





## United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 3, 1917.

My dear Boys:

This is the first of the letters I am now writing in our new office. I enclose you, merely as a memento of the occasion, copy of the address of the President last night and copy of the amended resolution declaring war. The first indication of action that I have observed was this morning when the amended resolution was reported by the Foreign Affairs Commission, <sup>the</sup> Mr. La Follette asked that consideration, under the rules, be held over until tomorrow. Mr. Martin, the Democratic leader, wished to indulge either in a lecture or denunciation of La Follette in a sentence or two that he uttered (sentences that would not have appealed to us with our controversial natures and our alacrity for scraps) which had the applause of the Democratic side of the Senate and of the galleries. Tomorrow, there ought to be some brief pyrotechnics and then the declaration of war.

It would be difficult for me to give you my first impression but the one outstanding thing with me is nine-tenths of the situation here is sham and nine-tenths of the other tenth front. The great and the near-great of the Nation are exactly as we often pictured them in our chats at home. The President last night had a marvellous opportunity. He spoke from the head. I listened to him in a moment of great gravity and solemnity and reached the con-



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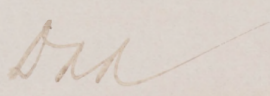
clusion that he could not be speaking from the heart. The Congress will overwhelmingly do as he asks but in private conversations in the cloak rooms it seems to me obvious that the public action does not really reflect private feelings of the members. Many of them seem to me to be more pacifically inclined than their votes will indicate.

We arrived late Friday. In our journey across the continent we met with late storms and snow. Saturday morning we went to Philadelphia. The celebration there was tremendous and the setting of it would give a thrill to any American. The speeches were made at Independence Hall to the crowd on Independence Square. Behind us was the place where the Nation had been born with the symbols that had come down to us with the years. It was well nigh impossible talking to a hundred thousand people and of course a very small number of the people were able to hear anything that transpired. We returned late Saturday night. You cannot imagine the flurry in which we have been these last two days.

I have thought much of California and of the situation that I left there in the state government but of course this will grow dimmer and dimmer as the days pass. I am not clear how much I shall like this newlife. It is all strange to me now. I am so ignorant of the procedure and feel quite out of it for the minute but the lust of contest will some day undoubtedly pitchfork me into it good and hard.

Mother joins me in love.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to Hiram W. Johnson, is written in the bottom right corner of the page.



HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 7, 1917.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,  
8th Floor, Mills Bldg.,  
San Francisco, Cal.

My dear Jack:

Mother and I read your note last night and were distressed over your illness. We had, however, a telegram from Arch this morning indicating that you were all right. I do hope you have fully recovered. I think you ought to arrange for regular vacations and regular lay-offs, otherwise you will take an enforced and prolonged lay-off.

We adjourned yesterday until Monday. I have two rooms in the Senate Office Building which overlook the city. They are comfortable and pleasant offices in which to work. I have just now returned from lunch. We go down in the basement and take a subway to a restaurant just under the United States Senate. We are still at the Willard. Your mother, however, is searching for a house and when finally she succeeds I shall search for extra employment to pay the rental. That is one thing that is becoming increasingly certain, - I have to go <sup>the</sup> in a circuit whether I want to or not. There are some poor Congressmen and perhaps one or two poor United States Senators. They live in small apartments and in crowded second-rate hotels. Your mother wont live in



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either and so the poorest of them all will have to seek a legitimate method of increasing the exchequer. The plan discussed by some of us in California during the war excitement will of course not be feasible. Partisan politics can not now be approached at all.

Love to Amy and the babes,

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in brown ink, likely of Hiram W. Johnson, written in a cursive style.



United States Senate,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 6, 1917.

My dear Boys:

I intended to write to you yesterday my impression of what has perhaps been the most important and momentous session of the United States Senate since the Civil War but I was so depressed and disillusioned, so filled with disgust and pessimism that I was unable then to do it. I postponed the task until today in the hope that I might write you in a judicial strain rather than in the hopeless spirit which has been mine since I listened to the great of our nation decide our country's fate on Wednesday.

We met at 10 in the morning and by the Democratic majority we were held in continuous session until 11:15 at night. The majority, executing undoubtedly the will of the national administration, apparently feared to permit much time to elapse before final action and although there was no attempt to prevent debate, the desire was to close it at the earliest possible moment and force a conclusion.

The first important thing that intuitively I learned as I listened was the South is in the saddle, that its representatives are arrogant and truculent, arbitrary in their power, and determined, in ordinary parlance, to ride rough shod over the minority. Not only are they arrogant and truculent, but they are full of bluster and bluff; and by hectoring and heckling any who dare to criticise either the administration



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or the dominant Democratic Party here, they have the minority cowed. The next thing which was borne in on me with equal force was the utter ineptness, lack of preparation, absence of real ability on the Democratic side. They have absolute solidarity and determination which successfully they execute to crush the minority but they have, so far as I could judge from debate upon the declaration of war, less ability than would be found in their Party in the lower House of the California Legislature. On the Republican side there is demoralization and lack of leadership. The real men on that side, - that is, the men of conscience and of vision and desire to do right are pacifists, - those known as Progressive Republicans, like Norris, Kenyon and La Follette. The reactionaries, who used to constitute the backbone of the Republican Party, who made the Republican Party the great Party of the nation, apparently, are without unity of purpose and, while just as venomous as in the days of their glory and their success, are apparently floundering and smarting under the whipping administered to them by the Democratic majority, writhing under the iron hand of the President and yet without the courage to present a united front or a really determined opposition. The leader on the Republican side is Senator Gallinger, a true type of the reactionary, but he is a gentleman eighty years old, slow, without physical strength or mental agility. With my lack of partisanship and my distrust of both of these groups, you can imagine how I have been viewing each mentally, - not only the groups but the individual units composing them.



