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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 6, 1940.

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

My dear Jack:

For a couple of weeks past I have had a wretched cold that degenerated into a very sore throat. It was such a debilitating thing that I was indisposed for work during the time I had it, and had to drive myself into harness. We have been devoting our gigantic energies to the Reciprocal Trade Agreements. We violated the Constitution, and tore to tatters the law generally; and last night passed them for an additional three years. They have been coming up regularly every three years, and when there was a Republican Administration, the Democrats were all opposed to them; and under the Democratic Administration we got our first unanimity of action against them. The White House had to break its neck to put them over this time, and did it then by a very scant majority. Old Hull is a "nut" and he has gathered about him some superannuated freetraders, and some young men who have adopted that as a philosophy of government. Each time we have been getting closer to

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

whipping him, so I don't feel particularly badly about the present extension. I may say to you that I am one of the individuals to whom consistency is a jewel of the deepest dye, and from 1922 on, I have always been against these Trade Treaties.

I have been very much troubled about my politics in the South. I have tried today to write to Doherty there in a fashion that will bring some appropriate change. With his seven or eight children I neither expect nor, of course, can have his undivided attention to my politics; but I feel like you, that he and I should have discussed the matter in the beginning, and he should have told me frankly his position. However, we won't worry about it, but I will do the best I can. I realize that it is too much to expect any friend to devote his entire time to my politics. I may have been a little careless in this matter and hold myself to blame.

What a strange condition is presented by the Democratic tickets for the Presidential preference primary.' Evidently Patterson and his associates think they have some show, or they would not be in it; and if he makes a showing, such as evidently he expects, at this primary, I better be getting some fighting clothes to wear for the subsequent primary in which I am interested. Ordinarily, one would say that the Olson ticket would be first. Yesterday, Kyle Palmer said to me (by the way, he is very strongly with me

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

this year) that it was not unlikely that the Ham and Eggers would be first, and the Olson ticket would be last. He is leaving for Los Angeles a week from Monday. If you run into him, you can say, if you wish, that I spoke to you about him, and I believe you can talk to him with a fair freedom.

What a strange metamorphosis is here ! This is a personal predilection of his, and I don't mean to speak for his employer at all.

There are so many quirks, and turns, and twists about this campaign, that I wish the damn thing was in hell. I am pretty low in spirits at present, because of the way this throat of mine is acting, so perhaps you ought not to pay very much attention to what I say.

I was more pleased than I could tell you at your report concerning Philip's condition. It would be wonderful to have him thoroughly recovered, and I hope that he will be. I look for more or less recurrence on general principles, but trust there won't be.

I was immensely relieved to learn from your letters that a small committee had taken charge of matters in San Francisco, and that you would not trouble me with its efforts. This relieves me of one of the political ills that have afflicted me.

We have waited such a long time to publish our committee that perhaps it would be just as well to wait until

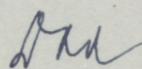
Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

after the presidential preference primary. This seems very close to our own primary, and the only reason for the suggestion to you is the delay that has been occasioned in the work we originally contemplated. It seems ridiculous to swing out a large committee in the latter part of May, but perhaps it is all right. Better have your executive committee decide when this shall be, and whether they deem it necessary to act in conjunction with the South.

Mother is in pretty good shape, but she has taken an awful lot of medicine during the whole winter. We thought we were going to escape, and she has pretty well avoided the usual colds. I have not been as fortunate. There has been a sort of epidemic here of flu that leaves its victims depleted of vitality and utterly miserable. I rather think I have been passing through this period. However, I am alive, and to the visitors to the office (and there are a host of them) I appear to be a young colt kicking up his hind legs, and making a great pretense of vigor.

Mother joins me in love to Hiram, Philip and Miss Schow. I will try to write Philip a letter today or tomorrow.

Affectionately,



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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, April 7, 1940

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

My dear Jack:

I have just received yours of April 5. I answer it today although I wrote you yesterday.

I note what you say about the Recall election. There will be quite a considerable number of citizens who feel great opposition to the Recall, and the possibility of selecting another than Olson will drive some of them into the Olson camp. This would be so about anybody against whom a Recall was sought. When you get right down to it, there is something that goes against the grain of an ordinary man in recalling a man once elected, and I don't believe the inarticulate mass ever will do so, save when the officer sought to be recalled is clearly guilty of acts of moral turpitude. Judging from the number that they have on the petitions already there will be little difficulty with this Recall. The election, however, will be a very interesting study.

I can't understand your statement that the three most backward counties are Sacramento, Fresno, and Stockton

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

(San Joaquin). In Sacramento, I have received the Republican Committee endorsement, and practically all of the lawyers of that City in a separate endorsement, and have had quite a number of personal letters. I let the matter drift with Snook in charge, because he obtained these two endorsements that seemed of consequence. I have not heard from him for a long period of time however. In Fresno I was up against it, and I wrote to McLaughlin of the Bee, and asked him if he could submit to me names for that county, and some of the adjacent counties. He responded nicely, and the list I sent to Girvin. I confess by name I could not recall any one on the list. In San Joaquin I was dependent upon the Frankenheimers and Irving Martin. Old man, Al Lindley, has written to me, but I fear I have rather neglected the situation because of Martin, and the Frankenheimers!

Referring again to Sacramento County I wrote at your suggestion, I think it was, to Bart Cavanagh, but never received any reply. It may be that if he has studied the Hatch Act, and is an employe of the State of California, or the City of Sacramento, that he believes he comes within the Act, and could not hold himself liable to the penalties for engaging in any political work. I think he is dead right if he has reached that conclusion, and perhaps that is the reason he did not reply to my letter. I did not know he was an employe of the City government

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

until I just read your letter today.

If either Girvin or Robinson goes to Sacramento they ought to see Walter Jones, as well as Snook. I do not like to commit to paper the situation there, but everything will be all right, I am sure.

I am, of course, meeting the same difficulty everywhere-that I must not, under any circumstances, touch the President, or denounce a third term, and that if I do, it will be all up with me. I do not propose to adopt an abusive campaign, but I do propose to say plainly what I believe of the third term, and such things as the war issue, and various other things that have occurred in the last few years. Those who object to me saying anything in relation to Roosevelt reason thus: that he has practically one million the best of registration ; his followers could not be shaken from him, under any circumstances; that I have got to win the Democratic nomination, and at any rate, get enough votes at the election as a Republican to offset the preponderant Democratic registration; and that unless I do, I am sunk; and the Democrats will be so offended with any assault made by me upon the President that I would lose the friendly attitude they now have toward me. On the other hand, the response is that I have got to seek and win the Republican nomination; that I would not be myself to hold my tongue during a presidential campaign, and that even if I felt I ought, I would not be permitted to by various audiences. Briefly stated, these are

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

sides of the proposition presented to me. I can understand the political reasons for either attitude on my part, but I could not in good faith refrain from expressing myself upon, say, the Court issue here - that is not an issue now but which was a very real one, or upon the third term issue, which means, in my opinion, perpetuity of this Nation; and there are others. I see a pretty rough road for the future, but at 73 or 74 years of age I don't propose to alter my mode of doing things; and while the years have perhaps mellowed me, I could not keep quiet on an issue that was a real issue before our people.

I am telling you all this at the beginning of the campaign so that you will understand what some people in politics may consider/^{foolish}breaks of mine, but which, as an independent individual, who has pursued his single course all these years, would not alter if I were able to.

I am mightily obliged to you for your letters and for what you have done.

I don't know whethere there is any use in swinging out the big committee now, or whether it ought to be delayed until after the Presidential preference primary, when we will have a clear field uninfluenced by the vote for president. Of course the Presidential preference primary will be won in

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

California by Roosevelt, although there are some fellows that I have talked to here who feel that the Ham and Eggers have a fine chance of winning their ticket. I don't know anything about it. At any rate, the primary will enable us to have a fair conception of what Patterson can do. It may be that the CIO, the ultra-radicals, and the others that Patterson will gather to his standard will cut quite a swathe. At any rate, I think the situation in California is all to the good, so far as we are concerned.

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

Affectionately,



KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, April 14, 1940

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

My dear Jack:

I received this morning (Sunday) your latest note. I think your small committee in charge of affairs should determine when our large committee should be swung out, and I will be quite content if they leave it until just after the Presidential preference primary.

