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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, April 2, 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:

We were all set yesterday to listen to Hitler, and then, he either fooled us, or something arose that interfered with the broadcasting of his speech. It would be just like these crazy people to prevent a broadcast, imagining that, in that way, they would gain some little advantage, - I am sure I don't know what, but the teutonic mind works in a wondrous way. I really think that the decadent British Empire, by finally calling the bluff, has stopped all the nonsense. It's a pity that it could not have been done before Munich. Our President is panting in his anxiety to get in, and I have no doubt whatever that if there is a ruction or a war, we'll be in it. I think the matter is ended, at least, for the time being, and beyond a sputtering from Mussolini and Hitler, we'll hear nothing more, at least until something new arises to enable them in mocking indignation to pretend new offense.. I have been watching Japan these last few weeks. Her inroads upon China are something beyond belief, and apparently now she is utterly disregarding French possessions, and

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

and protecting her self in the south. Isn't it strange that in all this horror we express about the treatment of the Jews we have forgotten the Chinese upon whom more cruelty, and worse outrages, and grosser injustice, have been practised? I keep talking so much about the international situation because we have all believed, until the last day or two, that we were pretty close to war. I don't mean to say that we should have been in war, because we ought not, ^{that} but / our masters, at the first excuse would have taken us into war. They still talk of aiding in every way possible the democracies and about the solid front against the dictators; and in the solid front, marching side by side with us is to be Russia where more people have been killed and politically liquidated in the past couple of years than in all the other countries combined. But in this crisis, hurrah for Stalin. We have marched with the great democracy, Russia, although Russia displays a coyness and a lack of enthusiasm for the front we are establishing that is quite inexplicable. Are we not proud to be a part of England's diplomacy? And, don't we thrill at the very thought of assisting England? What a shame it is that Russia should ^{NOT} not with paeans of thanksgiving join in the modern crusade for the preservation of democracy!

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I had pitchforked into my lap this week the oil situation at Long Beach. The Navy is endeavoring to take for a naval reserve the submerged lands. The objection, of course, of the people of Long Beach, is well understood, and it was a perfectly clean proposition. The Attorney General came here in opposition, and in the senate during the hearings I participated with him. I saw more of him than I have ever seen before. He is a very pleasant, decent fellow, I think, - not one that will ever set the world on fire, but he possesses sufficient qualifications, and above all, the qualification of integrity. He spent a good deal of time in my colleague's office. I don't know what on, and I did not care to ask him. He seemed to have no great admiration for the Olson regime.

Mother is talking of going to New York for Easter. Confidentially, I dread the trip, but if she wants to go, I will probably go. It has been a long time since we have been to New York, and she is entitled to this trip, if she wants it. We'll be gone but two or three days. Please don't write anything regarding my disinclination to going.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

I received a letter from Hiram yesterday in which he told me Philip had gone away, but was not feeling any better. Let me know, please, his address, so I can write him a letter.

Mother joins in love to the boys and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

Wm

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 4, 1939

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

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,
Hotel Senator,
Sacramento, California

My dear Jack:

In my last I told you that we were going to New York this week. Mother has changed her mind. We are not going. She will go, probably - if she goes at all - after the Fair opens there, so that she may make comparisons.

Your letter was received yesterday. Deny to everybody, if you care to, that speaks to you about the matter, that I will not be a candidate next year for the United States Senate. I thought the matter had been set at rest by the publications, that have come naturally, in the Stockton Record and the Los Angeles papers. I hated to make, and I hate to do so yet, a formal announcement of candidacy now. I think it would be premature. In addition to that, there are so many important things arising, concerning which I shall take my stand, that I don't want everything I do attributed to a candidacy. I am perhaps unduly sensitive in this regard, but I feel that a certain part of the press, at least, will attribute my attitude to a candidacy, and that candidacy not developing for a year yet. This is the reason I have not made a formal declaration, and I don't like to make a formal declaration until I have to. Privately, I am very glad to have it stated that I will be a candidate again.

Your Mother has her good and bad days, her ups and downs. I think she suffers more pain infinitely from an arthritis that has never left her, than from her injured arm. The arm still bothers her, but she has a little more use of it than she had when last you saw her. She has done everything possible for the arthritis. I have reached the conclusion the doctors don't know what arthritis is, nor what is best to be done for the pain accompanying it. Mother will have free days, and then again, she will suffer, apparently, the tortures of the damned. She has exhausted practically all the remedies.

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I received a letter from Philip after I wrote you last, and I must say I had a feeling of great compassion for him. He wrote he was better now, but I know nothing worse than being sick a long way from home.

I send this to the Senator Hotel, as you once directed me to do.

With all my love, in which Mother joins, I am

Affectionately your

Wm.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 8, 1939

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

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

My dear Jack:

Yesterday, Hutchinson, head of the International News Service, came to me with some fantastic story about my running for Governor in California to wrest the State from the radicals who had control of it. I told him I never had heard of the story, and there wasn't anything in it at all. I don't know where the tale came from, or whether it contemplated a "recall" election against Olson, or what it was. At any rate, I very clearly stated that I was not interested in such a proposal, and that I probably would be a candidate for the United States Senatorship in 1940. He asked me if he could publish this, and I said "yes". This morning I find that he did, and evidently, it was on the radio in Los Angeles, as I have received a dispatch or two here this morning relating to it. So, what you have been urging came about naturally, and although I did not wish to make any announcement prior to the beginning of 1940, and particularly at this time, still

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I thought I might just as well let it go. I presume that it carried, more or less, extensively in California, and ought to set at rest, if already it had not been set at rest, the question of my candidacy to succeed myself.