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You would have thought with the entry of our nation into the world cataclysm there would have been gravity and solemnity, that the case of our country would have been presented in such detail ( because after all, history is here made and the facts preserved for posterity ) that a hundred years hence the impartial searcher for truth could have had before him a full story with the complete justification and vindication of our government. The majority, however, in charge of the resolution, indolent and lazy as they are, had, in no instance, prepared what would have been done by the veriest tyro in our profession in an ordinary legal controversy. True, speeches were read but they were speeches that any of us extemporaneously might have made from superficial newspaper reading, all of which might have been heard in ordinary apostrophies to the flag. During the day two speeches stood out. The first, Lodge of Massachusetts, and while not presenting the subject as it should have been presented, nor with the elaborate care that decent regard for historical accuracy should have required, nevertheless, showed some vision, some appreciation of the real causes for our entering this conflict. La Follette had mastered the details from his standpoint. He had arrayed his facts carefully, collated his authorities and he presented the one great argument made on either side during the entire debate. I do not like his manner of speaking and his hysterical delivery is more or less repellant to me; but he knew his side and he argued it in masterly fashion. In my opinion, his argument has not been adequately answered. I turned to my seat



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mate, Mr. Knox, of Pennsylvania, as La Follette closed. I said that La Follette's presentation was so carefully, sequentially, and logically prepared, it ought to be as carefully answered. Knox agreed with me and said it would be answered by Senator John Sharp Williams, who, he said, was by far the ablest debater in the Congress, a learned and scholarly man, who would demoralize, bit by bit, the persuasive construction built by La Follette. I therefore listened attentively to Williams and was disgusted beyond measure. He was coarse, common and abusive. He did not answer the facts asserted nor the law quoted by La Follette. When I met Knox subsequently and said to him that I had a complaint to register against him, without further remark, Mr. Knox said he had an apology to make to me and then he and the others in the cloak room, perhaps a dozen Senators, said that Williams was under the influence of liquor and that his failing in this respect was gradually destroying his once brilliant, marvellous mind. In the evening, a Senator of tremendous physical proportions, James of Kentucky, began what I thought would be just a ridiculous spread eagle speech but as he proceeded I liked him more and more. While there was nothing brilliant in what he said, he spoke with directness and with a rough sort of eloquence that attracted me to him. Parenthetically, I might say, what some of the Senators jokingly said of James, who in stature is greater than Jim Jeffries, he is too big for a man and too small for a horse. Later in the evening, Borah made a fairly good address and for the purpose of having the record show that he was agreeing to a declaration of war but not to what had been suggested



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or intimidated by many during the course of the debate. He said to me, privately, that he would never consent to our boys being sent across the sea. He has the reputation, however, of being very easily "caved down the back". Perhaps, therefore, although he made his record he will forget its purpose in the future. Harding, of Ohio, made a brief and serious speech but one which had a thought in it and a thought well expressed. On the whole occasion and out of the whole debate the one argument that stood forth was that of La Follette. The one feeling that I had after it was all over was of depression. The superficiality, the hollowness, the pretense and hypocrisy were the things with which I was impressed and are the things which have distressed me. I asked Stanley Washburn yesterday, - he has been a part of the great world drama, - if other governments were the same sort and his answer was, - "most of them were worse".

The President is in absolute command here. All of the Republicans and many of the Democrats, violently hate him and detest him. I cannot find any who love him. But there must be something which we, as yet, can not understand, that enables him to rule with an arbitrariness no other President has ever approached, which makes him able by a mere look or a word to blight any who oppose him. His program, whatever it may be, will be carried out by the Congress to the letter. I say to you very solemnly and the accuracy of the statement is conceded here, that if Wilson on Monday night last had conclusively declared for peace at any price instead of war, he would have in Congress substantially the same majority that he



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has had for his belligerent program.

I felt that after Monday night there was no other course to pursue than to declare war. I felt this, not alone from the accumulated circumstances of the last two and a half years but from the standpoint of maintaining our country in some sort of repute in the world. The national administration really declared war Monday night. If Congress had withheld its sanction we would have placed our country in a position so contemptible that the meanest and the smallest could not have respected it. I am gradually reaching the conclusion, too, that the moral, the intellectual, the ethical in life, the intangible thing that we prize, that makes life worth living, and organized society possible, require the defeat of Germany in this conflict. Washburn, of whom we have seen a great deal since we have been here, obsessed on the subject, reasons thus: That after all the only thing worth while in our lives is the intellectual and spiritual side, that life itself is of little consequence when compared with real service to mankind, that sacrifices must be made, not the minimum but the maximum of sacrifice, that civilization may advance and the world be better. And if the philosophy of the German government that might is right, that necessity knows no law, that the end justifies the means and that any act, however atrocious, may be done for the power of the state, shall be triumphant and shall be vindicated by German success in this war, then the world is retrograding, civilization retarded, the intellectual, the ethical and the spiritual thing which raises mankind, which makes for the progress and the ad-

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vancement and the happiness of the world, are impossible. If sacrifice of everything to the material, like the deportation of 50,000 French girls to increase the birth rate in Germany, like paying 500 marks for children of German parentage <sup>from Polish women</sup> raped shall be justified by success in the war, by Germany's victory, the world goes backward. He argues it is the duty of men who believe as we do, who have something of the fervor of service, who believe in others, who have ethics, and ideals and morals, to fight to the maximum of sacrifice that the world shall not be dominated by German philosophy and materialism.

Washburn, I think, is the only man here who has any real ideas. He is shattered by the constant battles, by the carnage he has seen, by the very intensity of his emotions, but he is most interesting and it is quite inspiring to talk to him. He proposed to the government, what was done I understand yesterday, that 5,000 aeroplanes should distribute the President's speech in the German trenches, both the east and west lines. He believes in marshaling first the moral forces while we are preparing material. His idea is, tomorrow, to have these aeroplanes drop over the German trenches the declaration of war. Two days after that to distribute in like fashion the statement of the resources of this nation. He hopes for the moral effect of these things, then by the immediate mobilization of a very large army to so influence the Germans that the war may be brought more speedily to a conclusion.