I have asked Girvin to submit the matter to this executive committee, and then send the names on to me. I wish you would go through them carefully, too, so that we may be certain that no mistake is made.

Thank you for your good work and for the cheery way in which you write concerning the campaign.

I saw young Mr. Knowland this morning and had a very pleasant chat with him. He assured me that Hoover has not anything like a majority of the unpledged delegation of the Republican Party. I trust he is right, although I think I observed certain symptoms that would indicate Hoover is an active candidate.

Day before yesterday we had a wonderful day here, and we were all certain that spring had come; and then, within twenty-four hours after a thermometrical record of over seventy we had one of thirty, together with a rainstorm punctuated with sleet that was as cold as Greenland's icy mountains. Yesterday, it was better, but the fiesta or celebration of the blooming of the Japanese cherry trees had a pretty hard time of it. This celebration is really funny to me, because at any day during the season we can see in the Santa Clara Valley acres upon acres of cherry blossoms. The whole thing has no attraction for me or for your Mother.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

Tomorrow, we begin another hard week with the Army Bill and the Sacramento Flood proposition. The latter occurred after the Budget had been prepared for flood control, and the Appropriations Committee therefore turned down any increase. I broke through into this committee and presented the matter, and was successful in doubling the appropriation. In addition to that, I immediately began on the budget, and just after the bill was reported, I had the budget's report authorizing the increase sought. I preened myself on this, and I am wondering how the publicity will go into the Sacramento Valley. I don't attend to this matter of publicity at all, and get bilked out of it; but, in this instance if I am I will holler, because it was done and ended when I fought my way into the appropriations committee and altered it.

I was so sorry to learn from your letter that Philip had gone back to Twin-Harte. I think it is so foolish of him. The gratification of a mere whim now may cause him a great deal of trouble in the days to come. It's a pity he could not restrain himself. I will be worried very much until I hear from him. I have got so much to do this afternoon that I cannot write you as I would like, and I know you'll forgive me, and that you'll understand.

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

Affectionately,

H.W.J.

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

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 20, 1940.

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

My dear Jack:

I am sending you herein, merely that you may have them for your records, a letter written by William Green, President of the A.F. of L. recommending my re-election. I am sending you also a letter written to me by John L. Lewis in 1928. I wanted you to have these letters, but not to do anything with them at present. The Green letter will probably be published in the south; and the other letter, I desire to hold until I get some smash from the CIO during the campaign. It is true, it is dated a long time ago, but the circumstances I well remember. The coal operators in Pennsylvania and West Virginia sought somebody to present the conditions that existed, and if possible to remedy those conditions at that time. They could find nobody on the floor to present their case, and finally they came to me. It was not within my jurisdiction, but I became aroused to the injustices that were being practised, and made a couple of corking speeches on the floor of the Senate, which resulted in an investigation, that did a great deal of good, and was the fore-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2.

runner of the legislation that, under the Roosevelt administration, has been enacted in relation to the coal miners. You can see the gratitude they felt. I repeat that I send these letters to you for no other reason than that you may have them handy if occasion should arise to use them hereafter.

I am so interested in Philip that I await most anxiously your next letter. I repeat to you that I believe he was so foolish in going to Twain-Heart at this time, but I can realize how headstrong he is, and how impossible it is to control him, especially must this have been so when the doctors encouraged him. Perhaps, all will be well, but I know you would rather have him where you could observe his progress, as I would like, under similar circumstances.

This cockeyed world is going so fast and furiously to hell that few can foresee immediate events. You were quite right, I think, in saying that the nomination of Roosevelt was settled by the activities of Hitler in the Scandinavian countries. He may be acting according to plan, and know what he is doing; but we, who can not see into his mind or estimate him according to ordinary rules, may be pardoned our confusion and perplexity. I wonder if he is a mad man or a genius. I confess I have leaned, thus far,

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

toward the former conclusion, but I am beginning to doubt whether I am in a position to judge events occurring in Europe accurately. One thing I do know, and that is, that we'll be in the war either just before or just after the election, and this, I think, is a horrible thing. By far the larger part of the eastern press, some insidiously, some openly, are urging this country to become a part of the game, and it is only a question of time until they succeed, especially when the man at the top is bending every effort now, and by every trick and device known, to get us into it.

Dewey took a leaf from the book of Roosevelt in '32, and in his first speech in California tonight he devotes a brief paragraph to praise of me. There is nothing I could do about this, and I don't know whether I wanted to, or not. It is always a dangerous thing, even if a man acts not from disinterested motives, to repel him, and so I thought to leave him to act as he saw fit in regard to me. He has run away with the situation, thus far, from the Republican standpoint, but it is a very difficult thing to have 501 votes in the convention. He has some support of the California delegation, not much I believe, but still some, and that is the reason, I take it, for his trip across the continent now.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

I am extremely busy at present in various committees, and accomplishing little things, like the appropriations for the Sacramento River, which I got through the Senate by sitting tight and interviewing the key men, rather than bellowing upon the floor.

Mother is fairly well. I am as fat as a pig, and immensely improved in appearance, but I realize that the adipose matter covers a mere empty shell.

I presume there will be nothing done with our committees until after the Presidential preference primary. Perhaps, it is just as well, although you can imagine how worried and nervous I get over the do-nothing policy in the south.

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

Affectionately,

H.W.J.

COPY

April 9, 1940

Mr. C. J. Haggerty, President,
California State Federation of Labor,
Labor Temple, 532 Maple Avenue,
Los Angeles, California.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your inquiry regarding the labor record of
Senator Hiram W. Johnson has been received.

Our records show that Senator Johnson through-
out his twenty-three years service in the United States
Senate has consistently championed the cause of labor and
humanity in general.

Senator Johnson was a leader in the memorable
struggle for effective Asiatic Exclusion laws. He delivered
a masterly oration against Senate confirmation of Judge
Parker who had been nominated to the Supreme Court although
as a Federal Judge he had upheld the infamous "Yellow Dog"
contract. He ably championed the Norris-LaGuardia anti-in-
junction bill approved by the American Federation of Labor.

Senator Johnson's service to labor is not
entirely covered by the printed record. On countless occa-
sions he freely and generously gave his time and talent when
success and failure were in the balance -- when a friend in
need was a friend indeed. Senator Johnson never kept us
guessing and never ray away from a fight.

I trust you will use every possible opportunity
to acquaint our members and friends, and public-spirited
citizens generally, with Senator Johnson's splendid record
so briefly outlined herein.

The American Federation of Labor will whole-
heartedly cooperate in the forthcoming campaign to assure
the nomination and reelection of our friend and champion.
I shall appreciate suggestions upon this subject.

With best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

Wm. Green

President
American Federation of Labor

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UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

John L. Lewis
President

Affiliated with
A. F. of L.

1114 Merchants Bank Building
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

Raleigh Hotel,
Washington, D. C.,
May 17, 1928.

Honorable Hiram W. Johnson,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Johnson:

The hearings of the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the United States Senate, in connection with the bituminous industry, formally closed today. These hearings have been continuing for approximately three months and have given the representatives of the mine workers an opportunity to portray the ills of the bituminous coal industry and the sufferings of the mine workers before the public eye in a manner which we believe will be highly educational and of very great constructive value.

Unbiased observers at the hearings are free in saying that the mine workers have substantially proven every charge set forth in the Senate Resolution, which was introduced in the Senate by yourself, and each of the statements made by you in your addresses upon the subject.

Representatives of the mine workers are mindful of the fact that this opportunity has come to them, and to our very great membership, chiefly because of the contribution made by you in voluntarily championing their right for an investigation and so ably presenting their case upon the floor of the United States Senate. You gave help to our people at a time when their distress was very great and under circumstances which they will never forget. I write this letter to you to express, in so far as mere words can portray, our profound appreciation of the aid you have so

COPY

p2, Hon. Hiram W. Johnson, 5/17/28.

freely extended, with the hope that in some manner the future may permit us to repay to you this debt of gratitude.

With assurances of our high esteem, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) John L. Lewis

President.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, April 28, 1940.

