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February 1, 1918.

Major Archibald M. Johnson,
144th Field Artillery,
Camp Kearny,
Linda Vista, California.

My dear Arch:

By the time this reaches you, you will have had another birthday. We tried to send you a little remembrance a day or two ago, and I hope it reaches you in proper season. It was sent in ample time to reach you the day before the 4th. Needless to say, it carries the love of your mother and myself, and our congratulations to the lad, whom we ever regard as our youngest, but, who has now assumed a martial dignity that sometimes frightens us.

We've been fudging along this week, doing little congressionally. The administration is gradually whipping into line all of the Democrats, and some of the Republicans. One of the interesting features of the partisanship of the standpatter is that his partisanship must ever be to his profit. If his profit lie in another direction, then, with a Becksniffian hypocrisy he prates of his conscience or his patriotism which require him to forget his partisanship. The strongest, the bitterest, and the most inflexible partisan on the Republican side is Senator Warren, of Wyoming. He has been in the Senate now for a quarter of a century. He belongs to the Nicholas Murray Butler, Elihu Root, and Boies Penrose school. He has been ready ever to draw and quarter any man who departed ever so little from his straight Republicanism, or from the policy and the plans of his Party. He is the father-in-law of General Pershing,

and ever since Pershing's appointment, he has been the most abject tool of the administration that exists in Congress. On a line dividing the administration from those who think for themselves upon the war cabinet bill and a minister of munitions, Warren, of course, is for the administration, as he has been continuously. This kind of Republican, who receives profit from the administration, will be lost on the final vote. The discussion, however, has done good. The debate that will be held next week upon the bill, which probably never will be before the Senate, will be of value, as well.

There were a couple of resolutions introduced yesterday about the war aims. Sooner or later, the subject will come before us, when it does, I'm going to it. I have had two very interesting talks of late, - one with the editorial writer of the Chicago Tribune, and the other, with William Hard, the magazine writer. Hard does not agree with me about the war aims, but he is a real Liberal and Progressive, and he says, if I have specific views, that I ought to express them. He resents, just as I do, the repression of the past few months. The Chicago Tribune editorial writer is in full sympathy with my viewpoint, and he tells me that the Chicago Tribune has so expressed itself, though with caution.

As we continue our shipping investigation, it becomes more and more apparent that the official program, about which such optimistic reports have been made, will not see its fruition. Just how Baker is going to put 500,000 men in France by June is misleading, unless he means, what some of us suspect - not 500,000

Major Archibald M. Johnson - 3

Hiram W. Johnson Papers
Bancroft Library

fighting men, but 500,000 people of all sorts. The testimony, executively given, about our men in France is that our fighting force is considerably less than 200,000 men, but we have something over 100,000 of laborers, mechanics, et cetera. If we were to use our ships for no other purpose than transporting troops, of course, we could put a great many over there within a brief period, but, using only the transports that are available, I do not think we'll have anything like half a million fighting men by June.

We are all intensely interested in the news of the internal troubles in the central empires. I'm wondering whether the descriptions of strikes there are descriptions of strikes like the longshoremen strikes we had in San Francisco, or, whether there are strikes extending throughout the entire country, which may be menacing to the governing power. We are all praying it may be the latter. As I say, this is the only hope of peace.

Somebody sent me a copy of the Bulletin with the picture of you and Captain Kyhe, and the little interview in it. I was delighted to have it, and I am taking it home to mother tonight.

Last night, we had dinner with William Hard, the writer. At this dinner was a Colonel Campbell, an attache' of the British legation here, but, who was two years from the beginning of the war in the trenches in France. He was exceedingly interesting, modest, and unassuming, and, I think, quite frank. Your mother and I both liked him. He insisted to us - and it was only this I wished to say - that there was the best kind of feeling in the trenches among the English, and that their good humor and fine

spirits were amazing. He sees little hope of an immediate peace. The most interesting thing that he told us was of the great battle at Ypres in November, 1914, when the Germans suddenly stopped, and when, if they had continued, there was absolutely nothing to prevent them from going through the British line to Calais. The British had their cooks, and their sutlers, and every man they could gather, on the firing line, and had absolutely no reserve. Their task of holding the Germans was utterly hopeless. Every man of them expected to do the best he could, but all knew that with continued attacks, the Germans were bound to go through - that it could not be prevented, and that the goal they sought - Calais, would be theirs. At nightfall, the battle closed. With a gloomy foreboding they faced the morrow. On the morrow, the battle never was resumed, and, as he expressed it, the Germans, either through bad luck or a bad guess, lost the goal of the entire conflict. Subsequently, he said a German officer in conversation with an English officer, talking about the battle, asked concerning the English reserves, and said, that the German reserve consisting of a couple of corps, had been held back because of fear of the mass of English reserves - and when this German officer was told that the English had no reserves, his language made the air blue. On what slender threads the world's fate hangs!

United States Senate,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 2, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
California Sanitarium,
Belmont, California.

My dear Daughter:

Early in the week, I received your telegram about Bob, and immediately responded to it; and then, later, I had your letter. I am sorry to tell you that I have not accomplished anything with the War Department. The Secretary tells me how sorry he is, and how he hopes that they will be able to correct the matter in the future, but does not indicate he will apply the needed remedy now. In this, as in some other instances, the Department is very glad, I think, to place the fault with Pershing across the sea, and then, with expressions of regret that Pershing should have made such an order, say that nothing can be done. I, finally, in answer to Secretary Baker's request for suggestions, told him the one thing that appealed to me as the most feasible was - inasmuch as only two hundred and fifty young men were affected by an unjust order denying them the commissions which they had been promised, and to which they were entitled, that these two hundred and fifty should be made exceptions to the specific order - and that this could be done without destroying the efficacy of the order, or recalling, or canceling it. He is now considering this suggestion. It was the only sort of solution that occurred to me. I have not even wired the boys, as yet, because I was hoping that I might be able to send them some good news. I rather despair of this, however, now.

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When you write Bob, or, when your people write him I would be glad to have them tell him just what has been done. At the conclusion of it all, I will write a resume to him.

We have had some remarkable snow storms here of late. It is insisted that Washington, in a quarter of a century, has had no such winter as this, and that the snow storm of three or four days ago, was the heaviest in twenty years. It was all very interesting, both to mother and to me. It is beautiful while falling, but not particularly convenient afterwards. Traffic gets tied up, and it is even with difficulty the automobile plows its way through. I have never seen anything like it before, and, for the first time in my life, I have been a part of a winter like this. I used to read in the funny papers about the ice, how slippery it became, and how a little water poured upon the sidewalk by mischievous urchins would cause people to fall and assume most ridiculous postures. I never really knew what it was, but, a few weeks ago, an experience taught me for all time. It was just after one of the snow storms, when there had been a slight rain, and then, had become clear and cold. Mother suggested that we go through the park. We rode about on the main driveways with keen enjoyment until we reached a slightly descending road with over-hanging trees. As we started down this little descent, I saw a number of automobiles below in a rather confused jumble. I could not quite understand, until, suddenly, our car began to turn and twist around in most idiotic fashion. We were going very slowly, so we remained in our twisting in the road fortunately, until we bumped into another car. I saw the occu-

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pants of the car look at us as we hit their car, and, with great dignity, I opened the door to make my apologies, in my usual Chesterfieldian way. I put one foot on the ground, and then, I lost the earth. I never had such a tumble, and I never was in a predicament where I felt so thoroughly suspended in the air without the possibility of support anywhere. The apologies I intended to make, were never made, because everybody laughed so outrageously. Since it took us a long time to get away from the situation into which we had descended, ^{and} quite a number of cars were left there for an indefinite period. Thus, I learned about the ice and its possibilities, and I have been mighty careful since. Several of our Congressmen have been injured falling on the ice, and more would have been very seriously injured had they fortunately not fallen on their heads. This fear of the ice makes it difficult for us to take a particle of exercise, or to walk, as we desire- and that is one of the reasons why I am longing for spring.

There is little to write to you about what has happened in Congress since my last letter. The President, with the use of ^{the} a big stick, and his orders to those like Phelan, who are naturally scycophantic, has taken from the war cabinet bill every Democratic vote, except Chamberlain, Hitchcock, and McKellar. He has, as well, annexed two or three Republican votes. I used to talk about partisanship in California, particularly during the campaign, when endeavoring to put over the non-partisan bill, and I insisted that partisanship was most ^{ob-} preserved by those who profited by their par-

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 4

tisanship, and who, by reason of their partisanship, directed and controlled the political activities of others. I had many examples in our experience in California, like when I won the Republican nomination in 1910, and all the big Republicans then advocated the Democratic candidate, Bell. It is exactly the same here. There is much more partisanship in Congress than ever we had in our State, and, except in these war times, ^{make lines very clear and} it assumes some bitterness. The protagonists of strict party fealty are the old standpatters, and this, because they are in control of the party. Because, ^{we} were we in control of the party machinery, their consciences and their patriotism would require them ever to forget partisanship, and to be with our opponents. The bitterest partisan in the Senate is Senator Warren, of Wyoming. He has ever affected to regard those of us, who have any political independence, as men who should be drawn and quartered. He belongs to the Elihu Root, Nicholas Murray Butler, Boies Penrose school. Some of the Republicans have been trying to rally our side in the present juncture. There have been one or two occasions during this session and the last when this attempt has been made. Warren has steadfastly stood with the administration. The slightest suggestion from Wilson, either publicly or privately expressed, has made him crawl with an eagerness and a celerity he has never before displayed in all his checkered political career. He is on the Military Committee, and privately believes thoroughly in the war cabinet bill, but he is against it. He is the father-in-law of Pershing. I am entitled to a bit of cynicism as I watch these scrubby, old politicians, who perpetrated ^{the} a fraud ^{of} in 1912, and

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who have, in reality, neither partisanship nor patriotism, whose activities, and whose services are directed to one end alone - personal aggrandizement and private gain.