I am writing this letter on Saturday in the hope that with an immediate delivery stamp upon it by airmail, it may reach you Sunday night. I am told that it will.

I have been very busy during this past week on the Neutrality legislation, which is in rather a confused and inchoate state. There are six different schemes proposed. We have examined two witnesses, thus far. Stimson, former Secretary of State, and Baruch. Because Stimson was Hoover's Secretary of State, his testimony was given very wide publicity, as a patriotic Republican testifying in behalf of a Democratic President. This was all, as the President likes to say, the "bunk". Stimson has always been an Anglophile, and, in a covered sort of manner, very subtly, he sought to defend the idea that we should save the "democracies" by coming to the assistance of France and England, under any circumstances. I asked him something about Russia as one of the great "democracies" of the earth, and he stood his ground.

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I was indulging in a sarcastic reference, of course, to Russia as a democracy, but I learned again, what I had so often impressed upon me before, that sarcasm is a very dangerous weapon. Very few of the press men got what I was driving at, and took it for granted that I was including Russia in the "democracies". A few, however, got the point, but I have laughed to myself, because I have had this sort of experience before. The movies will have a picture of me in their news reels with a few words of what I am trying to do. This will be released Wednesday next. I don't know when it will reach out there. I am striving, because of the immense undercurrent of propaganda, and the pressure of certain classes of people, to put into the consciousness of the Committee, and the few whom I reach at the hearings, the fact that we want no war, and whatever may be our sympathies, we ought to keep out. Baruch came through splendidly upon this theme. Stimson was equivocal. Next week, we'll have witnesses of the associations for the prevention of war that, I fear, are pure pacifists, and I don't look forward to what may transpire in the taking of their testimony.

A regular campaign has been engineered against me by somebody because of my vote on the reduction of the WPA funds, and this probably will be

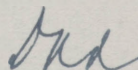
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

intensified when I vote the same way in the proceedings now upon the additional appropriation. I know as well as I can know anything that this campaign is pure "bunk" . It is directed by what is called "The Workers' Alliance", an ultra-radical union of WPA workers. A fellow named "Alex Noral" is the head of that group. He has a bad record and is really a Communist. But these Communists are peculiarly clever in getting themselves in key positions, and while I think there are very few in number, because of these key positions, they become very important.

We're going on in the even tenor of our way, both Mother and I feeling very well. I do hope Philip has recovered, and that Hiram is in the full enjoyment of his new dwelling. We were very much interested in your account of the Exposition. We thought, from the account, that it could not be very fine, and that the only thing about it that was excellent, was the eating places.

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

Affectionately,



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Sunday, April 9, 1939

Mr. Philip B. Johnson,
Smoke Tree Ranch,
Palm Springs, California

My dear Philip:

Your Granny and I last night received your letter of April 6 and we were more than delighted to hear from you. From it, I judge that your health is very much better, and that you will leave the ranch where you are sojourning about the 14th. Therefore, I am writing you this note from Granny and me, this Easter Sunday. We feel very humble today, and very grateful, too. We are grateful that both of us are in fair condition, and that those whom we love best are, apparently, in good health, too.

I was not really misquoted in what you saw published, but I was doing something that I do too much, and which I find very few people understand. In asking the questions my voice had a sneer and a jibe in it, and it was perfectly obvious I was speaking sarcastically about Russia as one of the democracies. It has been drilled into our ears here that we must go to the rescue of the great democracies, that it is our bouden duty to do so that democracy should not

2.
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perish from the earth, When I read of England courting Russia and begging Russia to form a solid front in the preservation of democracy I could not resist the temptation to point the sarcasm at Mr. Stimson, and I tried to do so. The members of the press are, in the main, boys who report fair enough if you deal in words of one syllable, but if you get out of the beaten path, or if one tries sarcasm immediately there is trouble. A few of the members of the press got it and commented on it, but the great bulk of them did not. If you were to say a cow was of seventeen kinds of different stripes referring to seventeen kinds of utterances respecting it by seventeen different people, this portion of the press here would take down your remarks literally and wonder what you meant. On the second day of the hearings when Baruch was on the stand, I said to him, incidentally, that I had got into trouble using a little sarcasm the day before, and told him why, simply so that the record would be straight. So much for the incident of Russia. Your Grandfather says I have got to quit being sarcastic because people don't understand, and stupid people never get you. As I have got stronger physically I find myself more apt to joke with my fellows, and to indulge with a perfectly straight face in this sort of thing. I have a great deal of pleasure out of seeing the amusement or

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some faces, and amazement on others, who have no understanding of what you may say or do.

These neutrality hearings, and even the passage of the act will make ver little difference. I am striving to use them as a sounding board for the refrain - we won't go into the war. The President, unquestionably is determined to take us in, and unless some of us here can make him realize that it is not a popular thing, you will find us in the fray, and you will find yourself going within a very few months across the sea. I think you know I am not a pacifist, and I am sure you know I abhor injustice, but I am not ready to take this nation into war. The price we pay is too great, and we could not be compensated in whipping even a couple of mad dictators abroad. The first casualty of war is always truth, and then would come the loss of our own democracy. We would have whipped one dictator abroad, and set up another here, and, my dear boy, the price is too high to pay for the sake of toppling over some bad dictator across the sea. Our liberty would be gone thereafter.

