that existed. If I were to continue to write about these nominations this would be a rotten letter in which I would degenerate into the use of filthy language.)

It looks to me from this distance that the State of California has turned loose its Frankenstein. I read the account of Mooney's reception in Los Angeles and his speech there.

- 3 -

He will play himself out with all decent people in a very short time. Indeed, he has probably done this already, but making allowances for the propaganda and the lying statements made of and concerning him, and observing him from afar in his present antics, I think we may accurately call the turn and predict his gradual relapse into his old self and the consequent disgust of our people. I notice that Olson's illness is probably worse than originally stated. I am truly sorry for him. It is no mere perfunctory statement for me to say that I feel very, very sorry for any man who is sick. A fellow feeling has made me wondrous kind, and I hope he may recover speedily. As I look at what he proposes for the State and some of his appointments, I feel that our State is in for a very good time, and every man who has a dollar better watch himself carefully. To see Harry Bridges walking with Mooney, participating in his meetings, photographed with him, and certain other gentlemen whom you readily recognize being named for high positions, makes one feel afraid for his State and what may happen. However, I think I sensed just this peculiar trait in him and maybe I am unduly alarmed. Certainly there was nothing about his opponent, with his judgeship appointment in Alameda, to lead us to hope for any better Administration. I never doubted for an instant the predatory characteristics of Merriam and his lack of integrity, and while the appointment of Meggladery may have been just a single

- 4 -

mischance, I can't believe it.

How are you getting on? Write me your views, please, of what is transpiring. I feel mentally like the very dickens today and I am unable to write a letter of any particular interest.

Mother joins in love to Hiram, Philip, and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

*JWA*

\_\_\_\_\_, CHAIRMAN

MORRIS SHEPPARD, TEX.  
JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, N. C.  
HATTIE W. CARAWAY, ARK.  
BENNETT CHAMP CLARK, MO.  
JOHN H. OVERTON, LA.  
THEODORE G. BILBO, MISS.  
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HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.  
GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.  
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.  
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE  
ERNEST W. GIBSON, VT.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

Saturday, January 28, 1939

GRACE MC ELDOWNEY, CLERK  
ROGER WILLIAMSON, ASST. CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

I think it was today that the legislature was to recess. I may be mistaken in the date, but I saw somewhere that half of the session would be terminated on the 28th. Write me, please, how you have progressed, and your views regarding the new Administration.

I thought from some article that I saw in the press I would have difficulty obtaining my new automobile tags this year, but they duly came with the old numbers, and I was delighted. The newspapers said that he was holding up all of those who had applied, and all of those who had had small numbers in the past, and was preparing for a new deal. However, the official was very kind and sent me the numbers I have had so long.

I have followed Olson's sickness as well as I could from the press, and I think that he is a very fortunate man in his progress. I do hope that he recovers fully. I think he ought to be given a fair break in his new administration, and that he ought not to be handicapped by ill health. Then, in addition, as I wrote you before, I feel

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

very sympathetic for any one ill. I confess I don't like the dominance of Harry Bridges in his administration, and I think that Bridges' continued prominence will do him a great deal of harm.

The events of the week have been the Hopkins' confirmation by the Senate on Monday, and the Relief Bill fight of yesterday. Hopkins ought not to have been confirmed, purely as a moral question. Either, he, himself, undertook to inject politics into the administration of relief, or he permitted his underlings to do it. Their actions in Kentucky and Pennsylvania were little short of infamous; while he, himself, delivered political speeches, like that he delivered in Los Angeles, that could have no other design than to tell the WPA workers, who looked forward to him for their next meal, how he wanted them to vote. It was a sordid and a rotten mess, but you could not get the Democrats, although they made the fiercest speeches against him, to vote against him. This presented a paradox that I was never sympathetic with, - the denunciation of the act of a person, and then voting for the very thing denounced.

The fight on the Relief Bill was over an immaterial matter, in my opinion, but the President made it a great contest. Nobody is going to starve, and nobody is going to be permitted, that is entitled to relief, to suffer. The Congress first reduced the amount by \$150,000,000, and

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

the senate committee, thereafter, acquiesced in this cut, but with the proviso that should occasion arise, the emergency should be stated by the President to the Senate, and an additional deficiency bill should be asked. So, after all, there was not very much to fight about, but the President made it a great question by insisting that everybody should toe the mark, and go down the line, and some of us took up the challenge. It was an amazingly close fight, and as you'll have observed by the press, was won by one vote. I did something that I have seldom done here. I jumped around the floor, interviewing various and sundry Senators, and I believe, to some effect. Of course, with the margin of just one vote, anybody who voted with us could claim the victory, and this really occurred. I have heard a half dozen Senators, since the voting, tell how they got the one winning vote. Roosevelt is such a singular man, that he is perfectly insane over a defeat such as this, and, vindictively, waits for an opportunity to pay back the recalcitrant ones. He will get so long a line of "purgees" soon that practically all of the whole Senate will be on it. The Senate is at present the best place in the world to see the interplay of base emotions, and to witness, as well, the abject cowardice of men in the face of power, and the ease with which some of them can be bought with a little patronage, and likewise, to see who has the "guts" to stand up. My father used to say the most uncertain of God's animals

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

was the two-legged animal. He was quite right. To witness agony suffered by some of the men upstairs at doing just what was right makes you sick of the whole human family. One who has been so long in public life as I have ought to have some understanding of the frailty of human nature.