In the last couple of weeks, mother and I have done much more dining out than usual. I presume she described our dinners the last week to you, but we had a rather unusual one Thursday night with William Hard, the magazine writer. Hard and I have struck up, not only quite an acquaintance, but I think are on a fair way to a very good friendship. His opinions are quite like mine, and, with his opinions, he is jolly and clever. Some of us get so earnest that I imagine we rather pall on our associates by our very intensity of expression. Hard can laugh uproariously - not only at his own jokes, but at some of our feeble sallies, too; and, really my daughter, a man in this atmosphere, who can laugh at the other fellow's jokes, as well as his own, is not only a man of wise discernment, but one of discrimination and ability. I talked to Hard about the war aims of the Republic. You see, this subject is ever with me. Hard does not agree with me, but he is so firm in his belief that a man ought to express his real sentiments, under any circumstances, that he agrees ^{I should} ~~in~~ talking to the subject when the appropriate occasion arises. The day before yesterday, while I was in the commerce committee, a couple of resolutions were introduced, - one by Owen, and one by Borah, concerning the war aims; and, sooner or later, I think the subject will come up and be debated - and then, I shall unburden myself. If you are interested in the subject, I want to suggest to you that you read the

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Review of Reviews for January, 1918. The intellectual reaction of an able man is there shown in the editorial comment upon the President's speech, asking a declaration of war with Austria, and Dr. Shaw, the editor, of the Review of Reviews, praises Wilson because he made so clear in that speech that America would not tolerate territorial acquisition by this war. I am curiously awaiting the Review of Reviews for February to see Dr. Shaw's views upon the speech of Wilson in January giving our fourteen war aims, and distinctly declaring for territorial acquisition.

At Hard's house, we met Colonel Murray of the English Army, an attache' of the English Embassy here. He was unassuming, and modest, and, for an Englishman, quite attractive, both to mother and to me. When war broke out, he was a member of the House of Commons, and is yet. He had been in the army many years before, and immediately upon the declaration of war, went across with a little English army that was sent there to oppose the great German host. One thing he told was, I think, ~~is~~ worthy of repetition. In November, 1914, occurred the great battle of Ypres. All day long, the little English army held in check many times their number. When night fell, they felt they were doomed. They were utterly without reserves, and they had called into the ranks, every cook, sutler, and laborer of every kind. It was an absolute certainty that with the attack on the morrow, the Germans would go through the line and then reach their coveted goal - Calais. Colonel Murray said there was nothing to prevent this, and that the English had resolved to do their uttermost, but were filled with

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foreboding and despair. The next morning, they awaited the attack, but the attack never came. The battle had ceased with darkness the night before, and the opportunity, which would have been the opportunity for which the boches have ever prayed, was lost to the Germans. The English were unable to understand, and never did quite comprehend, until many months afterwards, when a German and English officer in being exchanged, discussed the situation. The Englishman asked a high German officer, why they had not continued the attack, and the German responded, that they feared the massed reserves of the English, - that the German reserves had been only a single corps or a little more, and that they were fearful of the results with the great English reserve behind. "But", said the English officer, "we had no reserves at all"., and Murray said he would never forget the expression upon the German's face, and that the words he used were unfit for publication. I have every reason to believe this story, coming first-hand, as it does, from a British officer, and, in telling it to us, he told it in such a quaint way, under a sort of caption - that the Germans had had bad luck in one or two instances in this war.

The number of our men across the water was developed definitely, executively, recently. We have something over 100,000 mechanics, laborers, et cetera, and something less than 200,000 fighting men. I do not think it possible, with my knowledge of shipping conditions, unless we seriously ignore the needs of our allies, to put half a million fighting men in France by June, as Baker suggested the other day. Undoubtedly, the administration will strain

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every nerve, because of what has been developed, and they may succeed, but an effort in the direction of sending men will have to be made at the expense of the war in other matters just as important. It has been stated positively by both Crowder and Baker that new levies will be taken from Class Number One, and it is expected that we will register soon, those who have become 21 years of age since the operation of the draft. If these policies are followed, the atmosphere ought to be clear about those who have been given the fourth classification.

The editorial writer of the Chicago Tribune called upon me the other day, and talked quite at length. He views Wilson's war aims, just as I do. When I took him to task for not having expressed himself in his paper, he told me, I was utterly in error, that at least one newspaper in the United States had dissented from Wilson. He promised to send me the editorial in question, and he promised, as well, that if ever I went to the bat on the subject, he would give me more than fair play. I was very glad to have my chat with him, because if this thing comes to a show-down, I'll need help. The International News Service, which is controlled by Hearst, has, as well, promised me full publicity, but I am very doubtful about Hearst. Confidentially, he is going to be a candidate for Governor in the State of New York, and it is, because of this fact, that he has been so sycophantically playing up the administration.

Every day, we are at it with our investigation of shipping in the commerce committee, About a month ago, I began quietly prodd-

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ing witnesses about a certain contract let by the Government at Hog Island - a contract, the details of which I imagine would not greatly interest you, but which illustrates the extraordinary patriotism of many of our great financiers. The men back of the contract are those in control of the National City Bank, the great Wall Street crowd, of which Vanderlip is the head. I can easily understand how Mr. Vanderlip could go about the country in a private car, exhorting the poor to thrift, and, in the name of patriotism, asking them to invest their little savings in war stamps. He is one of our "dollar a year" men, here. Under the contract, he, and his associates pay no rents, every penny, including the salaries of their office force, is paid by the Government. They will make about seven millions of dollars. By dint of quiet prodding, I have, at least, aroused considerable interest in it - not only with the committee, but the publicity given in the east is bringing to me many anonymous letters telling, generally, of the outrage, the profit, et cetera. I felt my way very carefully and I shall continue, too, but, before I conclude, I will exploit the whole infernal thing.

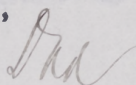
I am very glad, indeed, that you are getting along so well. I noted what you said about the influence upon you of your illness, and that it had dissipated all animosities. Sickness has something of the mellowing influence that age has. I find I cannot retain the animosities, which formerly, so fired me, and I am sure that each year, this will become more pronounced with me. I think that you are better off without harsh thoughts concerning individuals, and I am sure this change you suggest, you will never regret. Keep up the good fight. Do not feel under obligations to answer these

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letters of mine. Save your strength, and get to be yourself again.

The Boss and I send you worlds of congratulations and love.

Affectionately,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to Hiram W. Johnson, written in dark ink.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 2, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

Your good long letter, which was delayed by your dictaphone, duly reached us this week, and I read very greedily your story of California politics. We are in a terrible fix out there. There could be no worse calamity than the election of Heney, but it is quite impossible to get into an advocacy of Stephens. I think poor old Martin Madsen was just anxious to talk to you. He is a big, heavy, well-meaning individual, who, now and then, will show flashes of an idealistic, emotional temperament. I really think he feels the situation very keenly, and that he would like to be the medium for affecting a reconciliation between Stephens and myself. He has a most exaggerated idea of me, and of my powers. The fact is, that all the time he was with me, he never grew to be comfortable in my presence. He had such an exaggerated admiration for me, that we could never even compare documents where he had to read. He would become so embarrassed and diffident that his voice would leave him. It seems strange that in this shapeless mass of humanity, should run such queer strains. Naturally, too, Madsden wants to retain his position of prominence - he thinks that he is the Warwick of the present administration, and, it may be, that having some mentality, he has acquired a dominating influence over Stephens, with

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no mentality. I confess, I am unable to see my way out of the California situation. The only suggestion I have made was, that fifty or sixty of our fellows should get together men who have been most prominent in the movement, and tell Stephens he could not run, that they were going to select another candidate, invite the Stephens adherents to assist in the selection - and then, make the selection and make the fight. This has been found, probably, not to be feasible, because most of our fellows, who have been on the firing line, are holding good jobs, and, at once, they would be in an incongruous situation. To let this thing result in a victory for Heney is ridiculous. My opinion is, that if we could unite on a man like Carnahan, who is little known, and then go to the bat for him vigorously, we might put him over - put him over, because he is little known, and has few antagonists, and because a good story could be told of him. The stumbling block, naturally, is Stephens, who, doubtless, under no circumstances, will retire, and I think the provincialism of Los Angeles, which, in the absence of some other man, who resides in the centre of that city, will unite on Stephens.

Your mother was tickled to death over the little letters from Hiram. I think she preserves them as carefully, and I know as affectionately, as the little lad preserves her telegram.

We have been either dining out, or dining with people, quite a bit of late. I wrote Amy of our dinner with Hard on Thursday night; last night, we had Alex. Moore; and tonight, Jimmy Montague. You don't know how I long for a little home here. I would gather

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about me a number of people like these, and have them often with me, under more auspicious circumstances, instead of meeting them at the hotel. Apparently, we will never have a home. These miserable profiteers of Washington will continue their nefarious practices until the war is over.