Granny wants me to send you all her love, and I send you all mine.

Affectionately,

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 15, 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:

I received during the week: first, the report on the investigation of graft in California, and secondly, your clipping from the Sacramento Union. Thank you for sending these to me. I have run casually through the report, but I want to go through it more carefully. I think the detective shows some literary skill in the preparation of the report, and beyond that, a philosophy of government which the ordinary investigator seldom evinces.

As I wrote you, the announcement of my candidacy came in a peculiar way, and was not a real announcement, but served the purpose. You can readily understand that I have been so engrossed here with what is transpiring, that I have thought very little of a candidacy. I feel very deeply the situation into which the President is gradually thrusting us, and I know that a war would be a catastrophe at present. I have written you so much about the international situation, however, that you have, un-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

doubtedly read into my letters the fact, possibly, that I have a single-track mind, and have been able to think of little else. There are, however, certain domestic issues that I am only less interested in, and which I am endeavoring to prepare myself upon. I will endeavor to cut my comments upon Roosevelt and his ever increasing warlike utterances for I realize that there are other things in this world that interest other people, and a man can be something of a bore when he writes upon a single subject.

I judge from your letters that you are getting along well. I watch as closely as I can events transpiring at Sacramento, and I do hope for your success. The more I read of Olson the more I think I had a narrow escape from supporting him in the last campaign. He seems to be like most men who occupy positions of power, - avid for more power, and particularly eager for jobs and positions. I have seen too many men break upon this patronage fever. He seems, too, greedy for publicity, so much so, that he takes inconsistent positions; and, aside from his loyalty to the C.I.O., he dances about in any situation that he imagines will

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

bring him votes. We have an instance here of young Dockweiler, who was a Congressman, and then a candidate for Governor, and a runner-up, I believe, of Olson. He is now in Washington at a salary of \$1,000.00 a month and expenses. He is supposed to look out for the interests of the State of California. He has made all of the Congressmen mad, and only interfered, to our detriment, in the Senate. When I was Governor, I could not, and would not, have sent a man to Washington, and there was no fund out of which he could have been paid, if I attempted it. The form of government in California has undergone so many changes, however, that I presume there is ~~a~~ warrant in law for this, but there is as much need of doing it, as there would be in any useless act. The State of California is pretty well represented in the House with about twenty Congressmen, who are only too glad to look out for the interests of the State, and in the Senate, there are two Senators of diverse views, but who feel that they are qualified to do their duty, and to represent the State of California. There ought to be some repercussions on this appointment. Personally, it is a matter of indifference to me because Dockweiler can not do anything for the State, and he only gets in the way. This is a small matter, but I presume it is following the line that Olson seems so crazy about,-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.-- 4

of giving a job with a large salary to a henchman.
I instance it, as showing his bent of mind.

By the way, there were some pictures taken recently of me giving voice to my position on the present situation. All of the news reels begged for these, and all of them took them in my office. They turned out rotten, in my opinion. The best one, probably, was that of Pathe. The words spoken by me did not exceed one hundred. Paramount cut this down to practically nothing, doubtless under the censorship rules secretly prevailing here, and Pathe did a little better. The pictures are supposed to be shown on the coast next Thursday. This date may be erroneous, but if you go to see them, see Pathe.

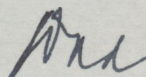
We have had lousy weather here of late. We're going to jump, from all appearances, from winter immediately into summer. We have had no spring at all. I have resented this, because I like to sit in the yard, and there have been only two days that I could do this.

Is Hiram living in his house now continuously?
We have had a letter from Frere in which he says he is very much better, and we were very glad to have it. He will have to watch himself. How long will your session

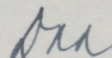
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

continue in Sacramento? Mother joins in love to
Hiram and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,



P:S: Two weeks ago Mother sent you and Hiram a
Virginia ham. She went to some little
trouble, and despite her efforts to ascer-
tain whether or not the hams were ever re-
ceived, she has been unable to learn. A
word to the wise is sufficient.



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

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, April 21, 1939.

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

My dear Jack:

With its heat and sweat, summer suddenly came this week, and is now upon us. You know from your experience what summer here is. A week ago, we pulled the bed clothes up about us at night, and now, we kick them all off. Really, I don't care so much that summer is upon us, but within a few days, our members will become restless and impatient and anxious to get away, and then will come our troubles and our difficulties. Up to this particular time, they have been willing to agree to stay here indefinitely, or until the fear of war had subsided, but I know them so well, and have had so much experience that nothing will be able to hold them a month from now, if they think there is any chance of getting away.

How are you getting on? I see that this is the last week that the legislators receive any salary, and that they, undoubtedly, will be in session all of next week. I rather think the session will ex-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

tend beyond that. I have been watching certain events in California, and this week found much food for thought in what was transpiring.