Sunday, January 29, 1939.

I had reached this point when I had to cease dictating yesterday and let the finish of your letter go until today. We were in session until very late last evening, because those of us who were interested in the victory of the day before, wanted to finish up last night, so that Sunday would not intervene. We finished all right, and passed ~~the~~ bill reducing the WPA appropriation by \$150,000,000. This, however, I wrote to you in the first part of this letter, makes very little difference because of the proviso. It is a happy augury, however, for it has taught a lot of weak-kneed Senators that they can stand up and vote as their consciences dictate without falling dead.

This morning I received your letter of the 27th, and I was very glad to read your remarks upon the situation in California. You know I have become mushy, perhaps, where sickness is concerned, and if it would not be misunderstood, I would like to write a letter to Olson telling him how much

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

I regretted his illness, and wishing him a speedy recovery. If he would only divorce his administration from the Mooneys, and the Bridgeses, and the other bastards, we would not have to speculate upon his mental equipment, or be so uncertain of him; but his appointment of harbor commissioner, and a couple of appointments from the south, have tinged his whole administration.

We have had rotten weather here lately. The thermometer most of the time has been about 20, but, as you remark, we live so close to the Capitol, it does not trouble me greatly. Today it is raining. The thermometer is up. Probably tomorrow it will be down. I note that Hiram has finished his house, and that the furniture is in. You are quite right, it is a beautiful little place. If he would get married now, he really would enjoy it, but I am doubtful if living there alone will be much fun for him.

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

Affectionately,

*Dad*

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIR.

PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.  
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH  
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.  
F. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.  
JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO  
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.  
DENNIS CHAVEZ, N. MEX.  
LEWIS B. SCHWELLENBACH, WASH.  
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.  
THEODORE F. GREEN, R. I.  
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.

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

Febr. 3, 1939

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

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

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Mrs. Johnson wants to ask you if you will not have some member of your household listen to Fulton Lewis, Jr., the radio commentator. He talks over the radio every night, except Saturday, at four o'clock, your time (7 our time). Mr. Lewis is interested in the Senator's attitude on foreign affairs, and in his broadcasts of the past week has been very complimentary in his remarks concerning the Senator.

Sincerely,

*M. Connor*  
Secretary.

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN

PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.  
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FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.  
F. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.  
JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO  
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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

Febr. 4, 1939

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

On this, Saturday, afternoon, I send you just a word of greeting. I can't write you a letter such as I expected to write, because I have been engrossed all day long and annoyed nearly to death with the news men who want a statement from me about present foreign conditions. I finally told them that I thought I would try to write one tomorrow, and I will endeavor to do so. I got excited this week and broke into the discussion of the foreign situation, and created quite a furor here. I am glad I did it. The gentleman in the White House yesterday was hysterical in denying he had said certain things to the Military Committee that he had summoned before him. I am not a member of that committee, so I am not one of the recalcitrants according to his view. I believe he said just what was attributed to him. It is a pity that those who heard him don't come out, notwithstanding the seal of secrecy, and state the facts. They have been pilloried before the country, but in a fashion, I think that did the President no good. He seems to have gone perfectly mad because his policy in respect to the

2.

world situation is opposed. I think that next week, early in the week, the question will break out on the floor again, and I shall take part in it.

I received your telegram about the Clinton Construction Company, and immediately took it up with the Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks, Navy Department. They advise me that the award has been made to the James I. Barnes Construction Company of Santa Monica, California, in the amount of \$788,200. The Bureau stated that the Clinton Construction Company and the George A. Fuller Company were tie bidders on one item (Item I), but that there were many bidders, and the James I. Barnes Construction Co. was lowest bidder on the general contract.

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

Affectionately,

*Dad*

What I say to you about the Bureau of Yards and Docks, Miss Connor by phone obtained from them this morning.

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIR.

PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.  
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ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.  
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.  
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

Saturday, February 11, 1939.