Your mother is pretty well recovered from her wretched cold, and, despite all of the disadvantages here, I really believe she enjoys the life. In the last couple of weeks, at Mrs. Knox's invitation, she has joined with the women of the Senate in sewing, and preparing clothing, bandages, et cetera, for the Red Cross. She comes down to the Senate Office Building to the big room which has been assigned, and there works with the rest of the women, and I think it is a mighty good thing.

I had a letter from Paul the other day, which was rather pitiful. The extremely arduous training, I think, is seriously affecting him physically, and ~~that~~ the defect which the ex-Ray showed, is likely ultimately to cause his retirement. He has evidently gritted his teeth and is doing the best he can, but I read between the lines in his letter that he was having an awful time.

Arch may go over any minute now, but I am hoping transportation facilities will continue so wretched that he will be delayed until spring.

Give our love to the kiddies, and to Amy.

Affectionately,

Dad

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 4, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I received a wire from you and McCabe recently about Odgers, I responded, telling you that I had wired Reed. I received a reply from Reed saying he would do anything we desired in the matter. I don't think that I advised you of the receipt of this reply, and that is why I am writing about it now. I believe I did wire McCabe, so that he could have application made at once, and go to it. If it is attended to without delay, I am perfectly certain Reed will do as we desire, and, of course, I am very anxious that Odgers should be appropriately placed.

I wrote you Saturday telling you that mother was very much better, and that she had substantially recovered from her cold. I should have knocked wood when I wrote this to you. Yesterday morning, she got up practically unable to speak, and all day yesterday, could only whisper. She is a little better, I think, this morning, but not much. I simply can't get her to have a doctor, and I can't make her take adequate care of herself. I am unable to tell you how much I fret and worry about her, and how quite impossible it is for me to concentrate myself, under the circumstances. She was in good shape last week, and I imagine, caught her cold working in this office building with the Senate women on Red Cross work.

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I hope you take care of yourself. You are burdened enough to raise Cain with you. Because of that very fact, and because you have a burden that only you can bear, you should prescribe the most rigid rules for yourself, and follow them, that you may keep your strength, and your health, and your ability to think clearly.

I started to write this note merely to tell you about Odgers. It is Arch's birthday today. I can't imagine him of the age he has really attained.

Stern's proposition, of course, was most attractive to me, and sorely tempting, but, my boy, after the most mature deliberation, I feel I am wise in not undertaking it. I do not know anything about banking, in the first place, and, in the second place, with perfect frankness, the transaction is a sale of my name for so much per y e a r --- a capitalization of the regard in which I am held by the people of our State. Now, this name, and this regard, are, as you know, all that I have. I feel that there remain to me no more than ten years of activity. Perhaps, with the peculiar life that I lead, much less than that. The few thousand dollars which I would receive in exchange for having my name sell stock would, after all, in the brief remaining period that is mine, be of little consequence. The transaction might be profitable and the speculation succeed. Let us concede it has ninety percent of chance in its favor. It is not worth while to run the risk of ten percent failure - for, if the failure did come, and if, because of my only treasure, my good name, the stock were

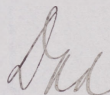
H.W. Johnson, Jr. - 3

sold, which, subsequently, turned out valueless and unprofitable, there would be nothing left for me, but to die; and if I did not speedily die, all my remaining days would be dark, and clouded, and unhappy. No! I would rather go without the funds, which would be very welcome, plod along as best I can, and pass away, finally, with the name untouched and unsullied. When I was very much younger - and I do not state these facts by way of comparison, at all - I was immensely affected by the end of old General Grant. He really had the affection of our people. He came from the White House, and was tempted by a clever fellow, named Ward, and he formed the firm in New York of Grant and Ward, and thereafter, it was claimed, through the manipulation of Ward, the firm failed - and this old man, who had every honor from the American people, spent his closing days in humiliation and sorrow. I recognize that I have no business sense; that if I had, I doubtless would embark in Stern's plan; but the very fact, that I realize that I have no business sense restrains me from undertaking any particularly complicated venture. I believe in Stern's ability, and I am perfectly confident of his integrity. After all, the success of his stock selling enterprise would, in a measure, be, because of my connection with the matter. And, if I sat here, three thousand miles away, with no knowledge of the undertaking at all, and anything went wrong, I know financial matters well enough, and what actuates individuals in gainful enterprise, to realize how quickly, if failure impended, everybody would get from under; and knowing my own peculiar disposition, I know full

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well the burden, in case of either doubtful success or failure, which I would undertake. Your mother has been very anxious for me to go into this matter, just as she has been anxious for me to undertake anything by which our income may be augmented - except the one thing, which I can do with a full knowledge of it, and without criticism from anybody. I do not feel, however, that I can yield to her in this matter. Indeed, I don't want to take even a remote chance that may ~~even~~ possibly touch the one thing most precious to me. I am sure you'll understand my mental attitude.

Affectionately,



San Francisco, January 22, 1918.

Hon. Hiram W. Johnson,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Chief:

I have for acknowledgment your wires of Saturday and to-day, the latter declining my proposition and giving your reasons.

You once paid me the compliment of saying that you thought I could put over nearly anything I might attempt. Assuming only half of that as not camouflage, you won't be surprised to know that I can't consider your answer as final.

I think I have relied too much on having laid a sufficient groundwork when we talked in Washington. Let me now repair that error.

The need for growing banking facilities in our growing California communities is beyond question -- the 9% to 10% money rate in many districts can only mean that the need is greater than the supply.

We may take it as axiomatic that the growing rural districts work their capital and accumulate little, while the centers of population pile up bank deposits with less for them to do and at lower rates.

What is needed is a working arrangement between the two, whereby the country bank has available the loaning capacity of the city bank, and the latter has the larger

Hon. Hiram W. Johnson

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field and higher rate in exchange.

Out of this situation has come the plan of operations of the Bank of Italy, which Mr. Williams, in his report, points out as the most conspicuously successful bank development in the State. And I want to emphasize this fact: everywhere the Bank of Italy has established a branch, it has done a real service to the community by placing more money at the community's disposal at a lesser rate, and a real service to itself also by enlarging its field and increasing its earning capacity above the limit of its city rate.

Our plan follows almost exactly the Bank of Italy plan, though, in the beginning, we will work with smaller institutions.

We propose to buy a parent bank; then to establish, either by creation or purchase, branch banks in the interior.

Specifically, we propose to issue \$200,000 in 7% cumulative and participating preferred stock, and \$200,000 in common stock. We propose to place the preferred stock among twenty men, to net the company 90, giving with each share of preferred, one-half share of common stock, as a promotion bonus. These twenty men, with you as president, will compose the Board of Directors.

We propose to issue 25,000 shares common stock to you, and the remainder to me representing the promoters.

When we have established our parent bank and are under way, we propose to increase our capital stock, common and preferred in equal amounts, the preferred for sale for cash and the common as bonus or promotion stock.

HON. Hiram W. Johnson

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The national banks of the country earned 18% net last year. The state banks of California probably earned more. The common stock of our company ought to earn dividends from the start.

This idea is working in the minds of the big bankers everywhere; the example of the Bank of Italy is going to be followed, too, if not by us, by others. The opportunity and an almost virgin field are here now for those of us who know our California to take advantage.

These facts of the conditions, the feasibility of a tried plan, the benefits to both parties involved, ought to be beyond discussion -- I believe you will admit them.

I must therefore take at face value the personal reasons you advance.

First. Your absence or unfamiliarity with the situation in detail.

The twenty men who will take this initial issue of stock are not suckers -- they are hard headed bankers and big business men, mostly bankers and presidents of banks. (There is a difference as well as a distinction). These men came in because they realize that the plan is opportune and the profit certain. They, with you, will compose the Board; they will hold the majority of the stock. They will bring to bear on our problems their varied information and ability. Beyond our Board will lie the Boards of the branch banks, in which we will interest local capital and local people. Surely if we can interest

Hon. Hiram W. Johnson

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men of this sort with real money, and can distribute our working responsibility in this manner, there is no need for you and me to worry over much as to details.

At the outside, -- directors meetings two or three times a year would be the limit of the active participation asked of you, unless you had time and inclination for a more personal interest. This would be thoroughly understood with every one coming in.

Your personal strength to the project, and the answer to your second objection of "unearned emoluments" lies in your enormous prestige, both in California and over the Nation.

While we will place our initial stock in California, and operate our banks here, we plan to place future issues through brokers in the Middle West, which is now ripe for such things.

A national name such as yours would be an asset of value, and polish brighter with use.

In California, your name would mean millions of deposits from people who would have faith in a "Johnson Bank".

Rely on this, the company is getting value received.

Since I wired you I have gone over this question of compensation with my associates. We feel that \$5000. annual salary, which is $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the first issue of preferred stock, is about all the company should stand at the outset. We feel, however, that in addition to this and the promotion stock to be issued to you, that you should share to the extent of \$5000. in the selling commission for the disposal

Hon. Hiram W. Johnson

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of this stock. The salary would be increased as additional stock issues add to our capital and earning capacity.

This would give you \$5000. on the organization of the company, as well as your stock, an additional \$5000. salary for the first year; and an increasing salary thereafter.