I have been treated with extraordinary courtesy by all the members of the Senate. There is no disposition on the part



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of any man, apparently, to do otherwise than receive me in a kind and hospitable fashion. The prophecy made by Harvey and Otis has not in the smallest or slightest degree occurred. Mr. Gallinger, Mr. Smoot, Mr. Penrose, have been equally solicitous with Mr. Norris, Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Borach. Many of the Democrats have been extremely kind. Secretary Tumulty during the debate sent in a card and I had a most delightful conversation with him. With Secretary McAdoo the same thing occurred. I have had not the slightest cause for complaint in any direction. I purposely refrained from speaking upon the war resolution, first, because of lack of preparation. I did not wish after sitting twenty-four hours in the Senate to speak without speaking fully and in a fashion which I could not regret; secondly, I was influenced, of course, by the newness of my surroundings, my very recent arrival, and the unwritten law, which in this particular instance, it was the part of wisdom to observe. I shall not hesitate in the future, however, to do as the spirit moves; but I shall not do this until I am particularly interested in the subject of debate and feel equal to a real presentation of all the views I may have.

We had a full Senate the day before yesterday. They tell me that generally only ten or fifteen are present. Many of the Senators lounge in the cloak rooms where they are inaccessible and only Senators admitted. I have in the brief time possible sat there and have listened intently and estimated the individuals. My source of trouble in the future will be twofold; but this view is subject to revision and is made

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now from the most casual observation. I think first that those with whom I shall be in most intense opposition will be the blue stocking representatives, like Lodge of Massachusetts, and Wadsworth of New York. I feel that ultimately I will clash with the truculent majority. I do not like their hectoring and bullying ways which seem, apparently, to have frightened the opposition. I do not imagine in this special session there will come any particular clash in which I will personally participate. I think the plan is wholly to put through the administration program and to do little else. And now that we have embarked upon this new adventure of the Republic I would not withhold anything which might make it a success. I am inclined to the opinion that when we begin to fight we must fight with both hands, with all the power which we have. Upon this question, however, which will involve the raising of a large army and the possibility of sending it across the sea there will be intense and bitter opposition.

I am writing this letter to both of you and hope that letters of this sort you will preserve. From time to time, of course, my impressions will alter and my estimates of men will vary but it may be interesting to both of us in days to come to look at the views which the future may confirm and which, too, the lapse of time, may enable us to laugh at.

With very great love,

Affectionately,

*Your father,  
Hiram W. Johnson*



United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Thursday, Apr. 12, 1917.

My dear Jack:

I'm writing this at my desk in the Senate chamber, just before the opening of our daily session. We commence at twelve generally and continue in session until six or six thirty. During the afternoon, Senators stroll down stairs to the Senate restaurant and have luncheon, and then lounge in the so-called cloak room, smoking cigars and gossiping. It is in this lounging room, I have listened to my colleagues and have been best able to size them up yesterday even briefly. I broke into the debate on the Sunday Civil Expenses bill in order to have the requisite appropriation made for our flood control problem in the Sacramento Valley. I feared we were about to lose on the amendment, and with the few



Senators about me did some good. I was very glad on division that we succeeded. If in the first matter in which California was interested I had failed I'd have felt rather rotten. Unfortunately we were tied up with our \$500,000 with \$10,000,000 for the Mississippi; otherwise I would have had practically a unanimous vote.

This is a remarkable body - not because of its personnel but because of its traditions and because it is the one forum in the nation where there is absolutely free and unlimited expression. A man may arise in the Senate upon an amendment to an appropriation bill relating to arsenals and deliver a speech on any current topic or relieve his mind of anything no matter what. This will be a decided advantage in the days to come. Of course, as a new man I'm not on the inside and will not be for a year or more; and the knowledge that I'm substantially out of



## United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

touch, depresses me and at times makes me very restless. I'm biding my time however, and if I can but hold myself in check that time will come and I will have gained immeasurably by waiting.

Moore is really the leader of the Republicans, although ostensibly Gallinger holds this position. Moore is always on the job, and always alert — a man to be reckoned with. I find among the Republicans a consensus of opinion that we are without organization and without leadership. The war however, prevents any real activity now.

Saw Roosevelt yesterday. He's mad to go to France. The Administration will not permit it and the refusal will well might break his heart. It's a singular war that denies an American



the right to be shot at; but this  
Administration is selfish - mean in the  
smallest sense of the word.

Nearly twelve. Hope you are recovered.  
Love to Amy and the boys.

Affectionately Dad



CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT

BELVIDERE BROOKS, VICE-PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

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TW WASHINGTON DC 2

HIRAM W JOHNSON JR

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MILLS BLDG SANFRANCISCO CALIF

SWORN IN TODAY EVERYBODY VERY KIND AND COURTEOUS NOT  
PARTICULARLY IMPRESSED BUT MOTHER AND PAUL AFFECTED  
TONIGHT HEARD PRESIDENTS WAR MESSAGE HE DIDNT RISE TO OCCASION IN  
DELIVERY NOTHING HERE OR IN EAST BUT WAR LOVE TO ALL

HIRAM W JOHNSON.



April 14, 1917.

Mr. A. M. Johnson,  
Mills Bldg.,  
San Francisco, Cal.

My dear Arch:

It is mighty fine to read your recent letter and finer still to see you win the polo championship. Mother and I were most interested and I tried to follow as well as I could in the Chronicle, which strangely enough comes to us here, the happenings at Delmonste. We are both relieved that you came through without any broken bones.

The other day I butted in to the Senate on a collateral matter of the Sundry Civil Expense Bill. The appropriation for flood control had been left out of it and the Committee did not favor the amendment. In conjunction with those who were interested in the Mississippi River we prepared an amendment by which the half million due for the Sacramento Valley was inserted and I argued for it in a little debate. My remarks were very limited but I think aided somewhat. At any rate, we carried our amendment. I am sending to you and Jack both the Congressional Record. Some of the speeches on the war may interest you. At any rate, if I were you, I would preserve it so you will have it in chronological order. It may be interesting to us hereafter.

Day before yesterday in Executive session I butted into debate again, -this time it was something of a real speech. Of executive sessions there is no record. In them there is much freer expression than in the regular sessions. The fight was on



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the confirmation of the Tariff Board. Two of the members of which were Costigan of Colorado, whom I know well and of whom I am very fond, and Kent of California. The Republicans were unanimous in opposition; the Democrats half-hearted in support. I finally broke from the Republican ranks and said that they were two men I intended to vote for in any event and then took issue with Penrose of Pennsylvania. The Board was confirmed but I have no doubt my Republican brethren regarded my action with very great displeasure. I have no doubt, too, that in the future, with even greater displeasure they will regard many of my activities.