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

My dear Jack:

It has been a miserable week, both from the standpoint of the weather, and from other standpoints, as well. We have held only two sessions of the Senate during the week, the purpose being, apparently, to leave the situation as it is, and preclude the possibility of further debate upon the President's foreign policy. There will be further debate upon it as soon as the facts can be loosed. They are now bottled up in the Military Affairs Committee, where they were received in executive session, and where no man likes to break his plighted word. The great objection to the sale to France of our airplanes was the secrecy, in which, surreptitiously, they wrapped the transaction; and, of course, there was the further fact, that as long as we were supplying France ( and airplanes are not built in a minute ) we could not supply ourselves. And then again, we were selling the very airplanes we had worked on, and upon which we had expended a great deal of money in technical knowledge, and it was one of these planes that cracked. Of course, Los Angeles, because the sale of planes is in sight, want to

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

complete the transaction. Every other consideration was of little consequence to them. I hope, next week, all of the facts may be developed, so we can refer to them, and then, I trust, there may be several Senators who will make the situation very plain. The fact that the President got so mad at the Senators who repeated part of his conversation with them, demonstrated conclusively that he was playing a crooked game, and he had to divert attention by the exuberance of his language. As near as I can get to the facts, he did not say the frontier of this country was on the Rhine, but he said our first line of defense was France and England, and then he declined to permit the stenographic notes of the conversation to be published, and deliberately lied about the notes having been taken. I don't think anybody cared particularly whether he said one thing or the other, or both. The lines are divided, unfortunately, as you may have perceived, with all the Jews on one side, wildly enthusiastic ~~for~~ the President, and willing to fight to the last American, both Germany and Italy; and those of us - a very considerable number - who are thinking in terms of our own country, and that alone. The Jews ring the changes on the necessity for stopping dictatorships, and of finally whipping them before they got the opportunity to whip us, and, of course, conquering Italy and Germany, releasing from bondage the Jews of those two countries, and making them the Governors

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson - 3

*the two nations.*  
of ~~them~~. Naturally, like any normally constituted human being, I hate the persecutions to which the Jews have been put, and I will go any fair lengths, save the ruin of my own country, to aid them; but I will not go to the length of fighting for citizens of other nations, who have been badly and shamefully treated, nor that these citizens of other nations may vindicate their rights or punish their wrongdoers. This is the basis of the struggle here, and I don't know but what somebody ought to say it openly, but everybody is afraid - I confess I shrink from it - of offending the Jews. It ought not to be offensive to those who are citizens of this country, that we jealously guard our own, and that we decline for citizens of another country, because of their treatment by their rulers, to go to war. All of this is just the basic problem confronting us today. The President, in my opinion, cares no more for what may happen to us in a war, than the man in the moon. He has developed the dictator complex, and he has found, at last, the class which cheers him vociferously for aiding their people, who neither live here, nor have anything in common with our country. He will do anything for applause, and it is this very group at present which applaud him to the echo.

I received a fine letter from Hiram the other day. He told me that he wanted to go into Earl Warren's office. I presume that, definitely, he did not determine this matter

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

before because he was engaged in his house, but I respectfully submit that in the middle of February when Warren took office the first of January, is rather a bad time to place him in that particular office. Earl Warren was coming to see me this week on the Nye submerged land resolution, but owing to a mixup here he did not come. I suppose he will come back here in a short time, and I will then talk to him; but from what Hiram wrote me of his attempts to see him, I don't think we'll get very far. He owes me nothing at all, and perhaps he feels some resentment of me for not coming out for him, as he wished me to do. I will do the best I can with him, however.

Glass and Byrd are having their controversy with the President. The Senate stood by them. I confess to only a tepid interest in the whole transaction, but it was taken rather seriously here. In the split that is occurring between the President and the Congress, the President is bound to win. I have seen too many of this sort of thing, and, in small degree, had them in my own experience, and I realize the factors that are controlling. It is a personality against an impersonal thing. The personality will always win, and no enthusiasm for the public generally will be felt, or the academic rights of Congress or those of the people, save in rare instances, that the Congress is seeking to protect. The personality is the news, and can fulminate daily, and have every word he says carefully recorded, and generally read. The

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

other side will have great difficulty in getting publicity, and where there is a multitude of counsel, there is bound to be a division. However, there may be specific policies that may be seriously affected by such a row. At any rate, it serves one useful purpose: it gives to the timid, and the weak, and the cowardly, a degree of courage that they would not possess without the row.

Somebody has sent me - I don't know who - the Sacramento Union of February 5 containing an article that Downey owes \$50,000 rent for offices in Sacramento. The article mentions the judgment that was filed against him for \$43,000 just before he left. I don't think these debts mean anything against him, but I was interested in reading the article. If he owes the amount of money the article indicates, he will have to do one or two things, - finally go into the bankruptcy court, or do as McAdoo was reputed to have done. I see him quite often, and get along with him very nicely. I think he is a peculiar fellow, a little slippery. I tried to show him the usual conventional courtesies, and he appeared grateful for them. I don't suppose I will have more to do with him than just being friendly in that fashion.

With my love, in which Mother joins, to the boys, Miss Schow, and yourself, I am

Affectionately yours,

*Wm*

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIR

PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
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WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

February 19, 1939.  
Sunday.

HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

Your letter of February 17 reached me this, Sunday, morning, and I am now, with Miss Connor, dictating a very brief reply.

Yesterday, while your Mother and I were riding, after I had finished my tasks in the office, we turned on the radio for the ceremonies in opening the Exposition. They came through beautifully, and we followed them with interest. I note that you turned native, and I am glad you did. I am carrying the picture you sent, home so that Mother may have a good laugh at it, and we speculate upon your conduct.

The more that is learned of the celebrated sale to the French of our planes, the more we realize the extraordinary care with which these planes are hidden from the world in order to prevent their secrets being known, hidden by orders, and counter-orders of the War and the Navy Departments; and then realizing that in a breath all this was swept aside, and the whole thing kept secret from our people, the more we marvel at the usages of Democracy, and the sins that are perpetrated in its name. The propaganda has been

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

extraordinary to make our people protect this secrecy, and it has been extraordinary in behalf of Great Britain and France. Back of it all is the intense desire of a certain class to get us into war with Germany. While you and I would resent the cruelties practiced upon that class, neither one of us would wish our own to go across the water in a war with Germany to avenge those German citizens, who have been cruelly treated. However, that is another story, as Mr. Kipling says, and I fear, not immediately, but within a reasonable time, we'll be in the fighting, and we won't know what we are fighting about. It will be another war to save Democracy, and when we have finished, we won't be able to recognize Democracy any place on earth.

The other day Paul Scharrenberg, who is here with the American Federation of Labor, came to me and said that in the printed account of A. P. Giannini, his name was mentioned as recipient of \$2500.00. The natural question I asked was, "did he get it?". He swore by all that is holy, that he had never received it, never had any financial dealings with Giannini, and he could not understand why his name was mentioned. I told him he better think the matter over very carefully, see if somewhere in his career he had not received that money from Giannini, and if he concluded, after going

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

through all of his affairs during the years, that an injustice had been done him, to state that fact to the San Francisco News, which had published the account. He returned to me next day and told me he had sent such a telegram, and again reiterated that he had only done it after he searched his memory thoroughly, and knew that he had never received anything from Giannini. Scharrenberg had seen the News in Havenner's office, where he visits daily. That afternoon, Franck Havenner called, and said he was about to take a plane with Congressman Buck to go out to the Exposition. He explained that Scharrenberg was kicking about mention of him, and that he ought to have remembered the circumstances, - that Bert Meek in 1934 approached Giannini, and Giannini made a contribution to him, Havenner, and the others who were reviving the Progressive Party for me. Havenner called on Giannini, but Giannini would not give him the money saying he was a public official. Havenner responded he could pay it to anybody, that Scharrenberg being united in the desire that they all had, reviving the Progressive Party, it could be made out to him, and Giannini made it out to Scharrenberg. Havenner stated that the money was used in circulating petitions in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and other places, and used for the purpose for which it was contributed by Giannini. Singularly enough, Scharrenberg and Havenner did not meet

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

before the latter's departure for California, and I did not see Havenner when he made this statement to Miss Connor in the office. Next day, Friday, I rang up Scharrenberg, and when he came to office I told him what Havenner had said. He was kicked into a cocked hat, and I am perfectly certain he had forgotten everything concerning the transaction. Scharrenberg was to ring Havenner up in San Francisco, but I have not since heard from him, and I do not know whether he did it or not. There is not anything about this transaction that anybody need be ashamed of. I never heard of it until Scharrenberg came to me complaining of the Giannini publication, and swearing by all that was holy that he did not get the money from Giannini, but it appears that he did get the money, that the money was spent legitimately; although, of course, what makes it bad now is his wire to the News that there was no truth in the statement, and subsequently learning that there was. Have you any recollection of the circumstances at all?

I note your statement about Lieutenant-Governor Patterson. I first saw that in one of Horne's articles. I don't know how formidable he would be, but it might just as well be he as somebody else. I have no confidence in the present situation, and that is why I am pursuing the even tenor of my way, and doing just as I have always done, without regard to the consequences. I would like my grandchildren to be able

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

to say, when I am dead, that I followed the straight path as I saw it, and nothing swerved me from that course.

I was told, confidentially, yesterday that Roosevelt got very angry at the part of my last statement where I said " I detested dictators, both actual and potential". I laughed a good deal when I dictated that ( I dictated the statement to the press men, and never saw it after its dictation) because I realized they did not understand what I was saying, and I thought, probably, no one else would, but I let it go.

With my love to both the boys, Miss Schow, and yourself, in which Mother joins, I am

Affectionately yours,

*Frank*

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, February 26, 1939.