I know you could be of inestimable value to our company, and it would make me happier than most anything I know, to be of real service to you. Strengthening your bond ^{hand} here means strengthening it in the bigger game that is yours to play -- and that strength will be retroactive.

If these considerations are of weight with you, don't you think you may well leave the matter to my self-imposed tests; if I can subscribe this \$ 200,000. among men of this calibre, if I can frame a plan that will be OKed by your watch dogs in California, Carnehan and Williams.

Can't you afford to abide by these verdicts and come in with us?

Can you afford not to?

I know you will require no apology for my directions.

With every good wish from a loyal follower, who has called but one man "Chief", I am

Sincerely yours,

(C.F. STERN)

HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 9, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
California Sanitarium,
Belmont, California.

My dear Daughter:

It is very late Saturday afternoon now and I have just returned from the Commerce Committee, which engrosses practically all of my spare time. Before I went, I talked to Jack for a minute or two in a very brief letter in answer to a very lengthy one I had from him last night, which, mother and I greatly enjoyed. I told him, in my note, that I would answer something that he had said about war aims and my views in opposition to the President's position of January 8th. I am exceedingly careful to give to you the date of the President's ~~view~~ ^{statement} with which I am in opposition, because his views expressed in December, and then, subsequently in the latter part of January, are the antithesis of what he said in his celebrated war aims speech to Congress January 8th. The most remarkable thing about Wilson is that he can with impunity shift his position and get by with the American people. It doesn't make any difference how grave the subject, within the briefest possible time, he can be upon both sides; and, what I marvel at, is that the same people - and generally the whole people - indorse and enthusiastically approve his diametrically opposed positions. Because I have written you so much about the expression of the President's war aims, I hope you won't think that I have gone mad upon the sub-

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 2

ject. I have thought so much of it and I have talked so much of it, --- because I feel as we now steer our course, we preserve our republic or we transmute entirely our national aims and ideals. If we establish the precedent now that our nation shall deal with every boundary line in question and every dispute of interlocking nationalities, we have embarked the country upon a world adventure which must, of necessity, ultimately lead us into a highly centralized autocracy. I firmly believe that, as we now act, the future of our republic will be determined. Believing this, I have not wanted to go unchallenged the statement that we are in this war for territorial acquisition for ourselves or for our allies. Jack wrote me that certain people to whom he talked were shocked at the idea that I should not favor our boys fighting and dying for the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to France. Sentimentally, of course, I believe in the restoration, and if I had the power, immediately, I would take the two provinces from Germany and return them to France. But, from the standpoint of our nation, our reasons for war, and the terms upon which we would make peace, I would not, for a single instant, predicate any one upon ^{the return to France of} Alsace and Lorraine, or the acquisition by any of our allies or ourselves of any territory. Of course, invaded and conquered territory in this war, before peace can be made, must be evacuated and restored. That goes without saying. But it is wholly unnecessary - and not only unnecessary -, but it does violence to our reasons for entering the war, to base our cessations from fighting upon territorial aggrandizement in Europe. I repeat what I have said to

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you before - what the necessities or the exigencies of peace may require are an entirely different thing from committing ourselves now to annexation, and the like. The first definite war aim in continuing the struggle is - fighting the enemy and whipping him; and were I to attempt a definition, I would be exceedingly careful to make this very plain, and then, to decline to subscribe to any such doctrine as Wilson announced on January 8th. Recently, as you know, Wilson wrote to Roy Howard of the United Press. Howard, with whom I have talked upon this subject, sent me the letter, which has been widely published, with certain portions underlined. He did this to demonstrate to me that Wilson's views were not dissimilar from those I have expressed to you. This is the portion that he underlined:

(The United States')

" * * * give the most sacred pledges on her own part that she will in no case be the aggressor against either the political independence or the territorial integrity of any other state or nation, at the same time, that she is proposing and insisting upon similar pledges from all the nations of the world who have its peace at heart and are willing to associate themselves for the maintenance of that pledge * * * "

The gentlemen, with whom Jack talked, might well be asked whether they believe the position of the United States is that stated by Wilson in his celebrated address to Congress when he adopted the and no indemnities, bolsheviki shibboleth of no annexation^{and no indemnities}, or, whether they believe Wilson's appeal for war with Austria, when he said, we had no designs upon Austrian territory, or, whether they believe the address of January 8th on war aims in which he would enlarge the boundary lines of Italy, or, whether they believe his statements to Howard constitute the true policy of the United States .

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They may take their choice of any one of the four. If there had been a fifth position that might be assumed by Wilson, I have no doubt he would publicly have taken that position also by this time.

I feel ashamed at writing you so much on this particular subject, but, it was recalled vividly last night when I read Jack's letter.

Well, we've had our first casualties with the sinking of the Tuscania. From since just after the war, when it became obvious that it was not a popular war, military men here, with a peculiar ghoulish glee, have repeated again and again - "just wait until the casualty lists arrive". They have not been able to make a great deal out of the lists that have come from Pershing, but they were in high fettle the other night when the news came of the sinking of our transport. Some satirist insisted that the cheers floated from the White House down Pennsylvania avenue to the Capitol as the first dispatches arrived telling of the drowning of two thousand American boys, and the refrain and acclaim joyously rang, "casualty lists have at last arrived". Bumpers were drunk to the dead already, and to the next who should die; and then, the enthusiasm waned, when the second dispatches arrived, and it was learned that only a couple hundred, instead of a couple thousand, had been drowned. Anxiously, these gentry are awaiting and confidently expecting long lists from the trenches this month. Then again, their enthusiasm will be unbounded. Of course, I would not believe this sort

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of satirical stuff, but there was, to tell you the fact, quite a bit of relief in certain quarters in the belief that in contemplating the lists, our people would turn aside from investigations, and that the search for truth would be abandoned and forgotten.

We hear much now about this must be the last war and that the peoples of the earth must be so safeguarded when peace is made that no such cataclysm ever again can occur. I have a very simple, effective method for preventing future wars. When we sit around the peace table, and all the weary and worn combatants seek civilization's protection from another world cataclysm, if the nations of the earth will agree that the draft laws of the future shall apply only to men between forty-five and sixty-five, and that those who will war shall be the first put in the fighting front, we never again will have a declaration of war, and never again, another conflict. If we could only send these vocal patriots to the front - these men with such enthusiasm shoving others to their death - we would render impossible any other ^{war} ~~conflict~~.

There is little of news in the past week. Two things have occurred in our investigation which may be of interest to you. An admiral, who had been connected with the shipping board, brought to us his estimate of the number of men we might put in Europe, and this became a very live topic, because of the boast of the Secretary of War that we would have half a million men by June, and a million men this year upon the fighting line.

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This admiral had made a most careful computation from the world's shipping, and upon scientific lines of transportation and maintenance. He demonstrated that if our program of shipping this year were carried out, and, England's, as well, successfully consummated, and if there were minimum ravages of the submarine, which he estimated at two-thirds of last year's sinkings, the utmost that we could do by the first of October would be to put a little over five hundred thousand men in France. I asked him if these were all fighting men and he said "No, that of five hundred thousand, 35% would be non-combatants". He computed, as well, that in ^{addition with} the winter months up to the first of February, the utmost we could do would be to land seven hundred thousand men in France, 35% of whom would be non-combatants. This, of course, is in direct contradiction to the administration's story to the people. Of course, more men can be put across the water, but it can only be done at the expense of the maintenance of those who are there. Last night, Hurley and his manager, ^{Piez} ~~Peers~~, of the shipping board, told us that ships were now gathered in New Orleans and in New York, whose prime and important duty must be to carry wheat and corn to England. Hurley said that for the first time in the history of England, a man with gold in his pocket, could not buy bread, and while dates were uncertain, he deemed it an imperative necessity that by the twenty-first of February many cargoes of wheat and corn must be delivered there. Harding bet me a box of Corona Coronas that the war would end in ninety days. I told him I would give him many boxes if this should occur, and I found that he had really nothing upon which to base his view.

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The President, as you know, vigorously and indignantly voiced his objections to a minister of munitions and a war cabinet. He described such measures as an extraordinary violation of our ordinary procedure and practices. He denied, as you will remember, that the necessity existed for any such activities. By one of his lightning changes, he confessed the necessity the other day, when he had introduced in the Senate a bill which, if passed, absolutely destroys any semblance of legally constituted government, and which makes of him, in very truth, an absolute dictator. Under the bill that he has proposed, he could alter, amend, or destroy, - not only the judicial system of the land, - but every safeguard that, from the formation of the republic, has been accorded to private individuals. Yet, the Democratic papers throughout the nation ^{and} some of those that only see red - are enthusiastically advocating this measure. Can you wonder that a man with my peculiar views fears for the very maintenance of our democracy!.

I have gradually uncovered what has been designated here as the "Hog Island fraud". The great financiers of the nation with the Government's money have indulged in a saturnalia of extravagance in the attempt to build a shipyard at Hog Island near Philadelphia, that would shame J. Rufus Wallingford. And, the most of these great financiers have been prating of their patriotism ever since the war commenced. Wherever they could, they have gouged the Government, and, under the guise of having the requisite organizations and ability, have put everybody connected with

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them upon the Government's payroll at tremendous salaries. Because of the great names that are involved, the news agencies will not carry the story. In Philadelphia, however, finally the papers have waked up and the story has been printed there. My mail has increased immensely from individuals in that vicinity who want to contribute to the gaiety of the occasion, or furnish little circumstances demonstrating the outrage. Even our moribund committee, with its tenderness for great business, has become somewhat aroused. It took a whole month of quiet and delicate questioning, but, finally I think I have proven a case. Wherever the news has filtered, there has been great interest. It is just another confirmation and corroboration of the sordidness and selfishness of war.