First, there was a very inadequate and unintelligible item that Olson promised to call a special election this year. No date was given, and I have no information beyond the publication. I presume as soon as the local papers reach here, I will learn all about it. I quite agree with you, it would be a good thing to have this matter disposed of. The political ham-and-egggers, like Downey, whose sustenance is derived entirely from the poor who look with hope to this fantastic scheme, I think, are very anxious that the election be not held, so that the hollowness of their pretense may not be discovered. They argue that the election ought to be put off because if one is called this year, they will require another next year, and will have no difficulty in presenting the requisite petitions. In the dispatch saying that Olson was going to call an election he made some qualifying statements. In the one dispatch printed here they were quite unintelligible. I presume, in transmission, they lost their meaning.

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The second event of importance was the election for the revenue bonds in San Francisco. I know only of the result here through Franck Havenner's office. From it Miss Connor obtained the information that the revenue bonds had been beaten two to one. I don't see how this was possible with Havenner in the City in behalf of the bonds, and certainly, it is incomprehensible when you consider that Olson with Havenner held a meeting in San Francisco. I rather think, without knowing the subject at all fully, that Havenner was right in the position that he takes, but I confess I am doubtful of any opinion I might express, because I paid little or no attention to what is at issue.

The third thing of more importance is the tremendous victory of McAdoo-Neblett in the latter's suit in Los Angeles. A verdict of \$70,000 is something of a verdict even though you never collect a cent of it, and it looked from the publication in the only paper that I saw - Manch^{ester} Boddy's - as if Neblett had rather been overwhelmed with testimony and checks.

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Without knowing anything about the matter, I would not have given a bad dollar for his chances of a verdict. Thus, my son, you see how little value are our judgments at times.

We have finished, as you know, our hearings on the Neutrality law, and now they'll be jockeying for position for some little time. I do not think the Administration wishes anything to be done. It lost its interest in the result when we hammered so much upon an unbridled discretion, and what we termed the vital change of permitting any one to designate an aggressor. They wished both these, and they will get neither; and if we have accomplished nothing else, we have done this great service. Like everybody else, I am lulled into, perhaps, a false security, but I can not now see that war is certainly coming. Hitler, the mad man of Europe, is as unpredictable as the great politician, who is the head of affairs in America, and perhaps we'll wake up some fine morning to find he has taken Danzig, and criss-crossed the ^{Polish} ~~Danzig~~ corridor. The pretense about going to war to save democracy has been pretty well been disposed of. When the lousiest dictator nations on earth -

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

Rumania, Poland, and of course, Russia, are eagerly sought by France and England to make the world safe for democracy again, sophisticated Americans have only a smile; and when we're indulging in the ridiculous scenes we presented here in welcoming a man who has abolished all elections in Nicaragua, and would seize with avidity the outstretched hands of a German ~~Scout~~ Bush (God save the name) of Bolivia, who, in one fell sweep destroyed every civil liberty, including parliament, the courts, political parties, and those attached to individuals, it takes a pretty solemn individual to pretend any longer we're ready to fight for this sort of democracy.

Yesterday, the new Mayor of Los Angeles, Fletcher Bowron, called upon me, and I had half an hour chat with him. Do you know him, or do you know anything about him? Of course, I could only skim the surface with him, and perhaps he has ideas tucked away to which he did not give voice. He seemed, however, a rather decent man, and this was evidenced when he said he would be for me next year. Don't think I count too greatly upon this sort of thing. I received it with thanks, but with no very great hopes of seeing it transmuted into activity,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

when the time arrives. So I ought to say to you that when I say that he displays a wise discrimination I speak rather sarcastically. I am gradually learning that I must explain my bad habit, especially to the infernal reporters here. I find myself chatting away in a most extravagant fashion, with a perfectly straight face, and they have neither the understanding, nor the background, nor the education, to know when one speaks ironically.

There was an article in the New York Times recently about the President's plan for crossing the continent sometime the latter part of June. The statement was boldly made by the correspondent of the Times here, and the story was a front-page story, that his trip was political in character, and would be directed principally at me. I have been subject to a good deal of "ragging" on the part of the Democrats who were sought to be "purged" by the President, which, of course, I have taken good-naturedly, and said that if his purge were no more successful than had been those he conducted during the campaign last year, I had no objection to anything he might say. Confidentially, if he cracks at me on this trip, I will crack back, respectfully, of course, but emphatically,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 7

I would give you forty guesses and bet you a big apple, you could not guess where Mother and I went yesterday afternoon. There was no session of the Senate, and Mother and Miss Connor are in constant conspiracy to get me out of the office. Confidentially, I will tell you that they are right. It relieves me immensely when I am tense to get an hour or two when I am diverted and doing nothing. Yesterday I found myself with two good seats to the baseball game. I was very busy until the afternoon, and then having no one else to go with me, your Mother insisted on coming. We really had a bully time, and saw a fairly good game - six to three won by Washington against Cleveland. It has been so many years since I took Mother to a baseball game that I don't want to think of them. Barring the fact that the thermometer was nearly 90, everything was lovely. I could very soon get my zest back for baseball if I went enough.

Mother heard the dreadful news just last Monday of Mrs. Havens' sickness. She is afflicted with a mortal malady apparently, although probably she does not know it. It struck your Mother ⁱⁿ a big heap, and I really felt shocked, too. Too many good people are passing away, and as I have said to you more than once,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 8

a great deal of my time is taken up with telegrams of condolence to relatives and old friends. What an unfortunate thing that we can not reverse the scheme of creation, and have the last days full of happiness, joy and health !