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

My dear Jack:

This is Sunday, February 26. I have just before me now your letter of the 24th. I am very glad that you pursue the course you indicate, and even though there is nothing particularly to say, and nothing to write about, you send us a word of how all of you are. I realize that at times it is difficult to write at length. It is so with all of us, but your Mother and I want some little word from you about everybody. There has been an epidemic of influenza here, just as I suppose you have had in San Francisco. We have had the strangest and the most freakish weather during the past couple of weeks it is possible to have. During the day frequently the thermometer would run over 70. During the night it would get down to 20, - a condition, atmospherically and theremometrically, that I don't think conducive to good health.

There is little to tell you of events here. They have pulled down one by one of the Military Committee until they have practically got them all. Nye and Clark will remain steadfast, I think, but both on other lines than

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

myself. It was amusing to see when the case closed in on the President, and it was obvious that he had kicked over every rule that had been made by the War Department and the Navy Department, and disregarded the caution always exercised in relation to our air planes, how, first one, and then another, of the members of the Committee, would find some reason for justification; and the very worst instance of this was Austin of Vermont. Austin is a typical standpatter. He is like the ordinary New Englander, perfectly insane for social recognition, and would do anything for a nod from power. So he led the hosts. There is nothing we can do about it. I expressed myself as strongly as I could in my last statement. The Bill comes up tomorrow in the Senate, and I think there will be little or no opposition to it.

I wrote Hiram Saturday in answer to his very fine letter of a week ago. I presume he is living over at Belvedere now, and enjoys every moment of it. Does he keep house? I presume he must. He certainly has a beautiful location, and a charming house. I am sorry Philip suffers so from sinus. This climate is most prolific in the production of sinus trouble, and the doctors ought to have explored every conceivable cure. I will inquire into

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

the thing in the next week. We have three or four members of the Senate who are afflicted, and who, apparently, have a very severe time.

Mother and I are well, and she unites with me in sending love to you, the boys, and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

*Dad*

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
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WILLIAM E. BORAH, IDAHO  
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WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE  
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, March 5, 1939

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

The past week I have been exceedingly busy in various things, the meanest of which are the little pinpricks that stay with you all night, and are only dissipated with the sunshine of dawn. I received no letter from you today as I had received the past few Sundays, and as I really expected today. I presume the airmail was perhaps a little out of joint, or your Sacramento business has kept you there pretty well.

Your inquiry as to informers and their claims in the matter of taxes, I am a little in doubt as to how to proceed in the matter. I don't want to make an inquiry of the Treasury Department and be turned down. I would get angry then and endeavor to raise hell, and probably get my block knocked off. I have an inquiry concerning the matter, and I send you herein the best information, generally, I could obtain, which, doubtless you are wholly familiar with. My informant insisted that no information would be given out to a stranger to the tax return. This is the rule constantly announced, but whenever the Department wishes to "get"

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

somebody, or the Department desires to smear somebody, then all the tax records that are necessary are closely examined, and information concerning them given to the press and given circulation. I will try to find out something else for you in this matter. In the meantime I enclose herein memorandum of all I have been able to learn, and, of course, it is of no value at all.

We have been in the senate on the very large army appropriation bill. A few of us agreed that inasmuch as the bill could not be attacked directly, we would use it as a medium for attacking the foreign policy that is now being pursued. I don't know whether we have accomplished anything or not, but, at any rate, we have made it plain that the foreign policy of the government at present is to do everything that France and England desire. I have no doubt there is a complete understanding between our country and these so-called democracies and commitments that will take us into war at the first shot; but there is no way of developing it except in the method we have pursued. It is a strange thing that after our experience in the last war, we can so rapidly be jockeyed into participation in another. I attempted a speech on the subject during the week, but it did not get very much publicity. Unfortunately I got on my feet at an hour which constitutes the dead line of the evening papers, and the be-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

ginning of things for the morning papers, and the election of the pope took up all of the space in our eastern publications. The speech did not amount to much, but I had what is rather unusual, - a full senate and kept their attention for an hour and a half.

Your Mother wishes me to send you the enclosed clipping. She said the author of it, Mr. Beebe, had been everywhere in San Francisco, and perhaps he would indicate to you two or three other places of entertainment where you might go as a tired business man at night. I have not read the article, but Mother was most anxious for me to enclose it to you today, and so I do so.

The Fair, if one can judge from the newspapers, is a great success, - a success, financially and otherwise. I think a little too much stress is placed on Sally Rand and nude women, but then I am an old man.

Tomorrow the Navy Department is going to determine whether it will build the Oakland base. I am in rather a peculiar position on this subject. Mare Island, that is Vallejo, does not want it. I am very fond of Dr. Hogan and some others who are residents of Vallejo, and I have inquired of the Navy people meticulously whether the new base at Oakland will interfere or injure in any way Mare Island, and they have all answered in the negative.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

My sympathies are with Mare Island, but my judgment won't permit a bare fear of the residents of Vallejo from constructing a real need, - a supply base at Oakland. This is how the matter stands today. I am a member of the Naval Committee and will have to take my stand tomorrow. I see nothing to do, but do what I consider to be right, and permit this construction at Oakland for which all of the Navy Department clamors. To act as "dog in the manger" I think is rather <sup>a</sup>/reprehensible position to take, and besides if this were important, the Navy Department is going to be able to drive the thing through. This is one of the occasionally annoying things I wrote you of, but when such a thing does come up I have made up my mind there is only one thing to do, - to determine the question by the right or the wrong.