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 have just received your letter of April 26 and I can not tell you the feelings that I had when I read of Philip. I can understand just how ~~you~~ felt, and I share your feeling of perplexity and doubt. I don't know Doctor Abbot, and so I can not express an opinion regarding him. The smug complacency of statements such as were made - that additional flare-ups might be expected, makes me sick, just as it made you. We can take it for granted, practically, I think, that the doctors don't know what they are talking about; and we're perfectly helpless. Unless you would take Philip to Mayo's in Rochester, Minnesota, or to Johns Hopkins in Baltimore (which has retrograded some) I haven't any idea what could be done, and I am afraid of the future.

I received early in the week your note consisting of a few sentences relating to the situation in Los Angeles. You are quite right about the matter. I am in a wretched fix, though. I am trying to do some things to get Los Angeles moving with San Francisco, but I don't seem to be able to

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

succeed. I think this week I will probably get some activity there, although I am doubtful.

Nearer and nearer we are coming to war. The President, with his foxiness, is taking us in in matters that are not of the war really, but are acts of collaboration on our part with the allies. I think he will save the crucial move until after the conventions have met, and probably until the election has been held. That he will then take us in, if he is President, I have no more doubt than that I am writing to you now. I think he will probably have, by the time he acts, the consent of the American people.

A perfect barrage for the repeal or emasculation of the Johnson Act has been commenced on the Atlantic seaboard. Of course, it will have its effect. There is not a newspaper that I can remember here, that is not for the allies, and that would not suppress publication of anything to their detriment. It is little short of outrageous that we should sell the allies four thousand planes, or whatever is the number, at the present time, and postpone the construction of our own, and yield priority of delivery to the belligerent nations. Of course, this is an act of unneutrality, and even intervention, but it cannot be developed before the committees, and the extent of it is little known among our people.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

I quite agree with you that if Dewey had been properly advised and had made the fight in California he would have won. The only one who talked to me concerning him was Cal O'Laughlin, who was a friend of Dewey. He thought Dewey had some sort of understanding with Hoover about the delegation, and therefore, did not make the fight. I venture to say that he is very sorry now.

I will have Miss Connor write you regarding photographs. I had a lot taken by some young fellow, which they all think were fairly good, but they are the same pictures taken in the light clothes you mention. I don't think that we have any others, although Miss Connor will advise you about them. I don't care for pictures anyway in a campaign. If the people of California are not familiar with my face, I am not going to make any effort to stimulate their curiosity in that regard. Let Mr. Patterson have the photographs. I feel a good deal as I did in the Booth campaign when I used to read his descriptions, and say I could not compete with him.

Girvin has a great deal of the old style method of campaigning, when it was deemed essential at the entrances and exits of every town to have enormous posters with a likeness of the candidate upon it, and objurgations to the passing individuals to vote for John Hicks. I don't need that, and it is mighty expensive.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

Downey told me the other day that the State Democratic Committee had sent out 650 printed cards to get a poll of the candidates for United States Senator, and the responses were - Ford 89, For me 53, and for Patterson 40. This was the Democratic State Central Committee, and Downey thought the result was very interesting.

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

Affectionately,

HWJ

P:S: Jane Neylan was here Friday. She said some very nice things about Hiram, which of course, endeared her to Mother and me. She is really a smart girl and very presentable.

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, May 5, 1940.

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:

Yesterday I received the list sent by Girvin for about half of his counties in northern California. I have not had time, in the brief twenty-four hours, to examine the list closely, but I agree with you that he has done a very excellent work, and I congratulate him upon it. I will write him just as soon as I can go through it.

I also agree with you not to send the list out for sometime after the presidential primary; and singularly enough, we are in agreement as to the result in this primary.

I am very greatly bothered over the question of adjournment here. Up to a few days ago I imagined that the decks would be pretty well cleared by the 15th day of May, but in consultation with some of those who know the situation I learned that there would be a disposition upon the part of the administration to hold back certain important matters, and not take them up until early in June when they believed the Republican side will be in no position to make extended or protracted opposition. This probably is considered excellent Democratic tactics, but it is damned crooked, in my opinion. I don't want to come back home, of course, while there are some important matters pending here, and I don't want to be kept here so long that I won't be able to do anything in a campaign of my own. Just one more thing to worry about.

I don't exactly understand what Snooky did, but I am just as well pleased that I do not know about it. Really, Jack, I see so many men of practically my age, who, apparently, are physically all right, but who have deteriorated mentally, that I am not surprised if this has not been the result with him. He set his daughter to work practically as soon as I had announced my candidacy, and she obtained the signatures of

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, jr. - 2

nearly all the lawyers in Sacramento of an endorsement of my candidacy. He was very proud of this, and I think he labored under the impression that it settled the whole campaign. For Heaven's sake, don't mention this to him, for of course, it would thus dim his enthusiasm, and I would rather have it misdirected, than not at all.

I have been waiting for you to write me that another operation upon Philip was claimed to be necessary by the doctors. While your Dr. Abbot does not definitely declare in favor of one, I think that he is preparing you for the possibility. I found two or three cases here that made me, as a layman, feel they were like Philip's, although, possibly, they may be very, very different, and arising from different causes. One was Senator Bone's child. Senator and Mrs. Bone told me the name of the particular sort of infection from which their young son was suffering, and for a year or more, they had nothing but a series of operations, but ultimately, the boy came through all right.. They had, they said, a terrible time during his long illness. Of course, he is very much younger than Philip, but it was one operation after another, and I think they said the child had to undergo some seven or five operations.

Strange, that the doctor is the soninlaw of old Judge Mathews. I have the picture of Mathews on the wall behind me, and in the last year or so I have had two opportunities to speak of him in glowing terms. These were celebrations in relation to the Boulder Dam, in which he did more than any one man. These celebrations were held - one of them on the spot of the Colorado River Aqueduct, and they connected me with the scene of the celebration from Washington. What a remarkable thing this is !

The talk here is all of the war. A mild sensation was created by Secretary of the Navy's remarks about the superiority of aircraft over battleships. Up to the time that he talked out freely most of the experts believed otherwise, or claimed they did, but ~~yet~~ they were stating the superiority demonstrated by the surface ships of England over airplances. Hitler immediately seized upon Edison's remarks, and declared that he was master of England, and the remarks of Chamberlain

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr/ - 3

recently made that he felt ten times more confident now (the Norwegian debacle had not occurred) of ultimate success, and that Hitler had missed the bus. This was a most unfortunate jibe of Chamberlain. All England is ringing with it now, and all Britain's enemies repeat it in derision. The Norwegian campaign that had been so promising has been such a colossal failure that Chamberlain will have his hands full Tuesday. The English have a way of seeing it through, and I don't look for any such dire consequences as are predicted now. Roosevelt is ready to spring, in my opinion. He will begin by endeavoring to soften Italy, and then by threatening Italy. His bluff may be called. Then we're in.

My love to Miss Schow, Hiram, and Philip.

Affectionately,

Dad.

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

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

May 11, 1940

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

My dear Jack:

Well, your Presidential preference primary has come and gone, and thanks to you, I received reports at once concerning it.

If it were in relation to any other thing than politics, the position Mr. Patterson holds in this primary would end him absolutely as a senatorial candidate, but he is such a strange man, and there has grown up such a dislike for, and a total absence of the rules of decency in ~~the~~ campaign, that I don't imagine, after all, the ignominious position Patterson occupies will in the slightest degree affect him; and, perhaps it is just as well. John Anson Ford is probably, in swollen pride, tramping around Los Angeles, showing the enormous vote he has received as one of the Olson delegates, and it may be, that the primary election has pitchforked him into a most favorable position. There is nothing we can do, except pursue the even tenor of our way. The thing that worries me is the enormous vote of the Roosevelt people, and the knowledge that this support will stick to him, under all circumstances. He could pitchfork any individual that is desired, at once in opposition to us, and could have him "drafted" by the people. However, we knew all this when we began, only I hate the demonstration of it.

Yesterday morning we woke up with the terrible news of what is transpiring in Europe. I have a hunch that Hitler has kicked his foot in reality this time. His successes, and the difficulty that arose in Great Britain because of them, have literally turned his head, I believe, and the next couple of weeks we're likely to see battles in which he will not be greatly superior. Each time he has caught his adversary napping. This time it is likely his real difficulties have only just begun.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

I listened last night to the President. I don't know what was the matter with him, but I think his speech was poor, his delivery poorer, and the substance of his speech the poorest. Thinly veiled, of course, you could read that he was insane to enter the war, and he is going to take us in at the earliest possible date. You never made a truer remark than when you said, in substance, that Hitler, in Norway, had re-nominated Roosevelt, and now, perhaps, it may be said Hitler has reelected Roosevelt by what he has done in the low countries. I think this kind of remark has become common here now, and will become commoner as the indignation for his assault upon the Netherlands, Holland, and Belgium grows.