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

Affectionately yours,

Ada

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 22, 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:

I want to reply to the letters that have come from you this week but I have not them before me. I take your letters home for your Mother to see, and, unfortunately, I forgot to bring them back.

First, the suggestion that you made about the election~~g~~ this year upon the petition of the "Ham and Eggers" I think an excellent one. Strangely enough, after your letter was received by me, Walter Jones blew in here, and in talking casually with me, he said he had just left Downey, whom he had asked to write Olson that he ^{sh} would postpone the elections until next year. His theory was that the "ham and eggs" people would try to have the matter submitted this year, and in case of failure, submit it again next year. I did not say anything to Jones about your views of the matter, because he had already acted. I don't know what Downey's influence with Olson is. If I could believe him, as he talked to me on other subjects, it is absolutely nil, but I am afraid he and the truth are strangers at times, and I don't place much reliance in what

2.

he says. Upon the other things suggested by you concerning the record of a gentleman in some reform school, better let that rest temporarily. I don't think it would be anything to his discredit if it was in the far distant past, and I would not want to be a party to digging up a record such as that.

You were right about the announcement of my candidacy. It came about quite naturally, and the response from the state has been very pleasant to contemplate. The legislature treated me very decently, and I tried to acknowledge to the individuals who were responsible for it, my gratitude and appreciation.

It may interest you to know that Jones has become quite an adherent of Olson. He was a little cagey in talking to me on the subject, but I think I could discover back of what he ~~expressed~~ said, his real position, and I think it came from a cause, which C.K. never would tolerate, - public printing in newspapers over which Olson had some authority. Mrs. McClatchy made this remark to me once long ago, but I paid little attention to it at the time.

We have been engaged here upon the neutrality laws, but we're as confused and as uncertain now as we were when we commenced. I have clung to the idea that we would be just as well off if we repealed the laws and depended upon inter-

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national law. I recognize the futility of that possibility in case of war, but there would be no hardship in attempting it, and every nation would know what our position was, and how we were going to maintain it.

I was so sorry Hiram was sick. The sicknesses of the boys worry me. They are too young and ought to be too vigorous to be laid up every little while, and Philip's illnesses have been, I think, very serious. I was glad to note from your letter that he came back in good shape, and I hope he will continue so.

Of course, I don't like the international situation, and I am striving as best I can to have our country kept out of it. I am perfectly certain the President is equally anxious to take us in, and he eagerly grasps at any excuse to involve us. He has already severed our lifeline--our lifeline for one hundred and fifty years, and has assumed a certain over-lordship of all Europe. Of this, more anon.

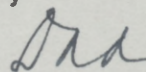
Judge Roche has been here for a few days, and, inasmuch as he never before was in Washington, he has enjoyed himself like a big boy. Good luck to you at Sacramento! It seems to me that Olson displays an erratic mentality, and that he talks too much, and I fear, therefore, that you cannot be certain from one day to another of what he will do. Perhaps this comes from his illness, although the Californians, who have been here this week, indicate that he has

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pretty thoroughly recovered, and that he has no organic derangement.

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

Affectionately,

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

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 29, 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:

Saturday morning, and the whole Congress is preparing to go to the New York World's Fair tomorrow. It is amazing the number of people you can get to go to anything if you pay the expenses of the trip, and the New Yorkers have been exceedingly generous. They furnish a train here at eight o'clock in the morning, with a diner attached without compensation of any kind. They feed and take care of the members of Congress during the day, and furnish a train to return, with diner, at nine o'clock at night, which will reach here in the wee small hours of Monday. I have, no doubt, they will have several hundred attending. The majority of the Senate, I think, will be there. Your Mother and I will not. The reason is that we both object to anybody else paying our way any place, and we're so particular in this regard, that even a mass Hegira like tomorrow's does not attract us. Then, in addition to this, it will be a perfectly killing day.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I am rather careful now, as you know, of running any chances, either for your Mother or myself. This New York Fair has treated the national legislators with great courtesy and consideration, - something that the San Francisco Fair has neglected to do. They provided books for everybody who will attend there, provided a preview of the Fair, and now, on the Opening Day, cart a whole lot of us, all expenses paid, to New York, and back again. Of course, New York expects to get another appropriation, just as California expects to get another appropriation. Both of them claim to have paid sums for the setup of foreign exhibits that, in the aggregate, have amounted, in New York's instance to a million and a half, and in California's to \$800,000, or thereabouts. They will, no doubt, be able to have these sums appropriated at once now, and of course, there never was any doubt about obtaining California's sum, because George Creel will see to that.