We have written to you pretty regularly from here but in a letter from Jack last night he said very few letters had been received. I do not understand this. You do not know how welcome your letters are and I beg of you, for both Mother and myself, whenever you have a moment, dictate, even a short note, to us.

With love,

United States Senate,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 15, 1917.

Mr. H. W. Johnson, Jr.,  
Mills Bldg.,  
San Francisco, Cal.

My dear Jack:

I send you a couple of photographs of the Independence Square meeting in Philadelphia held March 31. I thought so much of the photograph where I was talking that I had it framed for the office here. We are standing just outside of Independence Hall. The park in front where the people have gathered is the area known as Independence Square.

I got your note last night written last Sunday in which you said you anxiously expected letters from us. I have written quite a few, and, so has your mother. I presume all of them have by this time been received.

We have some difficulty as yet finding a place to live, and, in my private opinion, the difficulties are going to continue. These add, of course, to the perplexities of the situation.

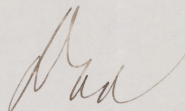
Last night I took dinner at Gifford Pinchot's home with Raymond Robins, Ickes and Pinchot. We determined that it was impossible to attempt a social program during the war crisis. We debated long whether we could agree upon a war program and finally determined to call a dozen of our people together next Friday at



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Pinchot's home here to see whether or not something concrete could not be hit upon. The war is being utilized here for the purpose of making the President the most autocratic ruler in the world.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "H. W. Johnson", written in a cursive style.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

*United States Senate,*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 18, 1917.

Mr. A. M. Johnson,  
Mr. H. W. Johnson, Jr.,  
Mills Bldg.,  
San Francisco, Cal.

My dear Boys:

Yesterday, the second and perhaps the most important chapter in war legislation was enacted by the U. S. Senate. This was a bill authorizing \$5,000,000,000 dollars of bonds and \$2,000,000,000 dollars of Treasury certificates, directing that \$3,000,000,000 of the bonds be devoted to the credit of foreign governments at war with Germany. The measure is the most stupendous financial Act ever passed. Just as in relation to the declaration of war, in the cloak room and in the caucus we held yesterday morning, there were muttering and discontent against it, animadversions upon the President, expressions of lack of confidence in the Secretary of the Treasury, and restlessness, generally, at the passage of the Act; and yet upon the floor of the Senate every speech was in favor of the law and every vote recorded "aye". The measure was in the hands of Senator Simmons, Chairman of the Finance Committee, supposed to be one of the able Democratic Senators, sharing with Senator Underwood, the highest place in the majority. Simmons made a lengthy and labored speech in presenting the bill. He is a small man with a cast of countenance somewhat like that of the common people, though a little more pugnacious, persistently and continuously engaged in performing a delicate



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surgical operation upon his teeth with a match or a piece of wood or anything at hand. His mannerisms in talking were those of the schoolboy endeavoring to work himself into a frenzy. In the most rapid parts of his speech he must have talked at least sixty words a minute; in fact, I think he is rotten. But this may be said of most of our Democratic brethren who are now in command of the Nation. The bill, personally, I don't like but I feel there is nothing to do but vote what the Administration asks and let the responsibility rest with the Administration; but I do not think that there is a municipality in the land, let alone a state, that would vote a small portion of its revenues with so few restrictions and checks as are imposed by this great measure. Again I feel what apparently no one else feels that we have transmuted the drum beat of the Nation into the tinkle of the guinea. We have grown so flabby and so inert and so cowardly that we won't fight as formerly we did. We fight now with our money. Paraphrasing Mutt, - with our dollars we will fight to the last Englishman and Frenchman. I believe that the President has no expectation of really fighting in this war. I think he expects it will be concluded before ever we will have prepared actively to engage in it; ~~that~~ that we will put our money into it and cheer the allies from a distance of 3,000 miles and then before we can be prepared to do our duty, it will all be over, and he will have won the credit of having brought it to a close and will be a world figure then in retracing the map of the universe.



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Notwithstanding the fact that there was no opposition to the bill the Senators took until 7:10 last evening. Men like Smoot, who abused the President without stint in the caucus in the morning was complimentary in his references in the afternoon. I learn day after day more and more that one must play lone handed here. There are no honest reactions among our national legislators. Each is watching, practically, the effect upon himself of what he does. Very, very few act according to the right as they see it. I imagine it is just this thing that has caused our people to lose confidence in their own branch of the government and has made them view with equanimity the abrogation by Congress of its functions. In the days to come, it will probably not be until the general session, I am going to pursue the other course. It <sup>will</sup>~~would~~ be difficult at first and may result in very depressing unpopularity but somehow I have it in the back of my head that the course ultimately will win; and if it does not win, at least, we can feel better ourselves concerning it.

Yesterday morning our first Republican caucus was held. I attended it. It was called, presumably, to undertake united action upon the \$7,000,000,000 credit bill but there was no concerted unity. We listened merely to various individuals air their views. It was good, however, because it was the first time we had a conference of the various elements constituting our side and may result in



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more frequent meetings in the future. One important thing developed there was that probably this session will be devoted only to war measures and will close perhaps by the first of June.

Mother is still searching for a house. We are still uncomfortable at the Willard. I do not know what we are going to do. I have been declining innumerable invitations to speak, and purposely so. The amount of publicity I received on the Philadelphia speech is amazing and I think I may rest on that temporarily. I am trying to get some ideas in my head on the taxation bill which will have to be passed in order to meet, in part, the tremendous outlay provided for yesterday. If I am perfectly certain of myself, - but only if I am perfectly certain of myself and prepared, I shall break into that argument.

I am enclosing you copy of the bill passed yesterday.

With love,

Your father,  
Hiram W. Johnson



United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 19, 1917.

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr.,  
857 Mills Building,  
Sacramento, Cal.

*From Paul Herrick  
Confidential Sec'y to H.W.J.*

Dear Jack:

I am enclosing some insurance literature that was missent to this office; also a clipping from the Washington Times.