I hope you are getting along well at Sacramento and that everything will turn out as you wish it.

Mother joins in love to Hiram, Philip, and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

*Dad*

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.  
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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

March 11, 1939

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

This is Saturday, dark and dreary outside, with rain predicted, and the thermometer slightly over 40. I think we have finished with our cold weather, however, although the present is not particularly pleasant, and that from now on, we'll gradually improve until it gets so damned hot as to be unbearable. You don't know ( of course, you do ) the contrast between California and the east, climatically. We realize it more each year.

Mother and I were awfully sorry to learn from your letter that you have been sick, and we rejoiced that you were better, and hope you will continue to improve. After all, your health is the most important thing. Without it, you can not do anything. Please be careful.

In my letter to Hiram I wrote him that Earl Warren, the Attorney General, was to be here soon on the Nye resolutions that are pending before our com-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

mittees, and while he was here, I would endeavor to interview him concerning Hiram's employment in his office. Do you wish this? I have not heard from Hiram since I wrote him, and I was assuming that he had talked the matter over with you, and you had both reached the conclusion that this should be done.

I wrote him that my influence did not amount to anything because of the requests that had been made to me during the campaign to take part in Warren's campaign, and my refusal to become mixed in that situation.

I would not blame Warren a bit for regarding me as just an inter-meddler when I wished something. However, if it is your desire and Hiram's I will undertake it.

I read the local papers as well as I can, and I see from them that Olson was insisting upon his tax plans, and I presume this will make your task harder. I trust, however, you will be successful.

I have been going ahead with full speed of late. So many things are occurring in which I am deeply interested, and concerning which I would like to take an intimate part, that I am quite beside myself. The foreign situation, apparently, has eased up. The Administration

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

is beginning to boast, through its stooges, who are commentators, that Roosevelt has run a tremendous bluff on the dictator nations, and thereby given them pause. It may be so. But, to me it is a dreadful thing that my country should risk the lives of its young men upon a bluff. I could expatiate upon it, but readily will it occur to you that there is an irresponsibility in this position, which, no man with a decent regard for the lives of those under him, would undertake.

Mother joins in our love to the boys and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

*H.W.J.*

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
PAT HARRISON, MISS.  
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.  
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.  
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WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE  
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, March 19, 1939

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

My dear Jack:

Sunday again, and irresistible is the desire to say how quickly it has rolled around. I think I begin most of my letters to you in this fashion now, but one week after another, and it seems each succeeding one terminates more quickly than ever before. Of course, we have had stirring events abroad that have kept us in a ferment here. The President and the younger men of the State Department are restless and anxious to go to the forefront, and to be the first to levy sanctions, increase duties, and fire the first shot. I have no doubt that the President is committed to a policy of aiding France and England, and they have yielded to him the right of direction of the campaigns that are supposed to be undertaken against Germany and Italy. We have said harsher things, and really when the decree of yesterday penalized German shipments, we have done more than any one of those directly concerned, and our people are being whipped into an attitude of acquiescence and approval. Propaganda is a remarkable

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

thing. I have observed the attitude of Congress gradually changing until very shortly they will be in a hysterical state, which will enable the Administration to take what steps it desires. The poor protestants trying to keep their feet on the ground and keep this country out of war will be hooted down in the fashion with which we became so familiar twenty years or more ago. This President of ours is so anxious to lead the world, to go down in history as a Napoleon or Washington, or even a philosopher like Jefferson, that he would go to any lengths. It does not make any difference that his position is illogical or injurious to the country, he thinks that he can make history, and by golly, he is going to do it at all hazards. And all the little fellows who stand in his way better get out of the way, or they will be crushed, but some of the little fellows are so obstinate, they tempt their fate, and, of course, I am one of these.

There has been room for very little else but war the last week. I still don't believe there is going to be any war, but Roosevelt will make one if he can. Do you remember you used to say to me that while you despised Hitler, you thought he was a wonderful man,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

and I would not admit it, even grudgingly, but I'm gradually reaching the conclusion that you expressed. That he is a brute, ruthless, cruel, and utterly unprincipled I have no doubt, but that he has some attributes of great leadership, I am beginning to believe. The nights of late, and very late in them, I have been reading Lloyd George and the making of the Treaty of Versailles. The part devoted to Czecho-Slovakia, its boundaries, and the polygot populations that ~~were~~ included in the new state, was singularly interesting, in the light of recent events. When you get the time, you ought to glance through it, so that you might have something of an understanding of out of what the new country of Czecho-Slovakia was carved. It made me revise a little of my ideas.