Of course, everybody was listening in, or subsequently reading Hitler's response yesterday. I wish you would take it up where he begins answering the President in detailed form. I read this over very carefully last night, and I thought Hitler had all the better of the argument. I am not referring now to his cruelties, or bar-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

barities, which can not be justified, but to his response to what Roosevelt suggested. Everybody thought and thinks it a bounden duty to denounce Hitler and praise Roosevelt, but a few people, to whom I have talked, who were at all critical or fair-minded, believed that on the argumentative sections of the President's note and Hitler's reply, the latter had all the better of it; but if you will notice upon one important point all the American press maintains a singularly discreet silence. To me it is one of the most important. This is, the naming of the thirty-two countries by Roosevelt. If we pass over his gratuitous insult to them in not consulting them before demanding to know whether Hitler would cross their boundaries, we're at once struck by their replies, which give the lie to any fear upon their part. The matter that is of importance, however, is that an American President should assume an over-lordship of thirty-two nations, most of them situated in Europe, some of them situated in Asia, and Africa. It is an astonishing change in our policy, which nobody thinks of. Roosevelt put his chin out, and he got a resounding whack on it, in my opinion. The Krock statement of his desire to meet Hitler and Mussolini on some prior occasion in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean secretly upon a warship. I am privately told is absolutely accurate, although I don't, for a moment, trust Krock. If it

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

is accurate, it shows what I have believed for a year and a half, that Roosevelt is afflicted with "delusions of grandeur", and sees himself in a picture in a circumambient atmosphere as the very ruler of the universe. He has the press, the radio, and every means of publication at his command, and so you'll get no fair reaction upon the situation that has developed now. Each man that is capable of thinking - there probably is one in a hundred - ought to think out this thing for himself, and be perfectly satisfied with his own conclusion. He would come nearer this way than reading a hundred newspapers, or pretending the same fidelity and enthusiasm. They are beginning the old cry that they attempted during the world war to prevent any criticism at all. Then it was that you were a German, that you had German blood in you, that you were a German spy, or worse than all, a German sympathizer, if you questioned anything or anybody. The other night at the Gridiron Dinner, Roosevelt said, substantially, this - That there were certain Senators opposed to his foreign policy, they sought the erection of a monument to them in the streets of Rome or the squares of Berlin. "I seek for my monument, one upon American soil only that will be raised to me for my services to democracy." Hugh Johnson paraphrased this somewhat when he testified before our Committee. He

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

sought, he said, no monument in Berlin or Rome, or in Paris, or in London, ~~that~~ he wanted one only in Ockmulgee, Oklahoma.

I have reached the conclusion there will be no war, and that our fears are unfounded. There may be some attempts by Hitler and Mussolini to grab territory which they think they have some claim to, but I doubt very much if the grabbing of this territory unless it be from an important part of either France or England, will cause these two countries to fight. Roosevelt wants to fight for any little thing. He wants, as I wrote you a couple of weeks ago, to endeavor to knock down two dictators in Europe, so that one may be firmly implanted in America. Among this talk of dictators it is very interesting to note that Bolivia which was listed as a Republic by the State Department, and a Republic for which we were to manufacture guns and build ships of war, over night recently, the ruling faction in Bolivia abrogated the Constitution, the Congress, all the political parties, indeed, made a clean sweep of everything, so that there is just a one-man government there, the kind the South Americans like. We prate a great deal about South America and the Monroe Doctrine. I am all for it, but there can be very little justification for our hot enthusiasm in

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

behalf of the dictatorship of Bolivia, or Peru, or even Brazil.

When the testimony is finally printed on the subject of neutrality I will send you copy of it. I am engaged at present in presenting about five witnesses, who are experts in international law. One of them has testified, thus far, and made an excellent witness. If the others do as well as Dr. Tansill did, I shall be entirely satisfied.

Mother is in fair condition, and I am very grateful that I keep in good shape.

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

Affectionately,

Dad

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

May 6, 1939

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

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

My dear Jack:

It was mighty good of you to send me your note from the Sacramento Hotel on the 3rd of May, and I was more than delighted to have it. It reached me on the morning of the 5th. The little speech that I made was one of those impromptu and extemporaneous speeches that arose at the moment. I had been all the morning in the Foreign Relations Committee. We meet every morning, running 'til twelve thirty. I came on to the floor in the Senate, and Bankhead was just finishing debating his Resolution. As soon as I had the opportunity I responded, and it was fine to see the response from the galleries. Applause of any sort is forbidden in the Senate, but sometimes it spontaneously arises. This is what occurred. I did not talk long as you'll note, and said just enough to have the entire press carry it. I have been getting a much larger mail ever since from the different states, and California has just begun to make itself manifest in this mail. If this Administration thinks its endeavors

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

to maneuver us into this war are popular, it has another think coming. The great newspapers, and the people at the head of affairs, may believe war is popular, and particularly this war, that they would have the United States embark upon, but I think I can tell them with accuracy, that the great mass of the people, the inarticulate mass, as I used to say, are bitterly opposed to any war at all.

Yesterday, in this City, we witnessed a singular pageant. The President of the rotten little state of Nicaragua (you'll remember its port of Corinto, where we stayed a couple of days) was welcomed by our President with pomp unknown, and hitherto unseen by our people. Tanks without number, six thousand soldiers, all the aircraft that could be commandeered (between fifty and sixty in number) - pomp, pageantry, and splendor, and how the poor people of this City love it ! I tell you there was thought for serious-minded men in the lavish display. Yesterday, we outdid Hitler and Mussolini. I think it shows that the minds of those who govern us are running parallel with those of the dictators, - even ahead of them. You will remember how very recently Hitler had a display of so many troops which showed the might of Germany,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

and just after that Mussolini demonstrated the power of Italy in the long feathers of the Bersagliera ^{Guard} God, parading poor devils who are to be shot down in case of war. Roosevelt, not to be behind, called everything that he could yesterday of a warlike nature to impress the President of a tottering Republic, who, possibly, may be President a day or two, or for life, and the motive was the same in each of these would-be dictators' minds, - to show the world their strength, and power, and blood-killing possibilities. I really think our President in his "delusions of grandeur" has gone far beyond what we have thought.