Nearly a dozen times I have planned to sit down and write you a long gossipy letter giving an intimate view of things in Washington. I cannot write as fully now as I should like, but perhaps I can slip you a little "low down" that has not already reached you through the letters of the Chief.

The day we arrived in <sup>Chicago</sup> Washington there was quite a horde of newspaper men that surrounded the Chief the moment he stepped off the train. Back of them was a battery of cameramen. He talked to them for a little while but was rather cautious in what he said and the newspaper men did not get much of a story out of it. There was also a delegation from the Hamilton Club, the big Republican club of Chicago, to meet him and invite him to the club. As you know the train was several hours late and it had been the plan of the Hamilton Club to give him a luncheon in Chicago. As it was, we got through after lunch time.

The first piece of business here was to run up to Philadelphia for a patriotic demonstration in Independence Square. It was really a great party, and the whole event was of tremendous value to the Chief. He was heralded as the big speaker of the day, and all Philadelphia and the surrounding country was lit

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up with excitement over the celebration. The crowd was approximately one hundred thousand. One paper estimated it at two hundred thousand. The moment we arrived at the station in Philadelphia a delegation of prominent "cits" met us, the photographers took pictures, and the Chief was swept up town to a luncheon at the Bellevue-Stratford. The boss was guest of honor at a luncheon given by a lot of society dames of the town. I floated around with young Robbins, but the jam at Independence Square was so terrific I could not get within good hearing distance. There was some compensation in hearing comments on the Governor in the crowd. Stuff like this: "Governor Johnson is going to talk today. They say he is going to be our next President." A little humorous touch was the fact that on the speaker's platform the Chief and Penrose sat cheek by jowl.

There were three or four speeches before the Chief came up, and though I could see the speakers and see their lips moving I could not hear a syllable they uttered. I was pretty far back in the crowd and there was a great deal of noise in the streets. When the Chief came on he was greeted with really big applause. The applause was so great that many people remarked on it. He got underway in great shape and really had a corking speech inside of him. For the first five minutes he reached an enormous proportion of the huge crowd. I could hear about half of what he said, standing in the same place where I could not hear so much as a sound from the other speakers. His high, clear voice caught the crowd's attention at once, and I think that his



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speech would have been a really dramatic occasion if bands in the streets had not commenced to play while he was speaking. The arrangements of the demonstration were rotten. Bands played while all speakers were talking. But the Chief was fortunate in the first five minutes in striking a lull. Then the bands resumed. It was impossible for tens of thousands of people to get anywhere near the speakers' stand and they paraded through the neighboring streets following bands. At one time while the Chief was talking three bands were going. Apparently the bands did not affect him at all and there were still probably ten thousand people who could hear him. Later of course he admitted that it was very difficult to talk against the bands. All sorts of remarkable compliments were paid to him for the speech, and it was printed in full in the Philadelphia papers and a column of it on the front page of the New York Times. It attracted widespread attention. Van Valkenburg was tickled to death.

The swearing-in process Monday was quiet and decorous, but there was great interest and all the people in the galleries were craning their necks to see the Senator from California. Earnest Walker in the Sacramento Bee of April 12th had a very good story about the Governor's reception at Washington, which you have probably seen. If you haven't it is worth while to get the paper. As he intended before leaving California, he is playing a quiet, waiting game and I do not expect that he will start anything in this special session, which will probably be confined to war legislation. When Roosevelt was here the other

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day he said that he expected the Chief to be the commanding figure in the Senate within a short time. The future of the nation is so uncertain that I cannot make any competent guess as to what will happen. Things look all right for the present.

Jack Neylan sent in a fifteen page letter yesterday with an intimate recital of conditions at Sacramento. The Chief feels pretty dismal about that and my own opinion is that the whole thing is due for a big explosion.

I am sorry to hear that you were ill and hope by this time you are on your feet again and speeding forward <sup>to</sup> the front ranks of the California bar. I don't know whether I have been able to write anything of interest that you have not already heard from the Chief, but if you think it worth while I wish you would show this letter to <sup>Arch</sup> Rich and tell him that as soon as I accumulate a little new gossip I will write to him. Remember me very kindly to Amy. Your mother has enjoyed her frequent letters tremendously.

Very truly yours,

*Paul Horvath*



# LUCE'S CLIPPING PRESS BUREAU

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Washington Times.  
April 7, 1917.

## JOHNSON LOOMS UP AS 1920 CANDIDATE

Friends of California's Senator  
Favor Giving Him Presi-  
dential Nomination.

Senator Hiram Johnson of California is already looming up as a strong possibility for the Republican nomination for President in 1920. Since the Senator has come to Washington his friends have become busy in a quiet way advancing his name as that of a man fitted to carry the Republican banner in the next Presidential campaign.

Though this is no time for much consideration of politics, it is a fact that the leaders of both parties in Congress are expressing much wonderment over the effects of the war on American politics. The Republicans are wondering whether it will entrench the Democrats, and the Democrats are wondering whether the war in going to prove popular enough to insure them continuance of power. Some of the admirers of the President have for months been talking of him as available for a third term.

### Is Silent Himself.

Senator Johnson, who proved to be the key to the result of the last campaign, and failure to meet whom in California proved disastrous to Charles E. Hughes, has not announced himself as a seeker for the Presidential nomination, of course. But he is pretty well understood to have aspirations, just as a numbers of others have. He has plenty of admirers in and out of California, who not only consider that he is of Presidential size, but who are losing no time in encouraging talk of him as a Presidential possibility.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 23, 1917.

My dear Boys:

This morning we received Jack's letter of April 17th and Archie's of like date containing clippings from the San Francisco Call. It was just bully to have both.

You can't imagine how busy my days are now. It is true we meet at 12 o'clock but after once we are in session it is impossible to determine when we will adjourn. Sometimes we adjourn at half-past five, sometimes at half-past six, and on very important occasions run, <sup>as</sup> we did on the war measure, until very late at night. In the morning I try to do some dictating but I am constantly and continuously interrupted by callers. In addition to that, committee meetings are held in the morning, and even those unimportant committees to which I have been appointed have been having their meetings. There is a street car strike on in Washington. Senator Hughes, of New Jersey, wanted an investigation by a Senate Committee. A fight was made to refer his resolution to the Committee on the District of Columbia. I sensed the situation. Intuitively, I understood that the design of Root and Gallinger, aided by their Democratic standpatters, was to bury the resolution and prevent the investigation. I broke, therefore, from my Republican brethren and aided Hughes in defeating the reference. Subsequently, Hughes carried the point and a Committee of the Senators was appointed. Upon this Committee were Harding and Dillingham, who are standpatters.