I notice that Olson is apparently attending to his duties again. Has he completely recovered, or is he just relying upon his reserves, so that he again will suffer a collapse?

I hope Philip is thoroughly recovered. If he has not, he ought to get out of a damp or a wet climate until spring. I don't like these recurring

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

sicknesses of his, particularly when he was so very sick so recently. I rather imagine that such sicknesses, as he has had, take something out of one, and that recovery is pretty difficult for a long period of time. I have been wondering whether Hiram has gone over to Marin County to live, or whether he is content merely to be the owner of a beautiful home.

I have so many things to do, so many things I want to participate in, that I find myself going into a mental stupor in the endeavor to do them. Of late, I have feared I would get back into the state I was in in June, 1936. I am trying to put the brakes on, but knowing my disposition, you will realize it is difficult. I do hope you are coming out all right in the work you are undertaking at present, and that you will be wholly successful. Tell me what your chances are.

With love to the boys and Miss Schow, in which Mother joins,

Affectionately,

*Jan*

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

P:S:                    This week I received a letter from the United American Czechoslovak Societies of San Francisco concerning my attitude. It is one of the few letters I have received that I have responded to. I may say to you, parenthetically, that out of the many hundreds of letters that have come here, a very small proportion of them take me to task for my attitude, and the great majority of them are in agreement. I send you this letter because, very briefly, and perhaps inadequately, it expressed my opinion of the present situation, but I wanted you to see the difficulties that we have, for this letter points them very clearly, in meddling with the European situation. We have a polygot population in this country, composed of every racial group on earth. Of necessity, these racial <sup>groups</sup> ~~groups~~ are intensely interested in what is occurring in their fatherland; and had I wished to be nasty to these people, I could have said that they ought to be concerned with America's position, and that alone, and not with what is transpiring in Europe. There is the difficulty of our situation, - one that I learned very thoroughly during the League of Nations' fight, and one which will continue to trouble us, no matter what transpires

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

abroad, and no matter what position we take, ~~for~~  
there always will be a group sympathetic with the  
fatherland, forgetful of its obligations and duties  
here, and who will think and act as their emotions  
urge. I send you this letter just as an example.

Affectionately,

*dad*

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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Copy

March 18, 1939

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

The United American Czechoslovak Societies  
of California,  
739 Page Street,  
San Francisco, California

Dear Sirs:

I have received this morning your telegram  
reading as follows:

"Your incredible isolationist stand  
is comforting and encouraging infamous  
leaders of totalitarian and predatory  
states in their inhuman treatment of de-  
fenceless peoples. For sake of tortured  
humanity for safety of America's democracy  
we appeal to you urging you to support  
President's efforts to amend unjust and  
dangerous neutrality act. "

The "incredible isolationist stand" is ex-  
actly the stand taken by the President in his Chau-  
tauqua speech in 1937, when he said, "We are not is-  
olationists except insofar as we seek to isolate  
ourselves completely from war". This is the only is-  
olation we ask. I take it from your telegram that you  
wish us at once to go to war with totalitarian and  
predatory states. I can understand your indignation  
at the inhuman treatment of defenceless peoples by  
these powers. Indeed, I share it, and have repeatedly  
so expressed myself, but I will not take my country  
into war solely because of it. On this, you and I  
disagree fundamentally.

You appeal to me to support the President's  
efforts to amend the "unjust and dangerous" neutrality  
act. What do you mean by this? Do you know that the  
"unjust and dangerous" neutrality law was jammed through  
the Congress of the United States by the Administration,  
and after its passage never invoked by it? Do you know  
that I was one of six votes against the bill when it was  
before the Senate, and time has justified my attitude?  
Now, if you mean by your telegram that this act should

2.

be amended by giving to the Executive Department the right to designate an "aggressor" nation and then take us into war, I am not in accord with you. I will not give the power to declare war to any one man, however good, or however bad, and that is exactly what this would do. Congress has the power to declare war, and I would retain this power in Congress, and entrust it to no other part of the government.

I think the difficulty with your telegram is you have acted upon misinformation, and I have been thus explicit so you may know exactly my views.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Hiram W. Johnson

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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, March 26, 1939

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

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

My dear Jack:

I saw Earl Warren day before yesterday and put up to him the proposition of Hiram. It was rather difficult for me to do this, because I had refused to come out for him in the campaign, and he owed me nothing, politically or otherwise. He would have been quite justified in telling me I could look elsewhere and go there, too. He was very decent and very kindly about the matter. As I wrote Hiram he told me that, save for some members of his own office force that had been with him quite a long time, he kept all of his predecessor's deputies and clerks, with the understanding that they would be on a sort of probation, and that he would be at liberty, at any time to discharge any one of them. He said possibly thereafter there may come some opportunity for Hiram, although I thought from his description it was mighty doubtful. I wrote Hiram yesterday so that he would receive the news just as soon as I had it. This is the first time I have ever talked to Warren at any length.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I rather liked him, and I think he is quite a superior fellow. I was very sorry I could write nothing more encouraging to Hiram but he left the matter for such a long period of time before making up his mind, and until he had finished the work in which he was engaged, I assume, that it was a pretty difficult task.