I am unable to determine just what the situation is in California. I am waiting until tonight to read the California papers and see what happened to Olson's budget, etc. The ones I read last night were of Monday, so you can see how far behind I am yet. They have developed some things by an investigation of the WPA, but infinitely worse has been developed in the Congress - waste, extravagance, and inefficiency have been proven here. This the investigation in California has not really touched. The Workers' Alliance has been shown up to be a communistic organization, and when once you prove that, you prove their real motive

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

always is destruction. All their prating about humanity and endeavoring to relieve the "ill-fed", "ill-clothed", and "ill-housed" is so much hypocrisy with the ultimate object in view of trying to cause trouble and even ruin. I think it a horrible thing that certain of the legislators' homes were picketed by a hundred or more pickets because they did not vote for some items in Olson's budget. I could not see ~~that~~ in the limited time I had, ~~that~~ the papers really denounced this, except the Hearst papers. Am I wrong about this? It certainly bodes ill for a state or a government either when these things can pass unnoticed, and even be justified. I have been watching to see whether Olson calls a special election as you indicated he might in a previous letter of yours, upon the Ham and Eggs \$30 a week every Thursday proposition. Of course I would be very glad to see this done, but I doubt very much if he will do it. It will be first one excuse, and then another.

George Cameron called the other day. Personally he is extremely friendly, but he talked an interminable time about the policy of the Chronicle, and I will be shot if I was able to determine what he was driving at, except that he had incurred innumerable enmities in switching his conservative policy to a radical one.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

We had a letter from Philip the other day that was a great relief. He said he was feeling fine, and that he had his health back 100%, etc. Mother and I were very greatly relieved about him. I personally felt that a youngster who had suffered the very extreme temperature that he did would be a long time getting back to normal.

I send this letter to you now with an immediate delivery stamp. It should reach you Sunday night. Do they thus come to you?

Mother joins in love to the boys and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

Dad

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

May 13, 1939

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

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

My dear Jack:

I received copy of the editorial in the Hearst papers that you sent me, and I thank you for it. It appeared in all the papers. As I said to you last week, the Hearst string of newspapers is the only one which fearlessly fights on. There are some papers that still have some expression in regard to the situation now existing here, but the most of them tremble in their boots in fear of their Jewish advertisers. Since the President's letter to Hitler and Mussolini, and Hitler's response, he has maintained silence. I know his restless mentality so well that I think he is contemplating some other move. He will only be restrained by his inability to feel that any move can be made that will be successful.

We closed on Monday last the Neutrality hearings. The record will be printed and will be completed, the Clerk of the Committee assures me today, next Tuesday. I will send you the complete record, and you can glance over it at your convenience, if you desire. I think we

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

pretty well exhausted the subject, Beginning with Dr. C. C. Tansill, the witnesses called, were called at my instance, with the exception of the last one who testified, Dr. James T. Shotwell, who is an out-and-out League of Nations' man, I think. The matter will be fought out now in executive sessions of the Committee. I do not feel the importance of a hard and fast neutrality bill that is attached to it by the civic organizations which have taken interest in the subject matter. Great Britain has a rule which has controlled their course of conduct, - business as usual. And none of the neutral countries has felt it necessary to adopt any law on neutrality.

I try to follow in the papers what is happening in California. I confess it is a very difficult thing to do, particularly when I am five days behind in my reading. The only thing that I can be sure of, is that the state is in the utmost confusion today, to which Olson has greatly contributed; and in the hands of people who like to call themselves "liberal", but whose liberality general consists of an extreme generosity with other people's money. I don't like the number of Communists and communistic sympathizers, who, apparently,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

are occupying high positions in the state government.
I think it bodes ill for the state.

I was very glad to note the good health of both
the boys. I intend to write each of them a letter as
soon as I have the opportunity.

Mother joins in love to them, Miss Schow, and
yourself.

Affectionately,

W.H.J.

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

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, May 14, 1939

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

My dear Jack:

I did not have before me your letter which was written in the fashion of a columnist when I wrote you yesterday. I think it was a very clever idea, and I intended to take up in regular order the matters you referred to, and answer them. This, I do now.

You remark about Mr. Byrnes, Assemblyman from Humboldt, and the radio station at Marysville. I received his wire and his letter. I responded to the latter. A communication has been sent to him from the Federal Communications Commission giving him the status of the application. He, doubtless, has had it before this time, although he did not have it at the time your letter was written. We're following the case as best we can, and will keep him advised.

Lieutenant-Governor Patterson is a ubiquitous gentleman, apparently. I never pick up a paper but what he has made a speech of some kind somewhere. He has now interfered in the bond election at San Francisco, and in

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

common with that distinguished gentleman, Congressman Franck Havenner, he is making a fight for the bonds. I don't know enough about the situation to be certain of which side is correct, although I rather imagine he has hit the bull's eye in this. He is, apparently, a man who can not hasten slowly, and God pity the Governor's family, if the Governor becomes really incapacitated.