I received the lists from Girvin, and went through them as best I could. I confess that I could not identify or recognize from the lists the names of one-tenth of the people on them. I told him to put Philip's name on the San Francisco list. Perhaps you told him to keep it off. I was putting it on out of compliment to Philip, and if you would rather it would not be publicized, why keep it off.

How is Phil anyway? I suppose we'll learn tomorrow or Monday when your letter comes.

There are so many stinking little things to be done here that they keep me busy as the devil.

We have had two or three fine days, a fore-runner of summer, however, and I would have given a good deal to be able to take these good days off with your Mother some place, but it has been an utter impossibility.

Mother joins in love to the boys and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

Dad

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

May 18, 1940

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

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

My dear Jack:

History repeats itself. We're following the line followed by us in 1917, which took us into the European conflict. The President, as I have repeatedly said to you, seeks for new worlds to conquer, and with a diabolical cleverness is proceeding by indirection to take us into the war. His speech the other day was designed to create a hysteria among our people, and it succeeded admirably. While insisting on peace, he cleverly and hypocritically portrayed to us danger, and called for immediate national defense. All of the newspapers published in this vicinity, and practically all of the members of congress fell for the design he had conceived. Everybody is for national defense, and upon that one point there is unanimity of sentiment; but by picturing the situation, which I do not by any means admit, nearly all have fallen into line with his purpose. It is a terrible thing, and yet the two or three people who understood what he was driving at, are silenced by the terrible public clamor and hysteria.

Political I believe that scant attention will be paid to any activity such as mine until our people have been given a breathing spell from which to recover from the anaesthetic that has been administered to them. Enough of this war. I am terribly oppressed by the situation.

I am anxiously awaiting your next letter to learn of Philip's condition. I believe they will operate upon him again and again, but, in my ignorance, I have no right and no justification for opposing what the doctors decree. I feel so sorry for the boy, but I don't know what to do. Do you think he would like to receive letters from me, or has he no interest in this sort of thing now? I have rather conceived the idea that he has not.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

You said the only fly in the ointment politically was the fact that I had introduced a bill to amend the Raker Act. I did this last year at the request of all of the authorities of San Francisco. I would do this very thing for any number of constituents that requested it. I stated on the bill when it was presented that it was introduced "by request". I have advised all of those for whom I presented it that there is no possibility of its passage this year, and I do not expect that it will be even considered. Often, bills are introduced in the fashion that I introduced this one, and they constitute not the slightest indication of what ultimately will be done with them. This is done upon the theory that everybody is entitled to a hearing, and this was exactly what was done by me.

I believe the public mind is not attuned to anybody's politics now, and that the President has guaranteed his nomination, and possible election, and that nobody else for the next few weeks can get attention for his personal politics. To attempt to do so would be futile, I believe.

I hope everything goes well with you, and your family. Mother joins in love to Hiram, Philip, and Miss Schow.

Affectionately,

H.W.J.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

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

May 22, 1940.

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

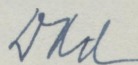
My dear Jack:

So that you will be familiar with the so-called Nye resolution dealing with submerged oil lands in case any inquiries are made of you while you are at the Legislature I relate to you the story of it. I was tremendously surprised, and not a little resentful, when late in the afternoon of Thursday, May 9, Senator Gurney, of South Dakota, came to me on the floor during the debate upon the Silver bill, and advised me that a meeting had been held that day of the Public Lands Committee, and the Resolution of Senator Nye concerning the submerged oil lands in southern California had been taken up, and the Committee had voted to report it in an amended form. I had thought after the hearings had been held before the Committee, that the Committee had apparently decided against action, and from the time of the submission, May 30, 1939, the matter was disposed of. I found upon investigation the facts of the meeting to be substantially as follows: Nye, to the surprise of

-2-

those present at the Committee meeting said he was tired of the Department of Justice stalling, and wanted some action on the Resolution. Senator Adams asked Nye if he would be satisfied with the milder Resolution merely making request of the Attorney General, and Nye responded in the affirmative; so the request was made in the form appended to this letter, and Adams reported the Resolution, and it is upon the Senate calendar. No one knew that Nye expected to bring up the Resolution, and when the meeting adjourned, after Nye had been authorized to report it, Senator Adams suggested that nothing be given out until he returned from the Senate floor. Late in the afternoon Senator Adams said "Senator Johnson is raising hell about the resolution" and then information was given out concerning it. I found on interviewing Senators whom I could contact that day, who were interested in the subject matter, not one of them had been advised of the contemplated action, and of course, I was not. Of course, I will endeavor to keep the Resolution from being brought up in the Senate. I merely wanted to give you the story of the Resolution in case any inquiries were made of you.

Hastily and affectionately,



Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2[3]

P:S: Since the events related in the above letter the facts seem to be that the Navy Department desires these lands if they can be obtained as a reserve, and they so expressed themselves to the President and the Attorney General. The Attorney General asked the President what he wished in the matter , and was told, substantially, to follow his own desires. In the House someone of the southern Congressmen has asked an investigation of the whole matter, which I deem unwise. The Senators from Texas and I will endeavor to prevent action during this session of congress, and I think it not unlikely that we'll succeed.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

May 25, 1940.

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

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

My dear Jack:

Of course, it was very good of you to wire about Philip, and we were awfully glad to learn of the situation, I shuddered, and so did your Mother, to learn that he had over three hours on the operating table; but I rejoice in the success, even temporarily, of the operation.

Last evening I received Hiram's very good and welcome letter. There is no use talking to you about the matter, and it is even worse than useless for an ignorant layman to comment upon an operation. May the Lord be good to the boy, and may he speedily recover !

Of course, everything is war. The President is too smart for his opponents. He delivered an address on our defense that was wholly hypocritical, and designed to create a hysteria among our people. I wrote you of this just after he had made his speech to the Congress. Everybody is for the defense of the country, - there is no division of opinion on that. He had a confused notion regarding it, and it was partly

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

to introduce a new subject to attract the people, and partly to stifle what little opposition there was to him in a candidacy for a third term^{that he spoke}. All these things seemed apparent to me at the time of delivery. They are just waking up to it now, and there is some criticism; but I confess it is very little, and the President is entitled to his guffaw in secret at the gullibility of our electors. He will soon say that anybody who does not agree with him - - that is give him unequivocal approval in his motives, which were base; and his execution, which was admirable - - belongs to the Trojan horse of politics, and is an enemy of democracy. His speeches already show this; and rapidly, just as in the other war, they are dividing our people between the patriots and the sympathizers of Hitler. You will remember Francis Cuttle in Riverside. He was something of a crank, but I think an honest man. I received a long letter from him the other day taking me to task for being what he called an "isolationist", and repeating the arguments made by those who were internationalists and interventionists here, that "we'd be next"; we will suffer an invasion from Hitler as soon as he has disposed of France and Great Britain. I have not had time to answer this letter, and I probably won't. But the letter was three pages long, and couched in terms to show the mental strabismus under which he

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

was laboring. I have reached the conclusion that if it can be possible Hitler is a mad man ~~but~~ a genius. He is displaying military tactics now that are astounding. The campaign he is conducting in Belgium and in northern France gives evidence of most careful organization, and has been carried out with perfect military skill. Whether he will succeed in destroying the army that is bottled up there is another matter, but if he does, he will have marked himself for all time as a successful and skillful tactician. The fear of the British that they will suffer an overwhelming defeat has made them panicky here, and their sympathizers are ready to do anything, and don't think their sympathizers are insignificant either. They literally crowd the halls of Congress, and there are damned few Americans left. I think it would be an awful thing for Hitler to succeed in breaking up the British Empire. My sympathies, of course, are wholly with Britain and France, and I pray for their success; but this is a very different thing from taking us into the war, whither we are now drifting, and where we are bound to go. I would like to write you more about the war, but I presume that you are like I am, and I am full of it. The President has designedly done a great disservice to this nation. I will let it rest at that for this time.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

If you have time I wish you would write me some notes as to what you think should be discussed in my coming to California. I ought to be out there within two or three weeks now, and we're all so full of war here, that our heads don't function upon any other subject. I confess to you, my dear son, that nature has wrought some havoc with me, and the sickness that I had in 1936 interfered very severely with my capacity to think well, and what is worse, to speak well. I would not say this to anybody on earth but you. This disability from which I suffer will make a campaign tremendously difficult for me; and then again, the situation with Roosevelt predominant, with his popularity recovered, adds to my difficulties. I can not be for a third term. I would not be for the attempt that he made upon the Supreme Court, nor his lordly way of spending. It goes without saying that I will take my own position on the various matters that have occurred here, including, of course, the overshadowing issue of war. But, I would like your advice. Don't attempt it, if you are busy, but if you have the time, an old man would very greatly appreciate it.