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Both of them withdrew last Saturday and the Vice-President, with the idea of putting one over on the western Members, asked Jones of Washington, and myself to take their places. I instantly agreed; and so I am on a Strike Committee in the very beginning of my activities here. I will have nerve enough to say if the men are wrong, and nerve enough to scold<sup>re</sup> the Company if the men are right. We had our first meeting this morning, which was simply to arrange for the taking of testimony.

We had two days of most interesting debate last week on the Espionage Bill. The newspapers of the east have created tremendous agitation against certain provisions of it and some very elaborate arguments were presented. I was quite unable to restrain myself during this debate and on one of the days indulged in a little epigram that has carried all over the east. "We might well pause lest in our tenderness for democracy abroad, we forgot democracy at home. " The one sentence got over all through the east perhaps better than the elaborate speeches that were made. Finally, on Monday last, I delivered a two hundred and fifty word talk. It was delivered with emphasis and its very brevity attracted attention. It really got over and it was carried in full by the New York papers I saw, and most of those that I have seen in the east. I had splendid attention during the three minute's delivery and a real buzz at its conclusion. I am sending you the Congressional Record and in it you may read if you desire just what was said. The success of this very brief statement in the press convinces me that ordinarily if remarks can be put within

-3-

small compass, with a distinct point and punch, much more will be accomplished than by a tremendously long speech. There were speeches and arguments galore made upon the subject. There were eloquent appeals of all kinds but yet in the press of the Nation, here in the east at least, I had complete and full publicity for my three hundred words, while many of the elaborate arguments were wholly unnoticed. I felt all swelled up after the very brief effort and the reception of that effort by my colleagues. We were beaten in our desire to strike out the reprehensible part of the Espionage Bill. It was modified somewhat, however, and perhaps before we conclude, it may be generally emasculated. I enclose you copy of the bill. The portion to which I was objecting was the parenthetical <sup>(c)</sup> sentence on page eight to the conclusion of the section on page nine. The discussion of the Espionage Bill was not concluded last week and on Saturday it gave way, by a vote, to the Army Bill. Saturday afternoon was devoted to the Army Bill.

On Friday a small group of our old Progressives met for the purpose of making a war program. Our plan which we discussed in California of a social and economic program is, of course, impossible now with the war upon us. The thought that was in my mind was that we might make a radical, progressive war program, to which we could adhere and which might ultimately be of benefit to the movement so fastly waning and disintegrating. In addition to this, Progressivism had had severe blows in the east. First, from the Progressive Republican group in the Senate, composed of Norris and others, because of their attitude upon the



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war. Secondly, because of the visionary and impractical stand of the Progressive group which met at St. Louis under the leadership of Hale and Hopkins. We adopted Friday a statement, which, though poorly edited and without much punch, presents probably the most radical program that has ever been presented and one which may be justified by our view that out of the war there must come some benefit to democracy. This morning, the statement was published, and so far as I am able to glean at this moment, has been very widely published. We let it rest in abeyance temporarily but ultimately I will refer to various parts of it and endeavor to impress it more or less upon the Nation. I omitted saying to you that on Saturday after we had agreed upon the program I met Arthur Brisbane and talked with him at length. He thought the program was marvellous and I believe he has a sincere regard to advance in any way possible such views as I may suggest. I hope in the future to receive very great intellectual aid from him.

Thus far in the debate upon the Army Bill, there are some Democrats, as well as some Republicans, opposed to conscription. I have definitely taken my stand for universal military service now and I am inclined to think that the only fashion in which we will obtain readily an Army is by conscription.

I have taken up with various Senators an amendment to the Army Bill by which Roosevelt shall be given the right to raise a division, either in general terms or by distinct reference. Lodge is Roosevelt's closest friend. Lodge suggested

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on Saturday that Harding, who had not been friendly with Colonel Roosevelt, should present the resolution. While this is quite at variance with my mode of doing things, inasmuch as it is for Roosevelt, I have no objection. It is not unlikely that the amendment will be presented today and that there will be very lively debate upon it.

With love to both of you, Amy, and the kids,

Affectionately,

*Hiram W. Johnson*



United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 25, 1917.

Mr. H. W. Johnson, Jr.,  
Mills Bldg.,  
San Francisco, Cal.

My dear Jack:

I have been wanting to write you for some days concerning the letter in which you spoke of the River Gardens farm and to thank you for the good things you convey. I am not worrying over the matter at all. I leave it entirely with you and you are to do exactly as you see fit. My highest ambition in respect to the matter is to realize the amount that I put into the venture, - about \$17,500, - but I know that neither this sum nor any other sum could be realized without your effort.

We are still at the Willard. Apparently, an abiding place can not be found. It may be that next week we will go to an apartment house called the Arlington where we think we may be comfortable. I long, of course, to have a home and equally, of course, it is very necessary that I get into more economic <sup>al</sup> quarters.

Yesterday, your mother left here at nine o'clock to spend the day shopping in Philadelphia. She returned at eight-thirty in the evening. How very strange it would have seemed to us in California to have suggested running up to Philadelphia for a day to shop. Of course, there are other suggestions not so pleasant arising like specters in my mind at mother's shopping

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in Philadelphia.

I hope you take care of your health. And of course I rejoice in your work and in the fact that you so early attained such a practice; but the practice will be of little value to you if you permit yourself to break nervously now. Whatever the cost and whatever the neglect you should take definite times off and definite hours of exercise.

Love to Amy and the kids,

*Ad*



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Mills Building,  
San Francisco, California.