During the week I read an editorial in the Examiner quoting what I think Governor Lehman of New York said about increasing the taxes on tobacco. I think this might be of value to you, not because of the source, - the Examiner, which I imagine is in the "dog house" but because of the facts stated. I know, of course, you have seen the editorial and that you had all the facts, anyway.

I don't quite understand Olson, and I understand less, his son. However, we won't talk about that until I see you.

( The Roosevelt family is putting on a show all over the Union, and it makes me sick, because it is so transparent. You've noticed probably Elliot Roosevelt declares himself for Garner, and John Boettinger, his brother-in-law, writes him an open letter, to which Elliot responds. A less immodest family, or a family seeking something else besides publicity and petty advantage, would shrink from this sort of thing, but the

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

Roosevelt family, it seems have none of the finer sentiments that we presume actuate ordinary human beings, and certainly none of the modesty that distinguishes the ordinary person.

Whether we are in for war or not can not be told with any degree of definiteness yet. There is a growing sentiment in behalf of war, and an equally growing sentiment to keep out. The two views will clash pretty soon. All the propaganda is on the one side, and all the vociferous articulation is there. The Jews, to a unit, are under-handedly insisting that we make war, and through their kept newspapers and those carrying their advertising, they are ranting at the public daily concerning our duty to the great democracies. They got something of a slam when they included Russia among the great democracies - Russia, where there have been more political executions than in all the rest of the world together in the last few years. It was pretty difficult for them to class Russia as one of the great Democracies, but they swallowed the dose and have been talking about it since. It appears today, Sunday, as if Russia might not enter into their proposed "Stop Hitler" bloc.) Borah finally came through

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

last night on the radio. He repeated much of what I had said hertofore, but he did it much better than I did, and he received in the east here great publicity. And this reminds me of a thing he did recently that is almost unforgivable. The great fight on the Reorganization Bill was on the Wheeler amendment requiring the particular reorganization that might be desired by the President to be submitted to the Congress, and giving Congress the right of veto of it. Borah, apparently, was for this. After a week of debate it came up Wednesday night and was carried by one vote. Senator Byrnes, who was in charge of the bill immediately changed his vote from No to Yes in order to move a reconsideration. As you know a reconsideration may be moved only by one who has voted with the prevailing side. The custom has been here for many years immediately to move to table that motion, and this from the parliamentary standpoint that a motion to table is not debatable. Byrnes made his motion to reconsider. Clark moved to lay it on the table, and then the roll call began, and Borah simply sat in his seat mute and would not vote. The result was the motion to table was a tie vote, and declared by Garner, as was right, to be lost. Had Borah then voted to table the motion, the matter would have been ended, and no power could resurrect it. On

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

the following day we learned that the Administration had bought Chavez, the half-breed from New Mexico, who had voted for the Wheeler amendment originally, so the fat was in the fire, and the motion was reconsidered, and Wheeler's amendment was beaten. It was something of a blow to those of us who had been fighting all along, and it was more than a blow coming, as it did, from Borah. He claimed afterwards that he did it because he would not vote for anything in the nature of cloture, but this is a thin excuse. It happened at the time of the pendency of the matter, he was asking for the appointment of Douglas to the Supreme bench, and that the President acceded to his request. It will take me a little time to get over this, but so many things are happening, and happening so quickly, that I hope soon to forget it.

Mother joins in love to the boys and  
Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

Dad

As I signed this, Mussolini's speech is coming in over our little radio in the office - a transcribed copy, and I'm trying to learn what it was or whether it means war or peace. More of this hereafter.

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN  
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HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.

EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK  
JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

March 29, 1939

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

Sonny Boy:

I am asking Miss Connor to send you  
this suggestion rather hurriedly.

After reading the political comment  
in your last letter Dad was very much disturbed.  
Of course there is nothing he can do about it until  
he gets to California. As you know, he is up to  
his neck in things here because he is practically  
making the fight alone, with the Administration and  
all its cohorts against him. Any bad news from out  
there only makes him nervous and anxious. He did  
not sleep for two nights, and of course there was  
nothing I could do for him. I would suggest that  
you send him as little bad news as possible because  
I know you do not want him annoyed any more than I  
do. This is only a suggestion. Please take it as  
I tell it to you, and keep it confidential. Kindly  
destroy this letter after you have read it.

Mother thinks of you very very often,  
and sends you much love.

Devotedly,

*Mother*  
*By M. Connor*