With my love to Hiram, Philip, and Miss Schow,
I am

Affectionately yours,

Ada

COPY

May 30, 1940

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, 3rd,
Attorney at law,
Mills Building,
San Francisco.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I enclose to you herein a letter from District Commissioner of Immigration McGrath relative to Mr. Moraht's case. It might be well for Mr. Moraht to act upon the suggestion of Commissioner McGrath and get his case before Mr. McGrath whom I am sure will give it his personal attention. I might add that under one of the President's reorganization plans, the Naturalization and Immigration service will be taken from the Labor Department and put under the Department of Justice, so it is possible that then there may be a change of policy.

Sincerely,

Secretary.

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRM.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

June 2, 1940.

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 this morning yours of May 31.

First, permit me to congratulate you upon your appointment as "disinterested trustee". I don't know what this hifalutin name signifies, but I presume that it is some honorable, and what is better, well paying bit of patronage that the Court is authorized to distribute. More power to you !

I am in the devil's own mixup on getting home. There is a tax bill now coming to trouble us, and I doubt very much that we'll adjourn as most of us had intended. I can see June 10 and June 15 fading away, and if Roosevelt continues with the rapidity that he has shown of late, we'll be in the war by either of those dates, and I don't think that we ought to go home then. It is remarkable the change in the sentiment of our people in the last few weeks. The Gallup poll makes them say by fifty-fifty that they want to get into the mess. I suspect, and I want to suspect, that

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

this does not show the real sentiment. The hysteria which has been whipped up by the President, magnified by the newspapers, and prated about by the foreign stoogies who infest our cities without number, leaves us without any ^{ability} authority to think intelligently or well. We have had an instance of this in the Foreign Relations Committee. There is a Senator from Florida named Pepper, who is a member of that Committee, and who has no ideas except those that are stated by the President. He has a glibness of tongue, no ability to think clearly, and has the same principle that an unknowing hog has. He introduced a resolution recently for us to give all of our munitions of war, and implements of warfare practically to the Allies. I regarded it as just damn nonsense, and the Wednesday after it was introduced (Wednesday the Foreign Relations Committee meets) the resolution was brought up, and we moved to table it. The vote was 12 to one of those present in favoring it. Pepper thereupon insisted that those not present be permitted to vote, and I gladly consented to this. The committee was therefore polled. The result was 22 ayes for tabling the resolution, and one nay (Pepper's). You would therefore think he would have dropped the matter here, but because he received a number of letters praising him for his stand, he has introduced now another resolution of like import.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

I am very curious to see if there will be any change in the Foreign Relations Committee on it. When I tell you that Pepper received the award for being the perfect exemplification of the equine paradox you will realize in what esteem he is held. But, I am beginning to think that he may have been wiser than the others who assume to legislate for popular favor. I was at the Translux the other night, - that is the theatre here that presents war events. They showed a picture of Pepper with a few sentences that he spoke well enough in favor of this resolution, and I observed he got a great big hand on it. Last night, the editor of TIME, who is not only a time server, but as I understand it (I don't know him) a first-class rogue, got on the radio insisting that all the candidates for office answer four questions, and particularly the candidates for the Presidency. These followed the general line of the Pepper Resolution, and Iuce, I understand, favored the Pepper resolution, and openly spoke for it. So you can't tell what mixup there can be in public sentiment, or what the public will do. The idea of a United States Senator asking that we transport all of our arms and munitions of war, etc., to the Allies, when we were trying to prepare ourselves, and were wholly unprepared, seemed to the Committee so ridiculous that they would not waste any time on it; but it apparently hit a great part of the populace, and the Administration is

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr/ - 4

apparently favoring it left-handedly.

I have told you before that I have no doubt we will ultimately be forced into this war, and the country will go through the agony of another period when the low and the malicious will pin upon those who stand firm all sorts of epithets, not the least of which will be traitor. I have said thousands of times that of course we all wanted the same thing - the Allies to win; that the emotional urge was no different among any of us, and it moved our hearts in favor of the English and the French; but that these things were far different than taking our big country into war, and that no right-thinking American ought to do this. I wish that I could quit thinking of this war. I feel it very keenly, and from its inception I was sure it boded us ill. Little by little the dictator complex has made itself manifest until today to the men who have looked critically at events, it is approaching us in this country. I think it will play a very great part in the campaign, too.

I feel so sorry for Philip that I cannot express myself; I wish there was something I could do for him. If we are going to be kept here for a month yet, ask him if he would like me to write some letters to him and I will do so; although I don't want to attempt it if he would not welcome them. I sit here waiting in agony for news from you that they have decided another operation is necessary. There is nothing we can do

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 5

except send him our love.

Yesterday I received a letter from Girvin saying that he was about to select a chairman of a committee, and that he had in mind George T. Davis, the Mooney attorney, "who has a tremendous following in labor and new deal circles". Davis had told Girvin that he was 100 per cent for me. Girvin also said Davis had not been spoken to. I wired him on receipt of his letter to do nothing in respect to the matter, and not to mention it to Davis. I want, of course, everybody to aid in this campaign. I need the services of such men as Davis, but I think there are certain circumstances that militate very strongly against his selection. I ought to have in this campaign the support of the A.F. of L. and the opposition of the CIO. Davis has been vicepresident of the National Lawyers' Guild, of which he is still a member. Girvin says he has real influence in the Democratic ranks. This he knows. His chief claim to fame is as attorney for Mooney. I don't know what sort of a position I would be in if after all these years my organization in northern California should be led by the shadow or spirit of Tom Mooney. When I was Governor, in the Ford-Suhr case, Mooney did all but preach my assassination. His case came to be a racket. Olson who made a Roman Holiday of his action in it is getting more of a left-winger daily, as witness, his appointment of Marshall, the moving picture actor, who is admittedly a fellow traveler, to an important position in the military forces

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 6

of the State of California. The whole appointment^(Davis') stinks, in my opinion, of lousy politics, the kind of politics I have never believed in, and that I hope I won't begin now in my last expiring gasp. Roche understands this situation very well, and I think if you and he would see Girvin and tell him to forget Davis as chairman of our committee, it would be a very welcome thing. I don't like to write him as I have written you, and I have simply wired him to wait until he hears from us. I take it this is simply youthful enthusiasm in which he has forgotten his discrimination. However, you and Roche may have a different opinion, and I would be very glad indeed to hear from you about the matter.

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

Affectionately your Father,

H.W.J.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, June 9, 1940

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

My dear Jack:

I received this morning your letter of the 7th, and let me say to you that, aside from your good letters, those regarding political activities are neither the detail nor the number I would like. The Davis incident will show you that Girvin's judgment is immature, and I hope that you oversee him just as much as possible. I think he has done very well indeed for a young man for the first time undertaking this kind of work. The fact that you have a man now going through the northern counties is an excellent one. I was glad to have the clipping concerning John Anson Ford. He is a member of the Oxford group, and they have a certain sort of patter in relation to war that they have formerly gotten by with, but they won't be so successful in its as-severations with peace as it has been in the past; and it may be upon this war issue we'll have trouble. The way in which the President has sought to give to the English implements of warfare, ammunition, etc., is, in my opinion, outrageous, hypocritical, and deceitful. Most people, who

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

have little understanding of war, don't realize that while we have shot to pieces all rules of the game, there still are some who believe that the furnishing of implements of warfare to one belligerent constitutes you an intervener in the war on his side. The miserable stuff that Roosevelt has put forth about Hitler coming to this country, taking possession of us, bombing our cities, etc., has been unworthy of a police court shyster. But our people literally believe every bit of it, and a great mass of them want us to intervene in the war now in order to protect ourselves from the ravages of a Hitler hereafter. All of them are hysterical upon this subject, and some of them perfectly absurd, but in very great earnest.