We dined with Mark Sullivan last night. He repeated something of what he had told me before. Collier's was a great paper - an independent journal. It has done some splendid prosecuting in the past. It will do so no longer. After the death of old man Collier, who never would borrow from the New York banks, no matter under what stress he found himself, the paper was inherited by young Collier, the son. Sullivan says that the most pernicious influence in American life, the most potent force for evil with the press of the nation are the financial interests of New York typified by the banks there. When they lend their money to industrial enterprises, or to any activities of any sort, that they ultimately insist upon directing policies. If ^a the magazine falls into their hands immediately, ^{its} this policy must be as

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they dictate, and, he told the story of the magazines, one after another, -the most pathetic story of which was McClure's; and how the banks ultimately acquiring all, made them subject to the financial viewpoint of politics, social economy, and government. Young Collier, upon acquiring his ^{patrimony} ~~paternity~~, began an extravagant life. Finally, he borrowed from one of the great banks of New York, and then, necessities increasing, borrowed more. Then arose certain ^{public} questions, and, to Sullivan, one day not long since an editorial written by those representing the banks, was presented - an editorial at variance with the policy which had been pursued by Collier's. Sullivan refused to print it. Sullivan's name is no longer at the head of the editorial column in Collier's. He is still under contract, and, from Washington, writes an occasional story and will continue to do so until his contract expires. Collier's will no longer be the advocate of any of those things in which we believe. I think, anyway, that Collier's has become mighty dull in the past year, and that it will make very little difference. But the interesting part of his story was how these people acquire finally every medium of public expression, and what ^a superhuman task it is to continue warfare with them. As I was quietly developing from witnesses the other day that Frank A. Vanderlip, Otto Kahn, J. Ogden Armour, and others, were the directors in the Hog Island fraud, Calder of New York, leaned over to me, and said, "My God!, if I should ask such questions, I would be shot at sunrise".. He said he could not live politically for fifteen minutes if he

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dared to do what I was then doing. I told him I was independently poor.

Denman is still here. I don't know for what reason. Mother believes that he expects to get back into public service, and in some way, receive vindication at the hands of the President. I am not certain at all that this is so. He is so infernally mysterious that I do not quite understand him. He is a man of ability, and I think, of the strictest integrity, but his methods are quite beyond me. He had a real story to tell to the people and it would have created a sensation; but, for some purpose of his own, he concealed every bit of it that would have reflected upon Meadood and the President, and a part, even, that would have reflected upon the Secretary of State. I feel sorry for him, and then, I tell myself that it is absurd, because, with his great egotism, he requires no sympathy. He loved this life, and, mentally, was fitted to shine in it. The social part of it was wonderfully attractive to him. He was really in the inner circle when suddenly he was treated so cruelly by Wilson. Now, there is little attention paid to him. A man with less self-assurance would be almost broken by the position in which he finds himself.

Jack Neylan blew in yesterday. He came here as an attorney for somebody named Bissinger; the boy of this family is about to be sent across the water, and his mother has gone crazy because of it. Neylan came here to see if he could not have the boy transferred to aid the mother. He comes, however, as a paid lawyer, and, for that reason, I have not taken the interest in

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the case that I might otherwise have taken. With his usual industry and energy, he has interviewed everybody, and, last night, he went to Baltimore to interest Cardinal Gibbons and the Church. He expects, even, to shake up the President in the matter, and, I am curiously awaiting the results, to see whether or not he is successful. He is perfectly certain that the result of the controversy between him and Stephens has been to destroy all possibility of Stephens' success. He is unable to see how any man can survive a political attack from John Francis Neylan. What a wonderful armor egotism and vanity give# to some people! Neylan evidently is prosperous. You can always measure his prosperity by his boasting.

Bill Langdon also blew in during the week. He had been asked to become a candidate for Congress in his district, in California. He could have been nominated, and would have been elected. I had advised him by correspondence to make the fight. In his peculiar way, he thought he would come and look over the ground before he decided what to do. He arrived early in the morning. I took him into the Senate, and then, he went over to the House. In about an hour, he returned, and said, he had seen enough, he was going back to California, and live contentedly in Modesto. He wanted no Congress, and he wanted no Washington life. The truth with him was, and I have laughed a good deal at his earnestness, that, wearing no blinders, and being away from the court bailiff of the Superior Court of Stanislaus County, meeting no near neighbors as he went down to take

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his seat upon the bench, and hearing no respectful greetings, with just a little touch of deference, he got fearfully lonesome, and like a poor, old horse, that has been led ~~into~~ the dark to some distant and unknown pasture, and then, suddenly put into a glare of light, with others running madly about him, Bill shriveled up and longed for good, old Modesto, California. We lost a good Congressman by that visit, but, perhaps we gained a more contented Judge of Stanislaus County.

Last night, I had one of my wretched sleepless nights, such as have been coming on me again of late. At two this morning, ^{as} I wandered into the other room, I read your mother's letter to my Boss, and re-read parts of Jack's. I feel a great thankfulness at your splendid and rapid progress now. It was just fine to read that you were gaining somewhat in weight, and that your temperature remains normal. Be good to yourself. I want you to be your old self when I come out again, and you can only be your old self by vigorous ^{ilant} care and a continuation of the same courage that has thus far characterized you.

It is very late now and in order that this might be gotten off to you tonight, I can not continue here ^{cursorily} ~~dispassionately~~ saying nothing. One thing I wished to add, however, so that when your mother and father write Bob, they may tell him. I told you I had suggested that the War Department commission the two hundred and fifty cadets that were affected. Baker, however, has insisted that the number of men involved in the question is not two hundred and fifty but nearer fifteen hundred, and he has also said that

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these young men did not receive anything in the nature of a definite assurance that upon the completion of their training across the water they were to receive first lieutenantcies. I am going to cable the boys so that I may take issue upon this question of the assurance to them that they would receive commissions as first lieutenants. Baker says, the great difficulty lies in the fact that the recommendation for second lieutenants comes from General Pershing, and that he ^{hesitates} ~~wishes~~ to take any action which would appear to be critical of the General's judgment in any technical military matter, and then, Baker, as is usual with him, wants to dismiss the subject as being one of the fortunes of war. He uses exactly that expression, that perhaps it is best to let these young men understand that this is an experience trying in itself, but one of the "fortunes of war". I shall not cease in my endeavors, but, as I have written you, I have little hope. What I have set forth as coming from Baker above, are verbatim his statements to me.

With all our love,

Affectionately,

Dad.

I cabled Bob tonight asking for data as to assurances given the boys. If this is given me, I may be able to do something.

Sunday Night, Feb. 10, 1918

My dear Arch:

Because I've been lax in writing you of late, I'm sending this note Sunday night from our hotel. I've been very thoroughly engaged of late, and my correspondence even that with you, which I try to keep up, has fallen far behind.

I've not yet had the opportunity to learn what you decided about your regiment going over. This week I expect to do so, and then will write you. I have written so that I might have

the opportunity to talk to
Baker personally at length and
this week he has been
frightfully busy and I have
been also. I think now

I may be able to learn
something definite but I have
also a suspicion that neither
the Secretary of War nor anybody
else knows very much that
really is definite.

The other day we received
your photo in gold costume
on your pony. I think it's
the most remarkable picture
I have ever seen. How it
was possible to have that horse

stand exactly still so your face appears with absolute symmetry between his ears, indeed with every thing about horse and rider apparently to a fraction of an inch just as symmetrical, passes understanding. Mother and I are having the picture framed so that it may be preserved.

The war came close to us with the sinking of the *Albatross*. I received a couple of telegrams from friends in California about their loved ones and endeavored to

obtain definite information for
them. I fear both young
men are lost but I haven't
have the heart to write so.
Indeed all I could do was
to determine that they had
not been reported as saved,
but even this I would not
write because the lists are so
incomplete.

The more I see of war
the more sordid and selfish
it seems. Some of this I'm
demonstrating in our shipping
investigation - fearing our
rich patriots are not overlooking

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my chance to get richer.

Yesterday I received a
telephonic message from Mr.
Gordon Auchinloss, son in law
of Col. House, asking me to
lunch with House today.

I did so, and alone with
House, had a very interesting
hour and a half. I reserve
the story to tell you tomorrow,
when I can dictate it.

I have not hesitated to express
my views of the President's
war aims and this was the
principal subject of conversation.
Historically, I want to preserve

What was said and as ~~you~~
reserve the relation until I
can write it and keep a copy.

I'm remaining very quiet
in the session - purposely so,
but I don't think I'm losing
by it. Will continue until
conscientiously compelled to talk.

Goodnight, Ed. Good luck.
Don't get restless and impatient.
There's to be plenty of time and
opportunity to do things. Tell
White and Brownson to be
as merciful as possible. There
will be work a-plenty for you
all this year.