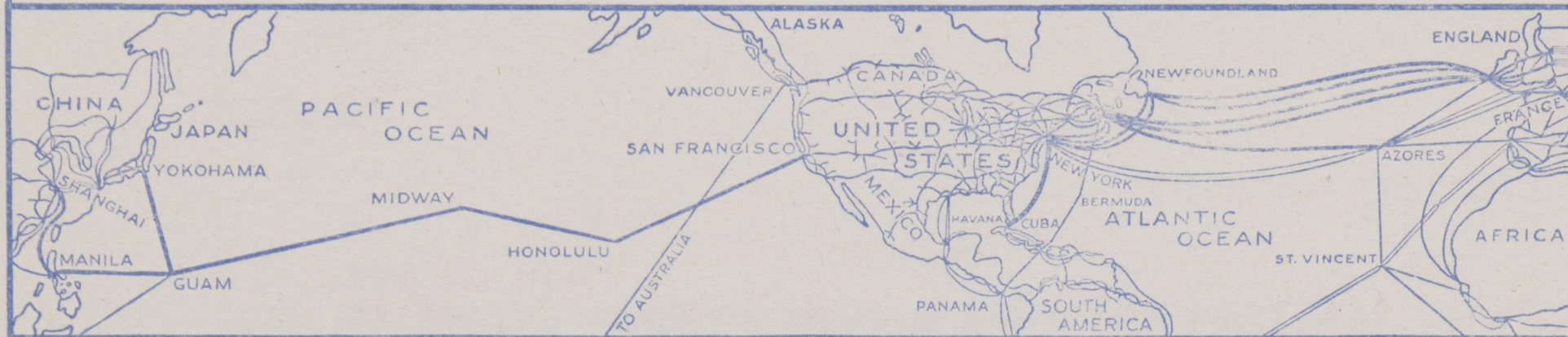
Your mother is extremely worried over the report that has just come to her that you are about to join an Aviation Corps. We very much wish you would not do this. I have no objection to any action you may take except in this particular line and for your mother's peace of mind I hope you will not do as has been reported to her.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON

CHARGE.



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VICE-PRESIDENT.

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CHARLES P. BRUCH,  
VICE-PRESIDENT.

## THE FASTEST TELEGRAPH SERVICE IN THE WORLD



United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 30, 1917.

My dear boys: We are in Executive session in the Senate, having been engaged in discussion of the seizure of German ships all afternoon. The debate has been like a technical controversy by the bar of Potomac or Sacramento. In the language of Lloyd George, what is most needed in this war is "ships, then ships, then more ships;" and the necessity being present and the situation vital, our government wants to take and put in commission the interned ships of Germany and German subjects. It has been demonstrated that the government has the right and needs no authority from Congress, but the Administration as usual is tallying. The debate has



turned on whether we save the title or  
the use only. The title advocates, I  
suspect, are influenced by some very  
large 'deens held by big interests  
in New York on the ships, and are  
fighting to provide the way by which  
these interests may recoup themselves  
from our treasury. Knox, my  
seat mate, is leading the other side.  
By the way, I can't tell you how  
charming I've thus far found Knox  
and how pleasant it has been to  
have him next to me. We do not  
think alike, and doubtless will  
frequently disagree, but he has as  
keen a sense of the ridiculous as I  
have, and together we have many  
smiles and pleasant times.

In writing you today, I forgot  
to speak of Borah's argument on  
the conscription bill. Read it. It  
was by far the best delivered of  
the shorter speeches. I see a good



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## United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

deal of Borah. I like him. He has many elements of good fellowship and much in common with me. It required real "guts" to take the stand he did on Conscription and vote as he did. He rose immeasurably in my estimation. He told me during the debate that he was discouraged, that there was neither opportunity nor hope in the United States Senate, and that he would not seek to return, but would go to the wider forum of the people. He's right about possibilities here but this place affords the fulcrum by which we may pry into the larger forum.

I don't want you to think that I am any figure here. I'm not. I'm practically on the outside. Specially well received, treated unusually well



and hospitably by all but really not  
on the inside. His man and man  
not come in time; but if its in me,  
I can make the opportunity to be  
heard.

A little while ago I did one of  
my poor tricks. Gallinger, 80 yrs.  
old, a rather courtly gentleman is the  
leader of the Republican side. He very  
strongly favored the volunteer plan,  
and voted for the McKillop amendment  
as I did. When I met him at  
noon, I told him the leading  
editorial in the N.Y. Times today  
pilloried the wifful thirteen as it  
had denounced the wifful twelve  
on the armed neutrality bill and  
that his name headed the list of  
the traitorons crew. The old  
gentleman has been out of the  
chamber all afternoon hunting for  
the editorial. I fear I've made  
him sick. He felt awful when I told him



United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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I'm afraid to open the subject again  
and tell him I was joking.

It's now 5:15 p.m. Mr. Walsh and  
Underwood are talking at each other,  
and John Sharp Williams again brinks,  
is butting in. Knox like a little  
terrier on my left is making notes  
and preparing to reply. The Senators  
are sprawled around smoking. Smoking  
and free attitude and expression  
are the distinguishing differences between  
regular and executive sessions.

Goodbye. I want to get the  
letter I dictated this morning and  
enclose it with it.

Affectionately  
Dad



HIRAM W. JOHNSON  
CALIFORNIA

## United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 30, 1917.

My dear Boys:

Midnight Saturday night the debate upon the Conscription Bill was concluded, the vote taken, and the Bill passed. This is the third great war measure - a measure fraught, I think, with tremendous possibilities. It overturns every precedent, destroys every tradition, batters down the last barrier, and transmutes the Republic from a fighting force for love of freedom and country into a military machine fighting under compulsion. Perhaps this is necessary and perhaps it is the better way. At any rate, it seems essential at this particular time when the Nation has little stomach for any other. But it requires a readjustment of the views we have had from childhood about our country, its citizens and their patriotism.