However, there is another matter that is raising Cain with me. The Republicans have decided to resist adjournment on the 22d day of June. I might remark, parenthetically, that I have not any confidence in this being a real resistance, although, of course, I may be in error. The Democrats expect to have - and when I say Democrats, I mean Roosevelt himself, (The Democrats are the lousiest lot of crawling termites I have ever seen) - a majority which will enable them then to adjourn; although, if the thing comes to a real and honest fight, I doubt it. If we do not adjourn, a recess of perhaps a week will be taken during the Republi-

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

can Convention, and another week during the Democratic Convention. I want to get home, and get into the campaign. All the wiseacres here say the shrewdest kind of politics I could do now would be to stick on the job, make a great pretense of keeping the country out of ear, and anything else that I desired to say. As I have written you before, I don't believe a word of this. My rule has always been where the fight is, the fighter should be. This is a peculiar time, however, and it leaves me with more doubts than heretofore I would have. What is your opinion? Could I stay back here until the adjournment of the Democratic Convention, and send, perhaps, one or two records for radio transcription, explaining my absence to the people, and just what I stand for. There is very little use of standing for anything else in the present state here, at least of the public mind, war or anti-war, intervention or non-intervention.

Late yesterday afternoon I received my nomination papers from Girvin. I immediately verified them and returned them promptly to him. I hope he will get them ready to file this week. If you meet with him this week, suggest to him quietly, too, to prepare for the various nominations that we'll seek.

Give my love to Philip, Hiram, and Miss Schow,

Affectionately your Father,

Das.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

June 10, 1940.

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 have a letter from Girvin this morning in which he says that he has talked to Mr. Carlson, the head of our Committee in Fresno, and Carlson says he is anxiously awaiting the time when I will make a statement defining my position on the war. ^{Girvin} He adds that he is asked this question about a thousand times a week, as are all of my friends and workers, and he suggests the following procedure, in case I remain in Washington:

That I make a thorough-going statement on the war at the time we file the nomination petitions, which will be about June 18, the statement, of course, to be released simultaneously in Washington and throughout California.

He adds: "I know you will not think it impertinent for me to suggest that your statement be particularly detailed in one regard: The current hysteria, heightened by a rising tide of interventionist propaganda, is creating a widespread bitter feeling against the Johnson Act. The President and his school have convinced hundreds of thousands of Californians that we can be half in and half out of the war. That is, that we can extend credits and other services, without sending our boys to Europe. I know that it is your

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

deep conviction that amendment of the Johnson Act, or any such step, eventually will lead to our sending American boys into this conflict. Now, it seems extremely important to me that your reasons for this belief be set forth in detail at the very commencement of the active phase of your campaign for reelection.

"Californians, in my opinion, are about 90% against our entering this conflict with me, but I also believe that 90% feel that provision of credits and war materials to the Allies could and should be done.

"Of this, I am sure: Mr. Roosevelt at this juncture has the overwhelming confidence of the California electorate in his approach to the war problem. The people believe him when he says 'Not a single American boy will be sent to Europe'.

"I would appreciate having your reaction to this letter since I believe it important that your opening campaign statement be just as comprehensive as possible on this subject. "

My position in regard to the war I have iterated and reiterated during the past year. It is simply this: Of course, like everybody else, my sympathies are with the Allies, and I trust they will win. I will not be a party to taking this country into war, nor will I, as is the cry now universally here, arm the Allies with American men or American money. I am legislating for the United States, and if I could prevent it, I would have no part of our legislation in relation to airplanes, or otherwise, devoted to a belligerent. Those who want to intervene say to us now, to give arms, ammunition, and implements of warfare, and do everything " short of war"

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

in behalf of the Allies. They shriek hysterically that they will never send a boy of ours across the sea to fight. But how absurd is this! When they have given everything "short of war" they are half in the war, or three - quarters in it, and a very small fraction out, and the natural course of events would take them then the full way. This is self-evident to me, and it is obvious from our experience in the past.

I am trying to steer a straight course, and keep this country out of the conflict. I know the consequences of war are so awful. I know our finances are in such condition that we would inevitably, in case we were drawn into this war, go into a dictatorship. We would have inflation or repudiation, and finally ultimate ruin. All these things I see so plainly that I don't give a damn whether I am the last man to vote against the war or not, I will not let it be put upon us, either directly or indirectly, and the interventionists very cunningly now suggest some indirect participation, and indirect participation would lead to the direct, and we must prevent it.

I have written you very hastily on receipt of Girvin's letter because I realized this thing is coming. I have known that there was occasion for some statement upon my position for a long time now, but events have been occurring with such rapidity that I have delayed any statement. I will make

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

one during the week and send it to Girvin. But for God's sake try to get activity out of the south. This may blow it to hell, but if it does, I will at least be fighting for the right, and to keep this country out of the terrible holocaust abroad.

With love,

Affectionately,

Sam

We are all waiting for the President's Declaration tonight. Who may change the whole complexion of things. We've just had the news of Italy going over. This may cause a revision of our thoughts.

My position is very simple. I want no war. I'll vote for more unless we are attacked or our vital interests endangered. This is all. I'm not worried about the Johnson Act because the effect of its repeal is obvious; and then again it has become a secondary matter now.

Sam

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JAMES A. WHITE, ASST. CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

June 15, 1940

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

My dear Jack:

I have received your letters, and one from Philip as well, and one from Hiram, too. I will try to answer the boys within the next day or two.

There is a tremendous campaign here being carried on by the great newspapers, like the New York Times and the Baltimore Sun, to have the Congress remain in session, and not adjourn sine die on Saturday next. They make a very appealing argument; and, although, with the exception of the Scripps-Howard papers, they are swallowing everything that the President says, and approving each utterance of his that grows more belligerent, they insist that Congress should be here, in reality, to watch him. The Scripps-Howard papers go further than the others, and make it a point of duty with the members of the Congress, and call all of the others who disagree with them rather harsh names. They are marking down for slaughter the men who don't stay on the job. I think, therefore, we are going to stay, and that any motion to adjourn just prior

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

to the Republican Convention will be beaten. This leaves a pretty difficult situation for me to solve. I think I wrote you about one way I could solve it, and that would be to transcribe a couple of speeches, put them upon the radio for dissemination, and perhaps this would be just as well as having me present in California. But there is very little attention being paid to politics, and I doubt very much if we could get a fair hearing until after the Democratic convention. I don't like this situation at all. I can make a fair enough presentation of our desire not to go to war, and I believe I could rouse our people up on it. But there are so many things that might be said this campaign, and particularly on the traditional American habit of no third term, that it seems a pity not boldly to take a position regarding them. Girvin in San Francisco, and Chase in Los Angeles, assure me that my nominating petitions are all prepared and ready for filing. I think Girvin has his in shape. I am not so sure of the situation, otherwise.

Irvin Cobb sent me a lengthy telegram day before yesterday, copy of which I enclose to you herein. Naturally, I replied, and copy of my reply I enclose herein to you. The reply, necessarily, was restricted to the one question of

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

war. I was advised an attempt would be made to publish it in the south, but I am not very clear that this has been done. I did not want you to do anything about the matter, but I wished you to know what was transpiring. Cobb's telegram was unsolicited by me, although I don't know what was said to him down south, and it came to me as a surprise. I was very much moved by it. It is utterly impossible for me to know what is going on in the State. The people I see here are, necessarily, friendly, and they think that I will have very plain sailing. Of course, I am required to discount this because it constitutes, in the main, wishful thinking; but, as I have said before, the whole campaign has gone to hell with the advent of war. There never was a sillier slogan than that adopted by the so-called friends of the Allies in asking the assistance "short of war". Of course, this means, if followed to its ultimate conclusion, war itself. But the appeal for aid to the allies is very persuasive with most of our people, who forget, or don't care that we started out to be a neutral country, and from that have become a very bellicose country. The President panders to this system; first, because it solves all his political difficulties, and secondly, because he got his nose rubbed the wrong way when he stuck it in the troubles abroad.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 4

It is a horrible thing to contemplate Hitler marching into Paris, and the possibilities that flow from that action. Yet, with preparing ourselves and giving to the Allies, in the restlessness of our preparation, we leave ourselves stark and naked, as we are at present, ^{and} our country is in a horrid fix. These organizations that desire to render aid to the Allies know full well that we can render no effective aid at present, and that the only way we can aid is by a declaration of war. This, of course, we are coming to.