All love, Dad

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 13, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I have just received your good, long letter of February 7th. I think you've done excellently about writing letters. Mother and I both appreciate it. Reading your letters has given me a new angle on mine own. While you are dictating, I have no doubt you feel quite like I feel when dictating my letters to Amy - that I am discursively and uninterestingly gossiping, and that the chief characteristic of my communications is the space they occupy. Every word you write me is interesting, and everything that seems to you just piffling gossip absorbs mother and me. I hope that is so with what I have been writing. It makes me feel better.

I shan't try to answer your long letter but will wait until Saturday when generally I have time enough to dictate my long letter to Amy, and I will then make some response.

I want to call your attention to Wilson's speech on Monday. Read it carefully. I presume my comment on it was carried west, as it carried east. That comment accurately describes the speech, and my view of it. The speech of Monday justifies everything I have written to you and to others about war aims. Last night and today Wilson is trying to get from under and repeating to correspondents that his speech of Monday is no modification of his speech

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

of January 8th. I shall take this up with you on Saturday, too. I am sorry now that the opportunity did not offer for me to present the case from my standpoint.

I hope you will fix the tax arrangement for me, so that I can present it and get done with it. On reflection and upon reading one article in The Call about the investigations by the Department of Justice, I feel confirmed in my view that we should, with absolute accuracy, state the facts. While, in the past, I had rather preferred that my ownership of the stock be not known, I can not see the slightest objection now to letting it be known publicly.

With all our love.

Affectionately,

Ida .

HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 16, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
The California Sanitarium,
Belmont, California.

*H
Historic interview
with Col. House*

My dear Daughter:

We have been singularly fortunate and twice blessed this morning. Mother had a letter from you, and so did I. It was coming to the office from the hotel that mother read me your letter, and then, at the office I found mine, and have just given it to her to read.

We were overjoyed, of course, to read how well you were getting along. I know that your progress will be rapid, and that, in a short time, you will look back wonderingly upon this experience. I presume, in all the varying category of humanity, there is nothing comparable to what you've been through. It is so bully to read of your constant improvement!

These weeks fly by with such rapidity that it is utterly impossible to keep any track of time. So many things are happening in the world, and they are so very close to us, that we have really no conception of the tremendous events transpiring, and the changes daily occurring. We never are going to be quite the same Nation again. I doubt if the Republic as we have known it in the past - the Republic of our fathers - will ever return.

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This morning, I read of a shipyard strike on the Atlantic Coast. I have been more or less familiar with the labor situation here in the past few weeks. There has been a regular propaganda on in the eastern press, particularly the New York press, denouncing labor, asserting that it is unpatriotic, and insisting that drastic measures shall be taken to force workmen to do their part in the war. It is not unusual now to find these eastern journals editorially advocating the conscription of labor, and today, with the strike just declared, nearly all the plutocratic sheets are demanding that men be enrolled as soldiers, and then required to work as the Government may direct. My dear daughter, this is the spark that will start the conflagration of America, just as it has destroyed Russia. It is the same spirit that, barely kept in check in England, has narrowly escaped causing a revolution there. It would be a sort of poetic justice if the Government attempted to conscript labor, because it was only through a bargain between Gompers, the American Federation of Labor, and the Administration that the draft bill was put over. Gompers agreed, for certain concessions in hours and wages, to stand by the Government in the war, particularly in the draft act. He has really kept faith and quite thoroughly brought labor into line for the Administration. He, and the American Federation of Labor, were important factors in making the draft law a success. It is because of this

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agreement between the Administration and Gompers, that there'll be no conscription of labor, as the eastern press demand, but the newspapers are becoming more and more insistent. There is a little better ^{concentrated} ~~organized~~ attack constantly upon organized labor here, and, by and by, perhaps upon some very trivial matter, the contest will break into a real struggle. Of course, labor should do its part in this war, and, equally, of course, there should be no different measure of patriotism for one class or another. But, I confess to you, I have little blame for the skilled man, who works with his hands for four, five or six dollars a day, who demands a little higher wage, when he sees the men, who own the great fortunes of this land, taking enormous sums from the Government in shameful and outrageous contracts, like the Hog Island contract. Imagine these people who represent the American International Corporation, who have the Hog Island contract! They are the great financiers of America, having in their control most of the industries of America. The Government pays every penny for building their shipyards, and the salaries of all their employees. They do not take a dollar of risk. They buy from themselves, and then, pay themselves with the Government's money. They let the contracts for units of the work to others whom the Government pays - not alone for the work ^{and} _^ for the organization, - but for everything connected with the sub-contracts, and a certain percentage, as well, as profit. The original contractors receive about seven million dollars

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for what has been described as the "know how". For the labor slacker, of course, we have the utmost contempt, but for the millionaire profiteer, we have no less contempt. And, from the record that has thus far been developed here, in my opinion, the attitude of labor will compare very favorably with the attitude of those who represent big business. I have talked to you about this situation, because this is the seething volcano of the world today, and I can see no reason why our country should be immune from that which is now at the root of revolutions in every nation on earth.

Last Saturday night, I had a telephonic message from Gordon Auchinloss, who told me that his father-in-law, Colonel House, of Texas, was to be with him on Sunday, and that the Colonel desired me to lunch with him. I accepted the invitation, and, on Sunday at 1:15, at Mr. Auchinloss's house, I lunched with him, his wife, and Colonel House. For a long time past, various mutual friends have suggested to me that I meet Colonel House, and they have insisted that House was really progressive in his tendencies, right in his viewpoint on public questions, a man of ability and discretion, and that his views and mine were not widely different. I was told a story of a luncheon, where Mr. Patton, who was my opponent in 1916 in California, Colonel House, and others were present. Patton told of his campaign in our State, and, how, in an automobile he traveled further than any other man, and visited more places. He ex-

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claimed quite enthusiastically, "In that campaign, I traveled more miles than any man ever before traveled in any campaign in this country". House, in an aside to a gentleman sitting next to him, said, "Yes, and got fewer votes per mile."

He is the only man who is close to Wilson. The only man, indeed, who seems to have Wilson's confidence, and who is able to talk intimately with the President. With ^{the utmost} a vehemence, in talking with Roy Howard and a couple of others on the expression of my views upon the war aims of this country, I've told them that I intended to make those views very plain, and they have intimated to me that House had something of the same ideas; and, one of the reasons we were brought together was undoubtedly that I might learn at first hand just what the viewpoint was of this Administration. I won't attempt to describe to you the pleasant little house, and the rather simply, but excellent luncheon ~~that~~ we had. Mr. and Mrs. Auchinloss are both very charming. I set myself at the luncheon to do my part of the entertaining. I rather enjoyed it, and afterwards, for a considerable period of time, sat with House talking of the subject, which was upon my mind, and, I think, as well, upon his. The conversation, because of its intimate connection with the world story now, I think historic; and, after it was all over, I made some notes of it from which I am dictating this. Of course, the conversation was wholly confidential, but I do wish to preserve it - and preserve it while fresh in my memory. I will omit the beginning of our conversation in which the Colonel, very

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quietly and nicely, told me of himself and his experiences in Texas, his early life as a farmer, his lack of desire for political preferment or office, and his inability to reside, because as he described he was very "delicate", for any long period of time in Washington. He finally said he was very glad to talk to me about the foreign situation and clear up any impressions that I had. I then, most explicitly stated to him that I could not subscribe to the President's war aims address of January 8th; that I did not wish to send our youth to fight and to die for territorial acquisition for Italy, or for boundary lines in Europe. He said he agreed with me thoroughly, and he said the President had no intention whatever in his address of January 8th of expressing any contrary view. I said, "But his language had expressed a contrary view - his language, ^{as} understood not alone by his audience, but, as understood by the world, and as commented upon all over the world." His response was - that the message was prepared with extraordinary care, and with ~~an~~ ^{attentive} ~~tentative~~ detail to the language, so that it could never be construed as insisting upon territorial acquisition in any particular in this war. He said the story of the situation was that he had gone to Europe, as the representative of the President and our Government, to participate in the allied conference. There he had endeavored, under instructions from the President, to have a definite statement of war aims promulgated; that, again and again, he had insisted upon this statement, but had been unable to accomplish anything; that the

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trouble was, the reactionaries, as he termed them, of the allied governments, wanted to dismember Germany, beat her to her knees, et cetera, while those, who were progressive but far-seeing, wanted a just peace, which would destroy the military menace for the future. The President, therefore, felt it incumbent upon him to make clear his position. When it came to the writing of the war aims of the President, at first, it was determined that nothing definite should be said of territory, but ~~that~~ it was finally agreed, since George had made his speech, something had to be stated. The President, thereupon, advisedly, used the word "must" in referring to Belgium, and then, the verb "should" in relation to Italy, Alsace and Lorraine, et cetera. When the message was being prepared, they had before them, lexicons of various nations in order to determine whether the delicate shade of meaning conveyed by "should" as contra-distinguished from "must" could be conveyed in the translations of the message into the languages of Europe. They found that this could be done, and this delicate distinction in language was preserved throughout. In relation to Italy, the statement was "a readjustment of the boundaries of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationalities". This did not mean that any particular territory should be annexed to Italy. At the time of the writing of the address, the maps of all of the provinces north of Italy were before those in consultation, together with the proportions of the population in each specific province. The fact is - that in these provinces of Italy ^Irridenta, the majority