The debate in reality was better than any debate I have yet listened to. Probably the best speech made by the proponents of conscription was by Wadsworth, of New York, and I grudgingly admit this. Wadsworth is the type of young aristocrat, superciliously viewing the world and utterly intolerant of those who are less fortunate or less rich than he. Undoubtedly, he has courage and is deeply interested in military affairs. He was in the Spanish-American war and was familiar during the debate with his subject. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, read a very good speech, too. The best speech in opposition to the Bill was made by Reed, of Missouri. At times he rose to real



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heights and there were occasions during his denunciation of conscription when I confess I was quite thrilled. Reed is a most singular individual. He is the combination of the late A. L. Hart and Henry Ach. He possesses ability, force, and facility in expression, and, at times, eloquence. He is conceited, overbearing, truculent and disagreeable. There are some who say his record is bad and that, politically, he is a crook. I felt drawn toward him by a remark he made about George Creel and so, for the time at least, we are very good friends. When I expressed in language more forcible than polite my opinion of Creel, he responded, "Wilson has a genius for appointing s's of b's". Reed, like many vain and egotistical men, is not satisfied with creating a tremendous effect by a splendid speech but he continues to iterate and reiterate and finally tires his audience. He talked four hours and a half. If his oration had been confined to two hours it would have been masterful. There are certain men in the Senate whose views upon an Act like the Conscription Act whereby youngsters shall be sent to fight the battles of the Republic whether they want to go or not, you intuitively know. Without the necessity of expression it is at once obvious that Lodge, Wadsworth, Brandegee, Dillingham, Colt, and Senators of that sort, view with equanimity and cheerfulness and even with great enthusiasm, any law which will send men into battle and blow to pieces humanity; but I prophecy to you that when we come to conscript property, as some of us will hope to do as the war proceeds, these same Senators will have the most

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tender regard for individual rights, the necessity for protecting what a man's industry has acquired and will eloquently discant upon the fundamental principle of the Nation, the security of the property rights of the individual. I am looking forward with some interest to a near day in the future when I may taunt these men.

Of course I could not keep wholly out of the debate. I butted in on one or two occasions. Once, when Wadsworth was talking, to endeavor to point out the fact that we might raise volunteers contemporaneously with preparation for the draft. I found myself suddenly pitchforked then into a brief exchange with Williams, the leading debater of the Senate and presumably the ablest man there. He is clever on his feet, forceful in expression, with the design ever present to put his opponent in a false position. I assumed he was doing this with me and my mind was devoted exclusively to preventing him from doing it. I was not particularly proud of the exchange, although it was perhaps of very little consequence. On another occasion, I tried to point out the inconsistency of Kenyon's position. Finally, under a unanimous consent agreement, the general debate closed at one o'clock Saturday. Thereafter amendments were taken up and upon the amendments each Senator was entitled to speak but once and then for five minutes only. At the conclusion of the amendments, each Senator was to be permitted to speak ten minutes upon the Bill, and the final vote was to be taken at midnight Saturday night.



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As the evening progressed it was obvious that there would be no ten minute periods because debates upon the amendments would occupy until the hour fixed for the vote. I was anxious to explain my attitude - the attitude I have maintained consistently, that during the months of preparation for the draft, volunteers ought to be enrolled. Finally, upon the volunteer amendment, I had to compress within five minutes what I had to say. Copy of the speech I made I enclose you. It was my desire to voice my abhorrence of the draft and the fact that I voted for it solely as a war and an emergency measure, and to lay the foundation for the difficulties which I think will occur when the draft is put in operation for a clear record. I feel perfectly certain but I hope time will prove me in error that when this Nation puts in operation conscription, irritation, discontent, unhappiness, and perhaps worse, may transpire. In a very few words, I have tried to express the idea and to say what I think, ~~and I~~ ~~face~~ that our people unused to measures of this sort will not complacently accept them. Later in the evening the Roosevelt amendment came up and then, extemporaneously, I spoke for the first time in the Senate as I have been accustomed to speaking. In three minutes with just a few sentences, smashing hard, I had a real thrill and I was tickled to death when the Roosevelt amendment passed overwhelmingly. I won't attempt to tell you the very kind things that were said to me. Roosevelt, as usual, had been very glad to have Harding, his constant opponent and detractor, introduce the resolution; but I thought I ought to do the generous thing and use my utmost endeavor in his behalf. I think a

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good many of the Democratic votes were due to solicitation by me.

For the volunteer system contemporaneously with preparation for the draft we mustered only eighteen votes. The Democrats were whipped into line by the President and the Republicans beaten into abject submission by the newspapers. You have no idea of the attitude of the eastern press. It is not only warlike but blood-thirsty. Any one with an independent thought, any individual who does not indulge in wild denunciation, any official who expresses a conscientious doubt of a single part of any measure, is pro-German, and treacherous, and traitorous. Utterances against the program of the President are most difficult to get into the press at all here, while the most trivial language abusive of the Germans and of those who in trying to do their duty are in disagreement with any particular policy, is given tremendous publicity. I know a dozen Senators, at least, who personally expressed their abhorrence of conscription and their desire to vote against it but who were frightened and bull-dozed by the press, not only into voting for the Bill but into making speeches at variance with their honest convictions. New, of Indiana, for instance, on one day had a speech against conscription and on the day following tore up his speech and delivered a most puerile effort in favor of it.

Saturday night again witnessed the shocking scenes that have occurred during consideration of other important measures. John Sharp Williams was rotten drunk. He staggered in the Senate chamber. I saw him sit in the chamber smoking a cigar ( an unheard of breach of Senatorial etiquette and unspeakable affront to the Senate's dignity.). I called Senator Harding's attention to the



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scene and he was speechless with amazement and indignation. I saw Williams go to sleep in his chair with the exact posture of a bar-room loungee and sleep for a long period of time. He made various speeches, sometimes with thick utterances and disgusting manner. You would not know this from the Record because in relays the speeches are taken down by the shorthand reporters and then a very short time after delivery, the notes are submitted to the speakers and they have the right to correct them before publication in the Record. I saw Stone under the influence of liquor as well Saturday night. When you recall that Williams is in reality the leader of the dominant party in the Senate and the spokesman of the President and, therefore, of the United States, his offense is against the Nation itself. He seems, however, to be a privileged character and does substantially as he pleases. Nobody upon our side has the nerve to tackle him, or even to respond to him, and upon the other side there is complete acquiescence in everything he does. Some day I will take a beating and cross swords with this gentleman and after once I start with him, I will continue.

I had a telegram last night from Older asking me to sign some statement in a public controversy about the Mooney case. I wired declining to do so. I read Griffin's remarks. When you write me next, tell me what the general view of this case is and what you think of it.

Affectionately,