With my mental perturbation, I have been physically to the bad the last couple of days. I am hoping that I will emerge in good shape.

We were glad to learn of Philip's being at home, and in apparently fair condition.

I trust you are in good shape. With my love to Hiram, Philip, and Miss Schow, in which Mother joins, I am

Affectionately yours,

Ada

COPY
POSTAL TELEGRAPH

NA205 354 NL VIA MRT 1/73

DY LOSANGELES CALIF 11

1940 JUN 12 AM 6 11

HON HIRAM W JOHNSON

SENATE OFFICE BLDG WASHN DC

AT LAST YOUR PATRIOTIC FIGHT OF MANY YEARS TO BUILD AMERICANISM AND TO STRENGTHEN OUR NATIONAL DEFENSES SEEMS WON. I REMEMBER THE MANY YEARS YOU HAVE BEEN FIGHTING, ALONE IF NECESSARY, FOR THE REBUILDING OF OUR NAVY, OUR ARMY AND OUR AIR FORCE. SURELY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST NOW HEARTILY ENDORSE YOUR STAND FOR THE NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM WHICH YOU HAVE SO LONG AND SO WELL CHAMPIONED. THERE WAS INSPIRED PROPHECY IN YOUR WORDS WHEN IN 1923 YOU DECLARED THERE WAS ANOTHER BLOODY EUROPEAN WAR IN THE MAKING AND IT WAS AMERICA'S TASK TO PREPARE TO DEFEND THIS HEMISPHERE, AND AGAIN IN 1927 WHEN YOU SAID "THE MONROE DOCTRINE IS JUST AS STRONG AS THE UNITED STATES NAVY AND NO STRONGER". OTHERS MAY HAVE PUT THEIR FAITH IN HIGH-SOUNDING TREATIES, BUT YOU URGED THE NATION TO FACE REALITIES AND RECONSTRUCT OUR FAULTY AND NEGLECTED DEFENSES. YOUR SIX-YEAR FIGHT TO REBUILD THE NAVY WAS WON IN 1934 WHEN YOU WERE A TOWER OF STRENGTH FOR THE PASSAGE OF THE NAVY RECONSTRUCTION BILL. IT HAS TAKEN THIS NATIONAL EMERGENCY TO PROVE YOUR WISDOM. I KNOW YOUR SYMPATHIES ARE STRONGLY WITH THE ALLIES, BUT WE COMMEND YOU FOR YOUR FEARLESS BATTLE OVER A PERIOD OF MANY YEARS TO PREVENT AMERICAN BOYS FROM EVER AGAIN BEING SENT OVERSEAS TO DIE ON FOREIGN BATTLEFIELDS. IN OUR RECENT REGRETTABLE TIME OF APATHY AND SLUGGISH INDIFFERENCE TO A VERY GRAVE THREAT AGAINST OUR PEACE AND SECURITY, YOURS WAS A VOICE CRYING ALONE IN THE WILDERNESS, IN THIS PRESENT EMERGENCY WHILE AWARENESS OF THE PERIL TO DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS EVERYWHERE IS MAKING SOME OF US HYSTERICAL, WHEN THE HOUR CALLS FOR CALM RESOLUTION AND BALANCED REASONING, YOU ARE LIKE A LIGHTHOUSE SET FOUR-SQUARE ON THE EDGE OF A TROUBLED SEA, A BEACON AND A GUIDE BY WHICH OUR COUNTRY MAY STEER A RATIONAL COURSE. AS AN AMERICAN, I TAKE THE LIBERTY OF CONGRATULATING YOU UPON YOUR RECORD OF PATRIOTIC SERVICE, PAST AND PRESENT. AS A CITIZEN OF CALIFORNIA, I TAKE DEEP SATISFACTION IN CONGRATULATING MYSELF THAT MY ADOPTED STATE HAS SUCH A REPRESENTATIVE AS HIRAM W. JOHNSON IN THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

IRVING S COBB.

COPY

June 13, 1940

Mr. Irvin Cobb,
Santa Monica, California.

Words fail me to express myself adequately in relation to your fine telegram of June 12 STOP To have won such a glowing endorsement of my political record from you would be to me sufficient achievement for my long political service STOP I have ever been for a strong navy and this not only because of my conviction of its necessity but because I am a native Californian and have ever had in mind the protection and preservation of this beautiful State of ours with its almost thousand miles of seacoast STOP There is now nothing to be gained by appraising the wrong done our whole country by the blindness of those whose duty it was to see and to know, but who did not see and apparently did not know, our lamentable condition STOP For every appropriation asked either for Army or Navy I have voted STOP In common with other Americans I regret the woeful lack of preparedness of both branches of our service STOP It is maddening to think at this time that our preparedness which will cost billions of dollars cannot see its fruition for from two to four years STOP Like you and all other right-thinking people I have viewed with horror what has transpired and what is happening now in Europe STOP Our sympathies are alike wholly with the allies STOP Today we face a peculiar time and we must keep our heads on our shoulders and our feet on the ground STOP However strong our sympathies are, however moved we may be our emotions, and the emotional urge is difficult to resist, I would not send our soldiers again to fight upon a foreign battlefield and I would not have our country go to war save in our own defense or in the defense of our vital interests There are other reasons as well, though not so compelling We could not financially stand the impact of another war STOP With the enormous debt that we have today, superimposing another like amount upon it would mean either inflation or repudiation STOP It would mean in our endeavor to destroy dictatorship in other lands we would find that we have set one up in our own STOP I am oppressed and a dreadful pall rests upon many of us here; but I am an American, and so long as I have

COPY

2.

strength or voice with the remembrance of the last war and all its events, and the knowledge that this is a European war, I never will consent to our entry into another one STOP I am old enough and I have had sufficient experience to be confirmed in my allegiance to one flag STOP This from boyhood I have worshipped. In manhood and with the years that worship has grown, and it is to the Stars and Stripes alone to which I pay my homage.

Hiram W. Johnson, USS.

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

June 17, 1940.

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 am sitting up here in bed today worrying about the nominations. Saturday is the last day. Girvin assures me everything has been done, and well done, both in the south and in the north. I think that he has completed the north all right, but there is a disposition with both him and Chase to look upon the Republican nomination as of no particular value, and that it could be more or less disregarded. I want them to get out of this.

I wish you would call him up yourself and tell him I am fretting about the thing, and that is the reason for your inquiry, and see whether or not the Republican nomination has been attended to in the south.

I am laid up with what we think is the result of a fall two weeks ago, but I hope to be all right tomorrow, and get about again.

With love,

Affectionately,

Dad

P:S: I am dictating this over the 'phone and Miss Connor will sign it for me.

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DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

COPY OF WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

June 22, 1940

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

Response your wire late last night at night session of
senate had passed H R 6598 for Charles Upton

Hiram W Johnson

O B
Straight fast wire

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN.
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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Sunday, June 23, 1940.

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

My dear Jack:

Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday of the week that has passed were devoted by me to recovering from some little disorder. The doctors insisted that it was a fall that I had a few weeks ago when I fell upstairs (God save the mark) in walking in the corridor just outside my office. I do not believe that this was so, and I rather think before our three days had passed, the doctors were somewhat shaken up on their theory. However, I am feeling immensely better and we'll let it ride until the next time comes. That it will come, I am perfectly certain.