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of the inhabitants are Teutons instead of Italians. And, therefore, keeping in mind the exact language employed, and the proportion of nationalities upon the present frontiers of Italy, there can in reality be no annexation of Austrian territory to Italy. Indeed, Colonel House iterated and reiterated that the language had been so carefully prepared in advance that ultimately when it came to an interpretation of Wilson's war aims speech of January 8th, it would be found to be nothing more than an expression of opinion without the slightest insistence upon the disturbance of European territorial boundaries. After the speech of President Wilson, Colonel House asserted the allied conference, which doubtless you have followed, was in Paris. There, a statement was given to the world - a statement which bitterly angered the President and House, and which, according to them, played directly into the hands of the German military party. By his speech of January 8th, the President was seeking to drive a wedge between the German people and the German military party in control. In this, he had partially succeeded, and certain of the German newspapers had commenced to pound their German military governors. The allies, by their recent propaganda at Paris, in which it was asserted that the war would continue until Germany was beaten to her knees, and that Germany might be dismembered, had undone what had been accomplished by the President's message, and had strengthened the German people again in what they thought was a

Mrs. Amy Johnson - 9

war now for the preservation of their racial entity, and the integrity of their country. He said that the President would take occasion again to present his views in order to undo any harm that the allied conference had done by its public statement. He did not then tell me that, on the following day, the President would do this; but, on the following day, the President delivered his celebrated message, a copy of which I am enclosing you herein. I did not say to House what immediately occurred to me, and what I have been thinking of so often since - that the subtle processes of the President did not appeal to me. It seems to me, ^{an} almost unbelievable position for our country, which I shrink from contemplating - that we have said to the world certain things, the ordinary acceptation of which we know will be of a certain, definite character, while, all the time we have had a mental reservation, and have not meant what the world would take us by our language to mean. There is not a newspaper in the United States, or, indeed, in all the world; there is not a statesman in any country on earth but has, in so many words, expressed his understanding of Wilson's message to be the annexation of Italia ~~Irridenta~~ ^{Irredenta} to Italy, or of Alsace and Lorraine to France, etc. We sit calmly, knowing how the world is reading this message, knowing how the world is interpreting the words, and still knowing how our own people have interpreted it, slyly saying to ourselves, that we looked up the shades of meaning of definite verbs, and, at the appropriate

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time we will be able to prove we did not mean what we really intended to convey,⁷ or what our world audience believed we did convey.

Another very interesting thing was told me by House, and this, he told me, he said, from a personal inspection of the original notes. In the latter part of 1916, Germany was most anxious to make peace with France, separately. Some communications passed between the German Government and Briand, who was then Premier of France. These went so far as to contain exchanges in relation to Alsace and Lorraine, and an agreement finally upon the part of Germany to talk of Alsace and Lorraine. Negotiators were to be sent into a neutral country by both nations. And, then came the fall of Briand, Russia's collapse, and the end of the negotiations. Confidentially, House said this is one of the great fears in this war - the possibility of a separate peace being made by France.

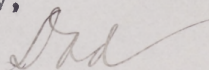
House is a quiet, unassuming man, most pleasant in manner, and soft spoken in voice. He did not greatly impress me, although I liked him. He occupies something of a precarious position, as the exclusive favorite of the President, and there are many here who would like to destroy him. He told me that he had to leave Washington in May, because he could not stay in the summer, and each year, the newspapers print a story that he and the President have parted in anger.

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There were someother things in our conversation that I wanted to relate to you, but not of the historic import of what I have dictated. I am compelled, however, to go to the session now, and I want to get my letter off to you on Saturday as usual. On Monday, you know, the President, in my opinion recanted his measure of January 8th, and I gave out a little interview, which perhaps you have seen in the press. It was carried all over the east, and I assume, it was in the west. Immediately, from the White House, emanated the statement that he had not modified his statement of January 8th, and I presume this is upon the theory that he may alibi himself with the different verbs used.

I have stated to you in my letters that you need not answer any letters of mine, but this was done so that I might not cause you undue labor. I can't tell you how I love to receive word from you, and now that you are getting well, I hope that you will write me whenever you can. Good luck to you and all our love.

Affectionately,



WASHINGTON STAR, FEBRUARY 11, 1918.

Brings Peace Nearer.

"I regard the speech as an interpretation of the speech of January 8," said Senator Johnson of California. "Those who have felt alarm at a possible policy on the part of our republic of territorial acquisition in Europe will be reassured by today's message. I could not have subscribed to all of the President's utterances of January 8. I am delighted with most of today's speech and its modification of some of the statements of the President's war aims address. Without at all criticising any other message I am sure today's expresses more closely America's thoughts and America's hopes in this war and brings us much nearer to peace."

United States Senate,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 22, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

This has been one of our peculiar whirling weeks, and I have not had an opportunity to write you as I have desired. I am writing you now because it is the first moment I have had to thank you for your good telegram on my speech. I hope tomorrow to write you at length, but addressing my letter to Amy, although it is just possible I will have difficulties tomorrow. Mother and I leave tomorrow for New York to meet Arch on Sunday and bid him good-bye on his trip.

I have had something of the same experience on the pending railroad bill that I had on the excess profits tax. I talked to a Senate, which listened in spite of itself, and in which the sentiment is overwhelmingly against me, but I think I talked with good purpose to the large audience. I had intended to make a much more elaborate speech than the one I delivered on public ownership, but I found that it would lengthen the address by two hours to carry out the elaborate plan I first made of detailing the stories of the various railroads, and setting forth logically every reason for public ownership; therefore, I hit only the high places. The pending bill is as gross an outrage upon the American people as the excess profits

Mr. Hiram W. Johnson, Jr. - 2

tax was. In this instance, worse, I think, because, designedly and deliberately, the Administration, aided by the bipartisan machinery of Congress, is giving hundreds and millions of dollars unjustly to the railroad companies. It is interesting to watch the individuals, and to see men, who make a pretense of dealing justly by the people, by ^atheir species of chicanery and intellectual cunning aid in giving profit to the railroads.

I had an immense amount of publicity in the East on this speech. The New York American published it in full, taking practically two pages, and, while the other New York papers gave but brief accounts, they gave sufficient to give very great publicity. I will send you a copy of the speech as soon as it is printed.

Love to Amy and the kiddies.

Affectionately,

Dad

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 23, 1918.

Mrs. Amy Johnson,
The California Sanitarium,
Belmont, California.

My dear Daughter:

I received during the week your very excellent letter, and I imagine that I can trace, not only your improvement physically, but your mental state in your various communications. The big thing, I think I see, is that you are getting better and stronger, and, as your strength increases, the horizon will clear. It is fine to know how well you are progressing, and to feel an absolute assurance that in but a brief time you will be better than you ever were. I imagine the rapidity of your physical gain will be commensurate with the hold you have upon yourself mentally. I realize, too, that there isn't any more non-senical thing one can do than to preach to another about health, worry, and the like. I have had my hands full here preaching to Mother about colds, coughs, grippe, and general care of her health, and I have had the usual indifferent success in this preaching. Both of us have not been very far ahead of the grippe all winter, and then, we make the mistake in this infernal climate, of imagining that a good day means the advent of spring. There have actually been periods here when the thermometer was zero, and forty-eight hours afterwards 60 degrees. A change of 30 degrees in one day is the usual thing - not the uncommon. When this change occurs and the thermometer goes up,

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we think we are in for some good weather and forget all precautions - then, in a few hours, down goes the thermometer to almost zero, and we may have either a chilling wind or a blinding snow-storm. It is, without exception, the most astonishing and variable climate on the face of the earth.

Today, we are full of our departure this afternoon. Arch has wired us of the various events that have transpired with him. He left, as you know, Linda Vista on Wednesday, and will arrive in New York Sunday night. He reports to Hoboken on Monday morning. Although, the War Department is involved in more or less perplexity, they have told me that he will sail Wednesday for France. Baker told me that he (Baker) was to go at the same time, and, inasmuch as he will have gone when this letter reaches you, and the matter will be public, I violate no confidence in thus writing you. I really hope that he and Arch will sail on the same ship. Baker has promised me that he will look him up if they do, and, inasmuch as Baker is a very pleasant, affable, kindly man, I should like Arch to meet him and know him. It certainly is a wrench to both of us to have the kid go. Mingled with this feeling is the very great pride that we have in his rapid advancement, and at his selection by the Brigade for their high honor of attending the General Staff College. The Army men here have endeavored to impress me with this honor. I endeavored to ascertain from the Secretary of War just what it meant. I really think he was more or less hazy himself. He did say, however, that it meant, he thought, about six weeks' of training in the General

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Staff College - training, particularly in the writing of dispatches, the study of maps, strategical plans, et cetera; and then, he might be assigned to the Commanding General's Staff, or, as necessities require, returned to his own Brigade. Once he enters the General Staff College, he will be under the command of Pershing, and may be assigned as Pershing shall think appropriate. Baker was very certain, when he talked to me the other day, that Arch would leave on Wednesday on the same boat with him. I have just come from General Ladd, however, who has charge of this sort of thing, and he was by no means certain. When Arch reaches Hoboken, he will be assigned to his boat. The war comes closer to us daily. Your family have had one of its dear members in France for some time. One of ours now goes, and, my dear daughter, I can not now see the end. There was opportunity a couple of months ago to end the thing - and end it, I think, honorably; but, just as we trifled with the Russian situation, just as we bungled with the Italian situation, just so, we dilly-dallied with the peace situation until when we acted it was too late to accomplish anything. I wrote you just after January 8th that I feared we had been put very far from peace by the speech of the President on that day. After his speech of February 12th, I hoped we were nearer to peace, but, the unfortunate occurrences in Russia have destroyed my hope. Germany now has this mighty land with its untold resources in her grasp. She, doubtless, will annex all of the valuable northern part of Russia, will maintain a protectorate over Ukrain, and will force a peace with Roumania, which

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leaves Roumania practically her vassal state. Under these circumstances she has a world domain almost as great as Napoleon had at the zenith of his power, and, once Germany has consummated these annexations, and has taken this vast territory to herself as conquest, I think peace with her will be well-nigh impossible. The Russian territory will relieve all of the food problems and all the internal suffering, which have been our hope these past few months. Unless something wholly unforeseen occurs - some social revolution which we have no reason to expect, or of which there are no signs today, peace will come to us only after a bloody decision on the field of battle.