I had quite a laugh out of the chairman of the public utilities committee of the Assembly. I notice that Senator Rich has returned, and the amenities have passed between him and Sewall. I think, of course, he did the only possible thing to do in yielding the leadership to Sewall.

Young Dockweiler is here overseeing the work of the Congressmen and Senators from California, and checking up upon their activities. I pay no attention to him, and for that reason, he, being a conceited ass, I presume ~~he~~ will hate me. It is a piece of presumption on his part to be here, but it is worse on the part of Olson to send him here. He receives \$12,000 a year, all his expenses, which include hotel room, office headquarters, clerks, etc. (his office has nothing to do except to write letters to the Governor); and generally speaking,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

his job is a sinecure, which, it is an outrage to impose upon the state. The officers of the state are elected by the people, and it is perfectly ridiculous to have a boy, who served a couple of terms in congress, and then ran as a ham and egger for Governor, back here overseeing them. There is a real rebellion among the Congressmen, and any day, I expect some fellow will have nerve enough to blow off about it. If he gets in my way in the Senate I will take the lead in doing it, but, so long as he does not trouble me I won't bother with him. He is at present engaged in the delectable task of leading Mr. Downey around by the nose.

I write this as a sort of supplement to my letter of yesterday.

With love,

Affectionately,

Dad

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HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

May 27, 1939

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

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

My dear Jack:

We were delighted to have your wire yesterday morning telling us that you were all right, and that you would remain in Sacramento for the rest of the session. Both Mother and I congratulate you very heartily. I don't know whether the Governor has in mind calling an extra session. Apparently, he is dallying with the thought. If he gets a bump upon his budget, I rather think he will turn that way. There is an additional reason - that he likes to be the centre of the limelight, and he cannot very well be unless something is going on. I am beginning to think the Olson family is as "nuts" as another great family in the national government. I read of the young man's probable candidacy for Senator, and the old man's chameleon-like views, and they struck me as the "howling dervishes" of politics of the State of California. I don't want you to think from this that I am laboring under any delusions concerning the campaign. The more I think of it, the less inviting

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it becomes. I am gradually reaching the conclusion that politics has passed me by. I cannot become a ham and egger, and preach that doctrine to a lot of poor people. I would hate myself forever more if I did that, and yet, it seems to be the prevailing issue in our political economy in California; and the strange thing about it is that papers like the Chronicle and the News, while mildly and gently remonstrating, will not, because of fear of reprisal, make a real fight against it. Well, we can only do what seems to us we ought to do, and let the results take care of themselves.

I notice you have had Farley in the State in the last few days, and he has delivered his stereotyped, copper-plate addresses. I did not notice a great outpouring of ordinary citizens, but, of course, the "faithful", and those who hold the offices, attended, and cheered him to the echo. He is indulging in a political peregrination, which some of the papers here assume to be for himself, but which the most astute really believe to be for Roosevelt. I have been saying for more than a year now that Roosevelt was a candidate

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for a third term. I was pretty well pooh-poohed, but politicians, in the main, have now reached that conclusion. That he can renominate himself, I have not the slightest doubt. I think there is more doubt about his election, but I do not share the absolute confidence of the Republicans here as to the result. I don't think they give enough importance to the elements created by Roosevelt, which constitute his great voting strength, - the WPA, the PWA, relatives of the CCC, and those who, otherwise, are on relief. It gives him an enormous advantage to start with.

I am in receipt this morning of a letter from one James B. Crane, Director of Publicity in Washington for the Golden Gate Exposition, which begins with - "On behalf of the Honorable Leland Cuttler", Chairman of the Golden Gate International Exposition, I have the honor to invite you to serve on a reception committee of which Sheridan Downey is chairman and to attend a reception to be held on the steps of the Capitol at twelve o'clock, Monday, May 29th. "

How kind of the Exposition and Leland "Cuttler"! I can't tell you how much I appre-

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ciate this thoughtfulness on the part of the San Francisco Exposition, and I am writing this today to Cutler. 'Tis ever thus.

Mother is fairly well. We both were very much interested in the submarine disaster and in the subsequent efforts to rescue the men. We rejoiced, as everybody else did, in the rescue of some, but neither of us has sufficient knowledge of mechanics to understand why others could not have been saved.

The war scare is fading out. Roosevelt is using every endeavor to get us out of here at the earliest possible moment, and some of us feel perfectly certain that if he succeeds, that within a week or two he will do some act which will take us into war. When you look back over what has transpired, at his provocative utterances beginning with the Chicago speech on quarantining, and then his repeated statements that we'll aid the democracies, and then his demand that Hitler sign a non-aggression compact relating to all the countries of Europe, and some of Asia and Africa, I think, very plainly it proves what his desire was, and is. I cut out of the New York Times recently an editorial, in which

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it was stated that we could no longer assert we were going to rescue the democracies of Europe because of the way in which they and we were wooing Russia. And they concluded by saying that the people of the democracies were, in reality, benefited much more by war than the totalitarian governments. We read no more of the democracies of Europe and the necessity of saving them. And the perfect nonsense of the proposed dealing with one-man governments in South and Central America - real dictatorships there - as has been contemplated by our country, and is contemplated yet, makes me so damned mad, but I can not arouse a bit of interest in this part of the Administration's program.

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

Affectionately,

Dad