We adjourned last night until a week from tomorrow. The pressure became so great that the Democrats did not try to force an adjournment sine die, but adopted the plan of a week's vacation for the Republican Convention, and will adopt a similar plan when the Democratic Convention occurs. Between you and me I don't think that it makes a particle of difference except to those jittery people who have been taught to say that we ought to stay here all of the time so as to check upon the President. Really, I think

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

he needs some check; and the opinion is slowly but surely growing that he acts without due consideration now, and will suddenly do something that nobody but himself has thought of, and the country will be in a hell of a fix. He has, of course, his remarkable majority yet, and can do as he pleases with the Congress, but I venture the assertion it will become increasingly difficult, and a few more appointments like those of Stimson and Knox will make it so. Of course, I know both of these men fairly well. Stimson is opinionated, and a wholly subservient Anglophile. He is perfectly honest in it, and notwithstanding the rebuffs that he has received on account of the Japanese-Manchuria incident when Sir John Simon egged him on, and then turned his back, and said "Great Britain was neutral", the inferiority complex felt by most Americans in their dealings with the English, has been intensified by the years. The fact of the matter is, of course, the President ought to have the right to select his own advisers and his own Cabinet; but the question involved in the Stimson-Knox selections is a fundamental one in character. It neither relates to the sort of men they are, nor the ability, or lack of it, with which they have discharged their duties. War changes the whole complexion of things. Both these men - we have

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the proof, I think, in one case actually in the spoken word, and there is no doubt about how both stand - are in favor of our going into war, and have been for some time. The question then presented is not the so-called sacred right of the President to insist on men of his own selection, nor their right to determine their course; nor does it turn upon the honesty of their opinions; but it turns upon putting men in charge of our government who shall at once declare war, and who will be forever hammering upon that proposition. This raises the question far beyond politics or partisanship, and I think that those who are opposed to war are definitely precluded from voting for either man. Their selection by the President is a demonstration of his mind. He's for war, of course, and those of us who have been at all alert have known this all along. He has tried to conceal it by lip service to peace, but now we have his selection of a Secretary of War and a Secretary of the Navy, both of whom are in thorough accord with him in their desire immediately to take this country into the war. Whether this can be shown and made sufficiently plain, I don't know; but, these are the facts, and the fight will be made by a few of us upon this basis.

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I am going to get into a peck of trouble probably on this question, because I have filed for the Democratic nomination. I don't see if the facts ultimately warrant it, how I can do otherwise than vote against both of them, and this, even though there are only a few that will vote against them. The Democrats have the right to howl their heads off when I do it, but I insist we have no right to conceal from our people the real reasons actuating ^{the appointments} them. I am writing you as I have because already in the east the miserable subservient press is saying, in so many words, that we have no right to be against either Stimson or Knox; that they are men of such high character; that it is a tribute to the President he selected them, etc. These very people know that they are selected because of their opinions, and that opposition to them is wholly because of that.

I read what you said about the Progressive Party. It may be that it has fallen into bad hands; and it may be that if I were successful in obtaining that nomination, various individuals would attempt the making of a platform, and make one so radical that I would have to repudiate it. I don't think that this will be an unmixed

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evil. The idea of seeking this nomination was entirely sentimental with me. You'll remember that we formed the **Progressive** Party; that originally it was the finest that ever we had; that subsequently, after 1916, it degenerated, but again in 1934, the Labor people, principally Scharrenberg, blew the breath of life into it again. When I came to California that year, it was my intention to register Progressive, and run upon that ticket for the nomination, and run for the other nominations as well. You will probably remember that everybody talked me out of this the day I arrived, so I went ahead in the way that I did. The very fact that nobody has sought the nomination with that Party shows that it has not been colonized for this campaign. I never did believe much in the colonization idea, but Chase and Girvin were wholly frightened by a bugaboo. However, you people are on the ground. I distrust my judgment in any decision here. Then again, I have been so engrossed (we have had meetings every day of the Naval Affairs Committee, and I have put an immense amount of time upon them). When these damphools talk of "assistance short of war" to the Allies, they forget that we could not fight a war now to save our necks with a tenth-rate country. We're horribly unprepared, and we won't be prepared for very many months yet. It is a

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realization of this situation that has made me, and some of my fellows, extremely attentive to our duties concerning the Navy. All this is injected as showing how with far more important matters I have been concerned, and how I question my own judgment. So whatever you and the others of our little inner committee determine about the Progressive Party idea will be satisfactory to me.

I have got to revise my whole theory of the campaign now. I will not have more than a month to devote to it, and just how I shall utilize that to the best advantage I don't know. I am under no illusions about this campaign, but I think some of the rest of you are. It has taken care of itself, thus far, in the main, but the war issue has overshadowed all else. It will be a fine thing, of course, if we can win the Democratic nomination, but Chase and Girvin seem to set their store upon winning that and forgetting the Republican nomination. I dislike to write them concerning this matter, and if you could quietly drop the hint to them - saying the election is coming after this primary; and the fact that we are registered Republican, and we must rely upon the Republican vote, and it ought not to be shunted ^{wholly} to one side in the attempt to win the Democratic nomination. I don't want to have them quit their efforts to obtain the Democratic

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nomination. That is not the point, but in endeavoring to win that I don't want any considerable number of the Republicans offended. It is difficult for me to express this clearly to you, and I can not express it to them. If you can work it quietly out by saying something to them concerning it, all right; if not, let it go. Of course, this occurs to me from the fact that we may not obtain the Democratic nomination, and then we'll have to win the election as Republican, and then we'll have to rely upon the Republican organization. All of this I realize may be avoided by winning the Democratic nomination at the primary, and I don't want to chill the enthusiasm of these two young men or the organization they have gotten together. Don't do anything about this matter if you think nothing should be done and nothing should be said. Between you and me, I am going to be in a ticklish position after Roosevelt's nomination, if certain individuals are nominated at the Convention this week in Philadelphia. The Wilkie strength has grown, and they have created a real sentiment for him. The Hoover strength, I think, has grown, and I should not be surprised at the nomination of either. The nomination of either might be viewed as a calamity for me.

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This letter has reached undue proportions. I will write you during the week. I will have this week entirely to answer my correspondence, which has grown apace.

I was delighted to observe that Philip was better. Give him my love, and tell him no matter what I am engaged in that I think of him.

In lighter vein I might write you of the marriage yesterday of old Glass, 82 years old. He can scarcely walk, drags one foot after the other. His physical ailments are obvious, and he takes little pains to conceal them. I can't but think they will have a sad influence upon his mentality.

Mother has not been well. She suffers a great deal of pain, which she, and the doctors, ascribe to arthritis. Between us, I think she takes too much medicine, but how could she help it when she thinks of you.

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

Affectionately,

Dad

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

June 27, 1940.

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 send you herein letter that I have sent this date to Girvin. He seems to think, as does his fellow worker Chase, that all our energies ought to be devoted to labor. Maybe he is right. I confess I don't know. It may be that in the Democratic primary we have to stress our labor record, but I have constantly in mind that I am going to run ultimately, in any event, as a Republican.

I have asked him to submit this matter to Neylan. I do this because I've rather neglected him, in the first place, and in the second I think he would take another slant than that which Girvin does, and I would like his views.

I have this morning yours of June 25. We have given too much time and thought to the Progressive nomination. If the old man were not a sentimental ass he would not have bothered everybody so much about it.

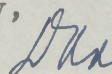
I was delighted to pass the little Upton bill. I can't tell you how glad I was to read that Philip was progressing nicely, and how I regretted Hiram's sacro-iliac. I remember how painful this was from Arch's experience.

I am in pretty good shape again, but your Mother is not free from pain, as I'd like to see her. We have been in the midst of hot weather of late. I don't know when I will get out. I endeavored last week, but failed, through the Hearst service and the A.P. to make a short statement about my expecting to have to remain here, and asked the reporters as a personal favor to carry it. Both

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of them expressed themselves as very glad to do so, but
neither did. Do you think I ought to make some statement
of this sort?

Affectionately,



COPY

June 27, 1940.

Mr. Robert E. Girvin,
Room 504, #935 Market Street,
San Francisco.

My dear Mr. Girvin:

I am returning to you herein -

1. The Johnson Labor record.
2. The Record on National Defense.

I think these are all right. Will you take up with Jack, and also with Jack Neylan these records. I cast the votes that you relate on labor questions, and I am amazed now as I see that on every measure proposed I voted for the New Deal's social program. Tell Jack Neylan for me, if you will, that I do not want to labor too much this record, and ask him his opinion of printing it.

On National Defense I have been a very strong advocate for years. I don't know why that some little matter in my telegram to Cobb was omitted, and a new paragraph inserted at the very end. This threw out of balance the telegram, and I have enclosed with your story the telegram to Cobb exactly as it was sent. I have asked Chase the reason for the transposition and the amendment of my message, but fortunately the dispatch to Cobb was sent to Cobb personally, and the copies to Chase, as he had requested.

With my fond regards, I am

Sincerely yours,