This has been somewhat of an exciting week. Our sessions have been long, and our fight on the railroad bill has been most interesting. Just as we demonstrated in the excess profits tax, so, in this railroad bill, we have again shown that the measure of some men's patriotism in this war is profit, and increased wealth to those who have much. No more outrageous piece of legislation was ever passed than the railroad bill, which went through last night. The old bi-partisan machine in the Senate was determined to give to the railroad companies compensation during the time they were held by the Government that was outrageously unjust and exorbitant, and wholly indefensible. The senate had simply determined to hand over hundreds of millions of dollars in time of war, and they did it.- They did it in league with the railroad companies and the National Administration, and, so powerful are they that it is with extreme difficulty we can get even a modicum

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of facts published. Because of my relations with Montague, which have become exceedingly friendly and intimate, and, because he, for the moment, is in charge of the New York American and the New York Journal, he published my speech in full in those papers. The important part of my speech was my opposition to the present bill and the compensation to be paid the railroad companies. Incidentally, because it was the appropriate moment, I announced my advocacy of government ownership. Senator Cummins, who is perhaps more familiar with the railroad question than any man in Washington, filed a minority report against the bill that the majority could not answer, but this minority report and Cummins' arguments could never get an atom of publicity anywhere. I got an immense amount of publicity, except for the figures demonstrating the fraud.

It is a very difficult thing to keep from discouragement. It is so easy and so much more comfortable to drift with the tide, to be a good fellow, and to unite with your colleagues in complacent acquiescence in what the rich and the powerful may wish. It is pretty hard to keep from saying, "What's the use!" And, if it had not been for the schooling I received in California, I would be sorely tempted, at times, to join the great majority, and accept the ease, and the comfort, and the pleasures which come from adherence to power and to wealth. I sit, as you know, socially with all of these gentlemen, who are on the other side. Some of them have been very gracious, very kind, and very courteous to me. I am the only dissenting voice in this group, and, I am per-

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fectly certain that if I would yield the views that I hold so dear, they would gladly go to any length for me. There is something, however, which, I presume, the Lord puts in all of us, which will not permit a man of any strength at all to yield that in which he believes and which makes him, without regard to consequences, stand his ground against any odds. And then, I have grown too old, and I care too little for it to accept a comfortable place socially, or a profitable place, politically, at the cost of self-accusation. Since our return here, a little group of us of about a dozen, seven assembling on each occasion, meet and indulge in the pastime of making combinations with five pieces of pasteboard, selected at random from fifty-two. These evenings are very interesting and delightful to me. I have had some qualms about them, because of my inability to do my part in the entertaining, but I am hoping against hope still, that some day, we will be in a position where we can have our friends, and those to whom we are beholden, about us. We met, one night, at Harding's, another, at Frelinghuysen's, another, at Hale's, and, so on. We had a good dinner, and then remained in session until midnight, and at the first stroke of midnight we ceased, to go home. With your knowledge of the pleasure I derived in California from our little seances, you'll understand the joy I get out of these meetings. I got pretty well frightened at first, I confess, because I thought the thing beyond me, but I found - just as I found at home, that it evens up in the long run. All of those who thus meet are punctiliously courteous, and, many of them

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very, very pleasant companions. All of them pursue the line of least resistance here; and, all of them, I am sure, would wish me to drift with the current, in like fashion. They look upon me as a pleasant companion socially, but as an incorrigible crank, forgetful even of my own interest (this is the great controlling factor) in my public activities.

I have written you too much in a personal vein today. I am sorry that I have done so, but the week has been distressing and depressing, and I find it very difficult to get away from a morbid mental state.

I wrote last week about Colonel House. There have been some developments since, which indicate there may be differences between the British Cabinet and our President in relation to the war. Apparently, we are no longer parties to the allied war conference. Just what this means, I am unable to say. The fact of the matter is that Washington is in ignorance of the exact situation. The President takes nobody into his confidence, except possibly House, and there is nobody here who understands just what is transpiring. That we are up against the gun~~s~~, and that every bit of our fortitude and our courage are required of us during this year, seems obvious. Hoover is crying out that we are facing starvation, and, that within sixty days we will feel the pang of ~~the~~ want of food. He ascribes it to the muddled condition of our transportation system. McAdoo answers that the transportation system is all right, and food will be movable whenever Hoover will direct what he wants. All, apparently, is not roseate even in the Administration. The

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President muddles back and forth denouncing a bill to give him a war cabinet one day, demanding the next a bill which will enable him to do that very thing; defining the terms of peace one month and modifying them the next, and the whole thing is in such a mixed and chaotic condition that all is perplexity and conjecture. My own opinion is that the Administration is simply waiting for something to turn up, going ahead with its war preparations, but hoping and praying that some development will arise which will enable them to extricate themselves. Now, and then, we find what last year never occurred - a note of angry resentment toward the President and the Administration generally. Generally, this arises because of business conditions, and those most familiar with the business world insist that the Administration's activities are gradually sapping the very foundation of commercial enterprise. I am not clear how true this is, but from the wails that occasionally reach me, I think that many of those who were most blood-thirsty last year are revising their views. Whether there will be enough of these to cause a great revulsion of feeling I can not yet determine; but I still hold to my prophecy made last March to the boys - that, ultimately, our revolution will come from the top, and that it is not unlikely it will be led by the business interests of the nation.

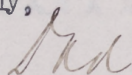
I failed in accomplishing any results with Bob and his associates in France. Baker took the position this week that he had already taken, concerning which I wrote you - that he could not interfere with Pershing's order, much as he might wish it.

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He admitted all that I said in regard to the matter, except that he would not concede a definite assurance that the young men should receive first-lieutenancies. He would concede, however, that they had the right to expect first-lieutenancies. He simply passed the buck, in ordinary parlance, to Pershing, and renders his decision upon his hesitancy to interfere with any military order of our Commander in the field. I shall try to write the boys in a day or two to explain to them. I have refrained from writing them in the hope that I might send them some good news.

This is a mighty uninteresting letter, but I am fagged mentally, and I am worn physically. If Art were not to depart for France next week, I should welcome the few days we are now going to have in New York. It is really the first time I have been absent except the brief time I took to go to St. Louis, and the other day, to go to Philadelphia last year. Weighing upon us during this next week will be the departure of our boy, and, therefore I presume all the good that might have come to us from this trip will be more than counter-balanced by our grief at parting with Arch. I hope next week I can send you a more interesting and more newsy letter. In lieu this week of that sort of letter, I send you all my good wishes and my love.

Affectionately,



HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CALIFORNIA

United States Senate,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 23, 1918.

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

My dear Jack:

I have just dictated a most uninteresting letter to Amy, so that she might have my regular weekly contribution.

I read with the greatest interest your letter dated February 12th concerning the political conditions in California. I am more than obliged to you for writing me, as you did. I am leaving this afternoon for New York with Mother. Arch will sail for Europe Wednesday. He will stay in New York, of course, until his departure. I was hoping to have him here, but to have him report in Hoboken on Monday, as he must do, and then leave for France on Wednesday morning, made it quite impossible for him to come over to Washington with us. I am quite worn out and I would look forward with great pleasure to these few days, if it were not that the parting of Arch hangs over me like a pall. I am sending you in this note a copy of my speech delivered Tuesday. Read it carefully, please, and let me know what you think of it. Yesterday, we put the senate up against three amendments; first, allowing the railroad companies the interest on their indebtedness, and every legitimate expenditure, and then 5 per cent upon their total capital stock; second, allowing 6 per cent; and third, 7 per cent. These amendments were voted down. We presented them

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for the purpose of putting the senate ~~at~~ record . And a record, which votes down 7 per cent on capital stock after the payment of the interest charges, and every other expense, is a record which, in my opinion, measures the patriotism of the majority of the congress. It is a most outrageous and indefensible thing, and the most shameless thing that has been done by this subservient body since I have been here. These amendments, however, we can not get over in the press, and the arguments against the payment of these sums to the railroad companies have never been able to get over in the press, except through the Hearst service. If it had not been for my intimacy with Jimmie Montague, I do not think my arguments ever would have been published.

Upon my return from New York I will write you at length in response to your letter of the 12th my view of the politics of our State.

Good-bye my boy. Love to the kiddies and to Amy.

Affectionately,

H.W.J.